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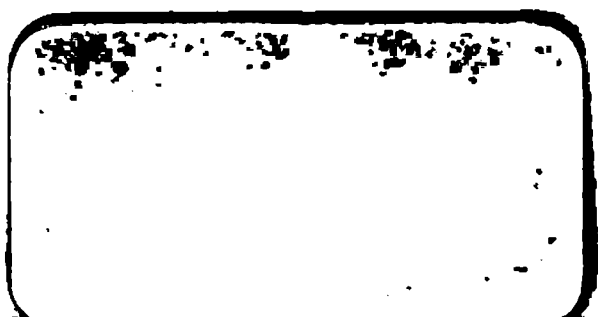
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THE
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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

LAUD AND BURTON.

HENRY BURTON has left on record a brief narrative of his life, from the period of manhood to the termination of his sufferings in the year 1640, to which we shall direct special attention, and which may serve as a guide in tracing his course in those controversies in which he was constantly involved. His subsequent career may be pretty accurately ascertained by his subsequent publications.

Burton was born in the year 1579 at Birdsall, in Yorkshire. The place was obscure, and the more so, he tells us, "as having never had a preaching minister time out of minde, long before I was borne, nor (for aught I know) to this very day." The village is still very small, containing not many more than two hundred souls. Still the parish, on our author's own showing, could not have been in a very neglected state: for he tells us, that his parents "were piously affected," and compelled their children to attend the church. In all probability, the clergyman was a conformist to the rites and discipline of the church, a circumstance which would alone account for Burton's disparaging notice of the place of his birth.

He was educated in St. John's College, Cambridge. During his residence in the University, he constantly attended on the preaching of Mr. Chadderton and Mr. Perkins, two clergymen of Puritan tendencies, though still moderate men, and very different from our author in his subsequent career. Perkins would not have sanctioned Burton's violent conduct: he would rather have suffered in silence.

On quitting Cambridge, he became tutor to the two sons of Lord Carey, who, in 1625, was created Earl of Monmouth. He would have it believed that his zeal against the bishops and the church was exhibited at that early period of his history, as is evident from the following story, detailed with due gravity by himself: "in which time, with them sojourning awhile with a religious matron of worthy memory, and having often conference with her, she took such notice of my spirit then, and chiefly of my zeal against the prelates pride and practices, that she said then to some (yet surviving) of me, this young man (said she) will one day be the overthrow of the bishops." The matron's name is given in the margin: "Mrs. Bows, at Aske, near Richmond, in the north."*

This brief extract is a sort of key to Burton's character. It was written, when he was lauded by numbers as a martyr under the domination of Laud. The candid and impartial reader will perceive, that he gave no evidence of a meek and quiet spirit. On the contrary, he must have evinced a spirit in direct opposition to the dictates of the gospel. Nor, with such views, if at that time they were entertained, could he have been over-scrupulous in seeking ordination from an order of men which he wished to cast out of the church.

From this nobleman's family he was placed about the person of Prince Henry. After the death of that youthful prince, he was continued in the same office under Prince Charles, "when," says he, "God stirred up my heart to enter into the ministry, being then above thirty years of age."† When Charles was about to enter upon his Spanish journey in 1623, our author was ordered to accompany him, though in what capacity is not mentioned. Fuller's account is by no means flattering to our author, either with respect to his abilities, or to his removal from the service of the prince. "Mr. Henry Burton, minister, rather took a *snap* than made a *meal* in any University, was first schoolmaster to the sonnes of the Lord Carey, whose lady was governesse to King Charles when Prince. And this opportunity (say some) more

* A Narration of the Life of Mr. Henry Burton. Wherein is set forth the various and remarkable passages thereof, his sufferings, supports, comforts, and deliverances. Now published for the benefit of all those that either doe or may suffer for the cause of Christ. According to a copy written with his own hand. 4to. London. Printed in the yeare 1643. Pp. 1, 2. In connexion with Leighton I may remark, in reply to a letter in the last number, that I cannot plead ignorance of the existence of the narrative published under his name: but I had it not in my possession when the article was written, and, therefore, could not refer to it. On considering the subject, there appears to me to be room for doubting whether the work be really the production of Leighton. Burton complains of tracts and pamphlets published in his name: and the practice seems to have been common in those strange times. It might have been put forth in Leighton's name to render Laud odious.

† Ibid. 2.

than his own deserts, preferred him to the service of Prince Charles, being designed (as I have heard) to wait on him in Spain, but afterwards (when part of his goods were shipped for the voyage) excluded the attendance. Whether, because his *parts* and *learning* were conceived not such, as to credit our English church in foreign countries, or because his principles were accounted uncomplying with that employment.*

Fuller wrote in 1649; but another writer gives a nearly similar account fourteen years before. "The prince being gone into Spaine, and Mr. Burton, before this time being got into Holy Orders: among others of his highness household that were designed to goe thither, this man was one: but whether his indiscretion (which he hath since abundantly manifested) did then minister grounds of suspicion, or whatever the cause were, certaine it is, that hee was put out of the list for that voyage, and that when his goods were ashipboard, which he was fain to take home again, and to stay behinde."† Before this time, it seems certain that Burton had not openly manifested any dislike to the ceremonies of the church, though he would insinuate, by the story of Mrs. Bows, that he had evidenced his principles during his residence in the family of Lord Carey. Dow, however, says: "Now all this while, and for some space after, he was not any whit *popular* (I meane gracious with the *people*) no not in his owne parish, witnesse his *seldome preaching*, and (when he did preach) his *thinne audience*: yea so ill was he relisht in those days, that it was usuall with many in his parish (though I do not commend them for it) to inquire who preached, and if it were he, they would forsake their own church and wander elsewhere. Hee did not then inveigh against those which did not preach *twice* every *Lords-Day*, which himself did not practise: neither was he noted to express any distaste of the forme of *Divine Service* used at court in the *Royall chappell*, or to call it *long Babylonish service bellowed and warbled out*, nor the use of organs *piping*: the *cofes*, *altar tapers*, &c., which were dayly in his eye, did not then offend him, or if, haply, they did not altogether please him, yet he was content to hold his peace and to tolerate them. But to go on. Mr. B. would needs serve his Majesty in the same place as before, when he was Prince of Wales. And he thinking the time now come wherein hee might come even with those whom he conceived to be his hinderers of that his intrusion into the closet, and of his hoped voyage into Spaine (and so of his desired pre-

* Fuller, Church Hist., book xi. 152.

† Innovations unjustly charged upon the present Church and State. Or an Answer to the most material passages of a Libellous Pamphlet made by Mr. Henry Burton, and intituled an Apologie of an Appeale, &c. By Christopher Dow, B.D. 4to. London: 1637. P. 9.

ferment) hee behaved himselfe in such sort, that his Majesty dismissed him the court and his service: whence being cashiered, and all his hopes of preferment dasht, he betakes himself to the *people*, as more patient of his criminations, and more apt to side with him against the reverend *bishops*; and having, by the help of popular applause, advanced from the hatred of some bishops persons to a total dislike of their order; hee made their actions his continual theme, and his sermons and writings so many satyres, and bitter invectives, accusing them of Arminianisme, Popery, and whatsoever might make them odious, and himself gracious with his *new masters*, the people.”*

This description is from an avowed opponent, and must doubtless be taken with certain qualifications. Yet Fuller’s account does not materially differ: and we may therefore infer, that Dow’s narrative was substantially correct. Alluding to the same circumstance, Fuller says: “The *crudity* of this *affront* lay long on his minde, *hot stomachs* (contrary to *corporal concoction*) being in this kinde the slowest of *digestion*. After the venting of many mediate *discontents*, on the last fifth of November, he took for his *text*, Pro. 24, 21. This *sermon* was afterwards printed, charging the *prelates* for introducing of severall *innovations* into *divine worship*, for which, as a *libell*, he was indited in the *Star Chamber*.”†

Burton’s own account may now be contrasted with the preceding extracts. He attributes his not rising at court to the efforts of the clerk of the Royal closet, and yet adds; “This was by the speciall providence of my God still, who would not suffer me to rise high in court, lest I should have been corrupted with the preferments of it. Nor had I learned the art of ambition to climbe up that ladder.”‡ It will be remarked, that he does not deny that he had a desire to rise in the court. He merely intimates that he was above submitting to the court arts. It will be observed, also, that he was not removed from the service of the prince, though he was not permitted to accompany him to Spain: for we find him in the court after the accession of King Charles. What, then, was the cause of his removal? Fuller and Dow have given some intimations on the subject; and we may now examine Burton’s own account of the same transaction.

Neale, Bishop of Durham, was clerk of the Royal closet; and to him and Laud, Burton attributes his removal. “I saw,” says he, “there would be no abiding for me in court any longer. Yet, before I went, I thought I was bound in conscience, by vertue of my place, to informe the King of these men, how Popishly affected they were, simply imagining, that the King either did not so well

* Dow, &c., 9, 10.

† Fuller, book xi. 152.

‡ Burton’s Narration, 2.

know their qualities, or that perhaps he might be put upon second thoughts, by considering the dangerous consequences of entertaining such persons so neere about him, as I presented to his Majesty in a large letter to that purpose, which letter he read a good part of, I standing before him ; but perceiving the scope of it, he gave it me againe, and bade me forbear any more attendance in my office untill he should send for me. Whereupon, though for the present my spirits were somewhat appalled and dejected, yet going home to my house in London, and there entering into a serious meditation of God's Providence herein, how fairely he had now brought me off from the court, when I saw such Lords were like to domineere, and how I might doe God and his church better service in a more retired life, as wherein I was in no danger of court preferment, thereby to be cowardized from encountering such giants as began already to threaten the hoste of Israel, and against whose power I thought *Saul's* armour would give me small defence, but much hinder me rather: I hereupon began to recollect my scattered spirits, resolving now after almost twice seven yeares service, quite to forsake the court; which I did signifie by another letter to a friend of mine of great place neare unto the King: so as the King hath said, that I put away him, and not hee me."* In another part of his narrative, he says: "My goods were not ashipboard: hereof he cannot say, *certaine it is*; but *certaine it is*, I confesse, that I was put out of the list, and that also when my goods were truncked." He adds: "if my plaine dealing against popery be indiscretion, I can hardly to this day, old as I am, and as bitten as I have been, so avoid the suspicion, as not to make manifestation thereof, yea, although it had been in Spain itself." And again, relative to the voyage into Spain, "But this he calls *this hoped voyage into Spaine*. Indeed, if Dr. Dow had been the man, well might he have called it *his hoped voyage into Spaine*, and so of his desired preferment thereby a bishoprick at least; and I blesse God, that both I escaped the voyage and the preferment too."

In these passages there is nothing to contravene the statements of Dow and Fuller. Indeed, on his own showing, it is clear that he was removed from the court in consequence of his own indiscretion, which was evidently produced by the soreness of feeling at being disappointed in his expectations of preferment in the church. This he chose to attribute to Neale and Laud, though, from his own narrative, it is plain, that the cause was to be found in his own imprudence. Dow had intimated, that Burton was

* Burton's Narration, 3. This remonstrance, or letter, was presented to King Charles in the year 1625, the very year of his accession. It appears probable, therefore, that his disappointment, in not being continued in his post, was the cause of his rash step.—Wood, ii. Fasti. 349. Biog. Brit.

not remarkable at Cambridge for anything except playing well "on an instrument." To this he replies by the following ludicrous challenge: "There be some yet living can testifie, that I was so observed for a Ciceronian, that I was in request for making orations for gentlemen in the Colledge: which I speake not to glory of, but to tell Dr. Dow, that H. B. will at this day dispute with *Christopher Dow* either in Latin or Greek."*

There are allusions to Burton's residence in the court in some of his earlier publications; and they certainly strengthen the statement of Dow and Fuller. Thus, in a Dedication to the King in 1626, he says: "Most gracious Sovereign, if it be *a man's glory to passe by an offence*, how much more a King's? who being armed with power to revenge, his pardon is the more glorious, the more gracious. This is your Majesty's glory: that you have passed by the offence of your servant; and your glory how beautifully shall it shine forth, if your noble pardon shall be sealed with your royall patronage of this poore *Plea*."† So in another Dedication: "I acknowledge myself unworthy to doe your Majesty the least service; and I could have wished this task rather to any other: yet the indeleble character of my fidelity, so often reimprinted in my heart by sacred oath in your Highnesse service (besides the habitual affection of a loyal subject) deeply ingaged me (rather than it should be undone) in this addressement."‡ And in another Dedication: "I remember a speech, which his Highnesse, when he was prince, uttered among us, that were his servants; that when he had committed any businesse of trust, though of the highest nature, to a servant, he would never conceive the least suspicion of his fidelity: adding, hee had rather run the hazard of his loyalty, than imbitter his generous trust with mixture of feare. But some of his servants trembling replied: what if he proved treacherous? hath hee not the more free and severe opportunity to worke his wicked ends? But (quoth his Highnesse) my care shall be such in the choyce, as my

* Burton's Narration, 47. Echard says: "He took it very ill that he was not sent as one of the chaplains into Spain: but worse, that Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, should execute the office of clerk of the closet, while Bishop Neil was sick. Inraged at this indignity, as he then conceived it, he put a scandalous paper into the hands of the king, for which, and some other insolencies, he was commanded to depart the court; and being never able to regain admittance, he breath'd out nothing but rage and malice against the king and the bishops: and never desisted, even in his sermons at his parish in London, till he was stopp'd by the present proceedings."—Vol. ii. 124.

† A Plea to an Appeale: Traversed Dialogue wise. By H. B. 4to. Printed at London by W. I. 1626.

‡ The Baiting of the Pope's Bull: or an unmasking of the Mystery of Iniquity, folded up in a most pernicious Breeve or Bull, sent from the Pope lately into England, to cause a rent therein, for his Re-entry. With an Advertisement to the King's Seduced Subjects. By H. B. 4to. Imprinted at London by W. I. for Michael Sparke. 1627.

trust shall be built upon a sure ground." This was addressed to the Duke of Buckingham; and Burton adds: "Now this wee see veriefied on the King's part towards your Grace. What a liberal trust hath he reposed in you? such as not all the gold of Indai should ever overballance. But we all beseech the Lord, that his Majesty may not bee deceived."* In the next year, in another Dedication to the King, he alludes evidently to his situation in the court. "So prevalent is my affection, as my insufficiencies cannot restraine it. Yea, though I was told your Majesty was lately offended with me. But I answered no: I had no reason to believe it. For, first, I knew well the gentle disposition of your Royall breast is not easily incensed where there is no just cause. And I am sure I daily injoy the influence of your favour, though not the gracious aspect of your face: for even the feet doe live and move, though remote, by the heads breathing. You are the breath of our nostrils. And as I told my Lord of London, at my first examination about Israel's Fast, all that I had done, was for God's glory, the service of my King and country, and the Church of England, whereof wee were members; and for which I was ready (if need were) to lay downe my life."†

From these extracts, it is clear that Burton, in congratulating himself in his *Narration* on his escape from the court, made a virtue of necessity: for he evidently retired from his post with great reluctance. The last extract is couched in terms of flattery, such as he must have been ashamed of at a later period, when he wrote his more violent productions.

It is, moreover, deserving of remark, that in these publications, from which the preceding extracts have been taken, Burton speaks of his affection for the Church of England, calling her his mother, and avowing his readiness to lay down his life in her defence. In his address at the close of one of them, he thus delivers himself: "High you into the bosome of the Church of England, your mother, who reacheth unto you the pure milk-flowing breasts of salvation in the Word and Sacraments."‡

At this time, it would seem, that Burton was merely zealous against Popery and Arminianism, but not opposed to the discipline of the Church of England. As he grew older he gradually receded from his more moderate views, until he became very irregular in his conformity, and at length renounced it altogether. This will appear as we proceed in our inquiry.

Whether he had actually quitted the court when the preceding

* The Baiting of the Pope's Bull, &c.

† The Seven Vials: or a Briefe and Plaine Exposition upon the 15 and 16 Chapters of the Revelations, very Pertinent and Profitable for the Church of God in these last times. By H. B., Rector of Saint Matthews, Friday Street. 4to. London: 1628.

‡ Baiting of the Pope's Bull, &c., p. 95.

works were published, is not quite clear ; but he was in no favour with his majesty. Speaking of the period of his ordination, he says: " In that time I writ a treatise against Simony, entituled, *A Censure of Simony*: also another Book, entituled, *Truth's Triumph over Trent*. These two books were published *Cum Privilegio*, though with much adoe obtained of the Archbishop's chaplains, in those, not then full growne ripe, evill times." He tells us, that soon after he could not obtain a license for a book called *The Converted Jew*, on account of Abbot's fears, because he had confuted the Arminian tenets, and "proved the Pope to be the Antichrist."* Within a short space he speaks in terms which imply an absence from the court when some of the above works were written. " Thus having bid the court farewell, I kept me close to the ministry of the word, and besides my weekly preaching every Lord's Day twice, I answered sundry erroneous and heterodox bookes set forth by the Prelats and those of the Prelatical party." And then he mentions his reply to Montague's Appeal, which was published in 1626.† He also alludes to his treatise on the Seven Vials, in which he denied the claim of the Church of Rome to a true church, which was admitted by Bishop Hall, who was defended by two of his chaplains, against the views advanced by Burton. In reply to the bishop's chaplains our author printed his *Babel no Bethel*. At this time he was brought before the High Commission, the charge, according to his own statement, being this, that he had written against the Church of Rome and published his books without a license, when none could be obtained.‡ He was questioned in the High Commission, but not for writing against Rome. In the year 1628 appeared his sermon called *Israel's Fast*; and for this he was summoned to appear before the court, "where they examined me," says he, "what or whom I meant by *Achan*; I answered, the Jesuiticall Faction; and no more could they squeeze from me, so as not knowing what to do with me, they let me goe."§

This sermon was preached at his church in Friday-street; and it exhibits rather more violence than his previous publications. He could not plead youth and inexperience, for he was thirty years of age when he entered into holy orders. About the year 1625, he was presented to the rectory of St. Matthews, Friday-street, probably soon after his ordination, though the date of his institution cannot be ascertained.|| *Israel's Fast* was published

* Narration, &c., 2.

† Ibid. 4.

‡ Ibid. 4.

§ Ibid. 5.

|| Biog. Brit. Newcourt could not discover the period of his institution. His entries stand thus:—

" Hen. Burton.

Jos. Browne, A.M. 22 Dec. 1637. Per Depr. Burton."

Then he adds: " The time of his admission to this Church of S. Matthew does not appear." No mention is made of his restoration to his living, by Newcourt, though it was ordered by the Long Parliament.—Newcourt's Rep. i. 475.

without a licence. In some things Burton's doctrine would be unacceptable to many in the present day, who scarcely recognise the duty of fasting. "We must forbear," says he, "all kind of food, or repast *till the eventide*. So did Nineveh by the king's commandment." He recommends the Parliament to devote a whole session to the affairs of the church. "If with these reformati^ons, you conclude your first *Session of Parliament*, without any mixture of your own civil matters, all other grievances shall fall *mole sua*, as the walls of *Jericho* at the voyce of the *Rams hornes*." He told the High Commission Court that, by Achan, he intended the Jesuitical faction—a phrase admitting of a latitude of interpretation. Burton evidently included some, at least, of the bishops. Addressing the city of London, he says: "be persuaded to sanctifie yourselves, and reforme your *city Achans*. Search them out; you need not lanthorns for it." And again: "Ye are to find out the *Achans*, that *trouble Israel*, least ye be all wrapped in *Achan's sin*."* That the commissioners were satisfied with Burton's answer, is clear from the fact, that he was no further questioned. Had he pursued a moderate course, he would have been unmolested; but each succeeding year found him more inclined to oppose the bishops, and to defame the Church of England, though for a long time he continued to style her his mother. He informs us that he was summoned to the Council Board, on the publication of *The Baiting of the Pope's Bull*, where he found Neile and Laud. "By these I was soundly baited for two or three hours together. They would have made my book against that Bull a libell. God put into my mouth an answer to all their questions, though some were very captious and insnaring."†

The author seems to have been greatly pleased with the frontispiece to this book, for he mentions the following story in two subsequent publications. "In the frontispiece was a picture of King Charles on the one side, with a sword putting off the Pope's triple crown over against it. Which when I shewed to a little daughter I then had of three yeares old in her mothers hands, telling her the meaning of those two pictures, she presently replied, *O Father, our king shall cut off the Pope's head: it must be so, it must be so*: which words she uttered with that vigour of spirit, and vehemency of speech, that we exceedingly wondered at it, saying, *it was not impossible*. And I do now the more look after the full accomplishment of her words, as a prophecy put into a babe's mouth, when of late, we have seen, *it must be so*, fulfilled in Scotland: so we may hope to see the other, *it must be so*, fulfilled in England, when God shall put the like necessity *it must be so*, and that redoubled, in cutting off the Pope's head in

* *Israel's Fast*. Pp. 16, 32, 33.

† *Narration, &c.*, 5.

the English Hierarchy by the regall sword.”* In “*The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets*,” Burton asks: “Now if a man should have said then, when this was uttered, that such a speech was sure some prophetic inspired into her by God’s spirit, would have found but few to give credit thereunto, but rather would have been laughed to scorn. But now that wee see the Hierarchie utterly rased and rooted out of the kingdom of Scotland, and that by King Charles his royal assent; tell mee, what think yee? Was not here a cutting off the Pope’s head by the king? For is not the Pope’s headship upheld in chiefe in the Prelates, and Hierarchie? Might not then the childes speech be a prophetic, being thus far verified? And if so, why may it not reach to be alike verified in cutting off the Pope’s head also in England.”†

These passages were written in 1641 and 1643, and therefore do not belong to this portion of the narrative; but they are inserted in this place on account of their connexion with the work of which we have spoken. They will show the character of our author; and, taken in connexion with other passages, which will be given in a subsequent page, they prove that Laud and the bishops could not pursue, in such times as those, a moderate course, with a man so credulous and yet so violent as Burton.

We have his own testimony respecting his conduct on one occasion before Laud, as Bishop of London. “Seeing the bishop in his chair ready to examine me, there came upon me, as it were, the spirit of a Lyon, so as they were amazed with my answers. And another time, in the same place, when the bishop in his chaire was proudly insulting over me standing at the other end of the table, I (thinking thus with myselfe, what doe I standing here) did without replying, turn my back, and goe towards the doore to be gone, the bishop at that very instant changed his note, and began to speak me as faire as possibly could be, whereupon I came towards him againe, saying within myselfe, that if he spake reason, I would heare him. Nor was I at any time before him, but methought I stood over him, as a schoolmaster over his schoolboy.”‡ Such a man must have gloried in what he deemed persecution. Martyrdom was evidently his aim.

We have already remarked that Burton’s affection for the church became weaker after his departure from the court. Still he professed to adhere to her discipline and rites, as well as her doctrines, for some years subsequent to his removal from his post in the royal household. By degrees, however, he became alienated from the rites of the Church of England; and in 1636 he could scarcely be regarded as a churchman. He confesses that

* Narration, 6.

† The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets, 42, 43.

‡ Narration, &c., 7.

he was anxious for an opportunity of declaring his sentiments, or of contending with the bishops. "I hasten to the maine battalion, or pitcht battell with the prelates for I more and more disliked their usurpations: therefore I purposely preached upon the second chapter to the *Colossians*, crying downe all will worship and humane inventions in God's service. Hereupon I began in my practice, as in my judgment, to fall off from the ceremonies, only I watched for an occasion to try it out with them."* At this period, therefore, Burton had resolved to renounce his adherence to the church in opposition to his ordination vows—not a very honest determination at all events: for a straightforward man, if he could not conscientiously officiate according to his oaths, would have relinquished his living and continued in retirement. Such a man, after courting persecution, could not expect to escape censure; yet up to the time of this determination to "try it out with the bishops," he had escaped with some slight admonitions.

The day selected for his demonstration was the fifth of November, 1636. In his own Narrative he very gravely tells us of a dream, in which he saw a dead man lying before the throne of Christ. The man was at length raised up. Burton chose to interpret this of the church of Christ, which he regarded as dead; but he added, that it would be restored to life. "And so being to goe to London that morning, I took my leave, saying, well, whatever come on it, I must to my work. And that work proved to be that aforesaid (Nov. 5,) when having preached those sermons, I was not long after summoned into the English Inquisition Court, the High Commission; from which I presently appealed to the king." Believing that his appeal would not be effectual, he says: "I shut myself up in my house as in my prison, and there did compile my two said sermons with my appeale, in one book, to the end it might be published in print, as it was sheet by sheet as I writ it: the while the prelates' pursuivants, those barking beagles, ceased not night nor day to watch, and rap, and ring at my doores, to have surprised me in that my castle, nor yet to search and hunt all the printing houses about London, to have prevented the coming forth of my book. But God by his good providence, so prevented them, as neither they could touch my person before I had finished my book, nor yet prevent the publishing thereof, for all their unwearied search." He blessed God "that not all the incessant roarings and ballings of those beagles could either interrupt my work or distract my thoughts, or discourage my resolution."†

The book was published and circulated. Some copies were

* Narration, &c., 8.

† Narration, &c., 10, 11.

seized, and the author was committed to prison. For this work he was summoned to answer in the Star Chamber; and for this he was censured with Prynne and Bastwick.

As Burton published his book for the very purpose of having a contest with the bishops, he could not be surprised at being committed to prison. It was the very thing he desired. Nor could the rulers of the church permit such a man to continue in her ministry. He had renounced the ceremonies and discipline of the church; and the consequences must have been expected by the individual himself. Nay, Burton would have charged the bishops with fear had they left him untouched.

Two answers were written in reply to Burton's book, one by Heylin, the other by Dow. The author's tone respecting the bishops was most contemptuous; his language very unmeasured; and the charges most absurd or false. Though the answers proceeded from the pens of avowed adversaries, yet it is evident from Burton's own narrative in 1643, that all their statements were substantially correct. Dow says of the sermons, "in which he showed that extremity of virulency, as the like I thinke hath not beene heard to be delivered out of the pulpit."* Most of the charges respecting the alleged innovations were also repeated in Prynne's News from Ipswich; and they are answered in Laud's speech at the censure in the Star Chamber.

Some of the allusions in the replies furnish us with a picture of the times, as well as with a view of Burton. Thus Dow alluding to the length of the sermons, says, "they are *two sermons*, or (as he terms them) the *summe of two sermons*. If this be true, surely the sermons were of a large size, and transgress the bounds of an houre glasse."† It was the custom long after those times to place an hourglass by the pulpit; and the preacher usually allowed the sand to run out.‡

It would be impossible to notice at length all the charges of innovations alleged by Burton in his "*Apologie of an Appeale*," or the answers which were given at the time. But I shall quote a few passages from the replies, as an illustration of Burton's loose principles, and his irregular practices as a clergyman.

Burton enumerates among his innovations "placing of images in churches, and erecting of crucifixes over the altars," with cer-

* Dow, 12. The Bishops are called: "enemies and rebels to God: fogges and mists risen from the bottomless pit: fogges and uncleane spirits crept out of the mouth of the Dragon: limbs of the Beast, even of Anti-Christ—Anti-Christian Mushrooms." Whitelock admits that Burton's Works were sharp and against Episcopacy. "Mr. Burton a Divine for writing and printing two sharp tracts against Episcopacy."—Whitelock's Memorials, 26.

† Ibid. 15.

‡ Some of the iron frames for these glasses still remain in our churches. I have seen them occasionally.

tain other alleged practices; and he then states that the clergy were punished for not attending to these things, as though they were innovations against the law and the canons. It is replied, "he nor all his complices cannot bee able to produce any one example of any man that hath beene censured for refusing any of these things, but those only which are commanded by law and canon."* Burton and Prynne charged the bishops with striking out the words "Father of his elect and their seed," from the Collect for the royal family. The answer is given by Laud in his speech in the Star Chamber, but Dow further gives an account of the manner in which some portions of the services of the church were performed by Burton and his party; and as no denial was put forth in our author's *Narration*, there is no reason for doubting the accuracy of the statement. They were charged with putting new and strange senses on the services to suit their own views. Thus in baptism, after the clause in which God is thanked for regenerating the infant, "they use to understand some such clause as this (if hee bee elected), or as I have heard some expresse it (as we hope;) by which device, they can, without scruple of conscience, both subscribe and use the prayers of the church, which, in the churches sense, they doe not believe or assent to."† In the particular form of prayer to which Burton alluded, there was an omission of a collect which had been previously used, and which was omitted for the purpose of shortening the service. Burton and Prynne chose to assume, that it was omitted on account of an allusion which it contained to preaching. The singularity of such a charge from Burton is thus noticed: "True, and perhaps it was thought fit so to be; not for any thing contained in it, but only to abridge the length of the service, which I know some of Master Burton's humour did as much grumble at, when that first book was appointed, and tooke more liberty of shortening it, than that comes to."‡

We have a further illustration of Burton's laxity in practice, with respect to conformity. He objected to some customs which were not enjoined in the Book of Common Prayer; while he adopted others for which no law or canon could be pleaded. Thus Dow remarks: "his present practice in many things must needs be condemned, as having no warrant, or prescription in that booke. For I would (for instance) fain know where, in that booke, his rite of carrying the blessed Sacrament of the body and

* Dow, 121.

† Dow, 135.

‡ † Ibid. 143. Heylin asks: "Are not you the man that spake so much against long prayers as wee shall see anon in your next general head of innovations: because thereby the preacher is inforced to cut short his sermon? And doe you here complaine that the prayers are shortned, that so you may have libertie to preach the longer?"—*A Briefe and Moderate Answer*, 160.

blood of Christ up and downe the church, to the receivers pewes, is to be found? Where hee hath any allowance of singing a psalme, while he is administering? Where or by what statute those meetred psalmes were ever allowed to be sung at all in the church? And if he can plead custome, or (however) practice, these and many others like them without the warrant of the Common Prayer Book. Why may not the same plea hold as strongly for those which he oppugnes, which (saving that he hath called them all to nought) are neither against the word of God, nor Booke of Common Prayer, but most decent, and religious, and venerable for their antiquity in the church of God. Nay, if the not being in the Booke of Common Prayer shall bee enough to exclude all rites and ceremonies from being used in the church, and that upon so great a danger as imprisonment: then surely such as are contrary to the expresse orders there prescribed must much more be excluded, and their practice expose men to the same danger. And certainly Master Burton by this meanes would be but in an ill case, and many others, especially of his faction. For how could they justifie their not reading of *Gloria Patri, at the end of every Psalme*? Their christening of children after divine service when the sermon is ended; their consummation of the whole form of marriage in the body of the church; and many other things which are contrary to the expresse words of the rubricke; yea, which is more than all this, how can Master Burton be excused from the penalty imposed by that statute, for depraving and speaking against the reading of the second service at the Communion Table, being so appointed in that booke.”*

In fact, Burton was caught in his own net. In his zeal against some common customs he could even plead the authority of the rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer, forgetting his own practices, many of which were not only unsanctioned by the rubric, but contrary to its express injunctions. Heylin asks: “Are not you he that told us that the *Communion Booke* set forth by parliament is commanded to be reade without any alterations, and none others. P. 130. And if you reade it not as it is commanded, make you alteration thinke you.”†

Burton, moreover, fell into the common practice of the Puritans of exaggerating the number of the suspensions and deprivations. Later writers have pursued the same course, especially Neal; but the suspensions were comparatively few, and the deprivations still fewer; and in no case was any censure inflicted except for breaches of the positive laws of the church, to which the sufferers had promised obedience.

It was not to be expected that Burton should not suffer for

* Dow, 186, 187.

† Heylin's Answer, 165.

such conduct. At the present day a man with such views, and adopting similar practices, would be excluded from the church, should he not voluntarily secede from her communion. In Laud's time the punishments inflicted on such offences were barbarous and severe; but this was the fault of the age, not of the bishops. It would be just as reasonable to reproach the judges who, only a few years since, condemned men to death for offences which are no longer capital, as to censure Laud and others for the censures of the Star Chamber. The bishops acted according to law, just as the judges did before the repeal of those acts by which the punishment of death was awarded.

For this work, therefore, Burton was censured in the Star Chamber. The punishment undoubtedly was excessive, but it was not contrary to law. Besides, it was agreeable to the common and recognised principles of all parties at that time.* The particulars of the sufferings of the three martyrs, as they are termed, are detailed with much minuteness by Prynne, in his "*Prelate's Tyranny*," to which we have largely referred in a previous paper. Even in undergoing the sentence Burton acted a singular part. His speech is recorded by Prynne: "Methinks (sayd he) I see Mount Calvary, where the three crosses were pitched; and if Christ was numbered among thieves, shall a Christian thinke much to be numbred among rogues, such as we are condemned to be? Surely if I be a rogue, I am Christ's rogue, and no mans."† "Never was my wedding day so welcome and joyful a day as this is." "The halbert-men standing round about, one of them had an old rusty halbert, the iron whereof was tacked to the staff with an old crooked nayle; which one observing, and saying, what an old rusty halbert is that? Mr. Burton sayd, this seems to me to be one of those halberts which accompanied Judas when he went to betray and apprehend his master."‡ Some things were added by Burton in his *Narration*. Thus, he says: "When I came in sight of the pillary, my spirit was mightily cheered, and my heart raised up to a higher pitch of joy. I said to one a little before my going up to the pillary, I shall this day preach down Antichrist in the pillary; and say nothing, replied he. Yea, said I, and say nothing. This was

* Rushworth tells us that, "The Lords continued speaking till three of the clock in the afternoon, whose speeches we took verbatim in characters, and writ them out afterwards, but lending them to a friend to peruse, whom we cannot call to mind, he dealt unfriendly with the author, and never restored them again: wherefore he is necessitated to be brief in the narration of this remarkable cause which he had reduced into good order and method, containing also excellent speeches made that day in that cause."—Vol. I. part ii. 382.

† *The Prelate's Tyranny*, 47. Fuller says of his speech in the pillory: "The main intent thereof was to parallel his sufferings with our Saviour's."—Book xi. 153.

‡ *Ibid.* 55.

omitted in the relation forementioned. All the while I stood in the pillary, I thought myself to be in heaven, and in a state of glory and triumph, if any such state can possibly be on earth. My rejoycing and glorying was so great all the while that I can no more expresse it, then Paul could his ravishments in the third heaven.*

On passing through Coventry, in his way to the place of his imprisonment, he said to some friends, "I have cause to blesse God more for this suffering then for all outward blessings in the world, and I account this to be one great part of my happinesse, that I have now cast off that yoke of the prelates under which I had so long groaned; but I promise you, said I, it did cling and cleave so close to my neck, that I could not shift it off, but that it shaved off mine ears."† He might have cast off the yoke in a different way. He need not have set at nought his vows by renouncing the practices of the church while he continued to eat her bread. He might have retired from his living; but like some modern martyrs he was anxious to suffer publicly. That he bore his cruel sufferings with most extraordinary courage is manifest; but probably Fuller's remarks may be viewed as applicable to the case. "Of such," says he, "who *measured his minde by his words*, some conceived his *carriage farre above*: others (though using the same scale) suspected the same to be somewhat *beside himself*."‡

We shall presently have occasion to contrast the language used by Burton respecting his sufferings, with his remarks on the death of the archbishop. In the preceding extracts we find him assuming the meekness and patience of the lamb. We shall shortly see the malice of a fiery persecutor. Burton, however, was most expert at quoting scripture authority for all his acts, and in applying passages somewhat blasphemously to his own circumstances. In his book on "The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets," he applies the following passage to the circumstances attending the publication of that book for which his punishment was inflicted: "*and when they have finished their testimonie, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomlesse pit shall make war against them and shall overcome them and kill them, &c.*" The following is Burton's application:—

"Thus when these *two witnesses have finished their testimony*, the beast sets upon them, and kills them. And here let me give you a most remarkable instance wherein God is the more glorified. Which at that very time, when it was done, was observed by some neighbour ministers in London. Only this I deprecate, that none doe impute unto me any vain humour of glorying, as

* Narration, 13.

† Narration, 14.

‡ Fuller, book xi. 155.

if I made mysele one of those witnesses, such an honour I assume not to myself. Only I crave leave to relate a truth. I having been shut up in my own house, by the prelates pursuivants daily and hourly watching for mee at my gates, the space of almost two moneths, in which time, notwithstanding their continual rapping and ringing, I was a compiling my book of two sermons, which I had preached in my church the fifth of November, and fitting it for the press, that so it might be a testimony to all the world of that truth, which I had therein delivered: the which *testimony*, as also my *Apologie for my Appeale*, being now finished, and fully printed, and some books for the king and councell bound up and brought unto me, the same day at night (and not before) came from the lord of London, then lord treasurer, a serjeant at arms with a number of pursuivants, &c., and with great violence assaulted my doors and brake them open, and so came and seized on my body, sitting, with my family, in my gowne and making no resistance at all. This I thought not unfit to be noticed as not altogether impertinent to this prophecie, to which this example may seem to have some correspondence." He proceeds to remark, that the war alluded to in the text, to which he refers, commences not until the two witnesses have finished their testimony. And then he adds: "Not all the beast's hundred eyes, not all his quick scented bloodhounds, the pursuivants, for all their vigilant and eagre hunting could find out, or discover, where this testimony (to wit for God and the king) was printed, though they left never a printing house about London unsearched, the Lord in his providence preserving not only my person, but my testimony also, that it should not be prevented, but come forth into the open light."*

This was written during his exile, though not published until after his return. Thus, in the dedication to the House of Commons, he says, "which *idea* I first conceived in my close prison and exile." The work contains many singular passages relative to our author, who evidently regarded himself as a chosen witness for the truth. Nor was this his only production during his exile. Laud published his *conference with Fisher* in the year 1639; and, as if no good thing could come out of Nazareth, Burton set himself to assail this work as hostile to the truth. In 1640 he published an answer to Laud, in which he rails not a little at the archbishop.† The work was anonymous; and it would seem, that the authorship was not at first known. It is, however, singular that Heylin should have been ignorant of the author's name, when he published the life of the archbishop.

* The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets, &c., 50, 51, 52.

† A Replie to a Relation of the Conference between William Laude and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite. By a Witnesse of Jesus Christ. 4to. Imprinted 1640.

Thus he says: "And when no priest nor jesuite could be found so confident as to venture on an answer to it, one of the *Presbyterian Scots* (for such he was then generally affirmed to be) published an unlicensed piece against him, under the title of *A Reply, &c.* In the whole course whereof the author, whosoever he was, most miserably perverts his words, and mistakes his meaning, wresting the most orthodox and innocent truths to his wicked ends, and putting his own corrupt gloss and sense upon them."*

Burton avows himself the author in two of his subsequent publications. In "*The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets*," in 1641, alluding to his condemnation of prelacy, he says, "As in the Reply to the Prelates Relation, the author hath clearly proved."† And in his "Narration" he gives a somewhat minute account of the manufacture of the book, regarding its publication as an intervention of Divine Providence. Pen, ink, and paper, were denied him in his imprisonment, yet he contrived to obtain them. "Through His good providence I had an arte to make inke, and for pennes I had goose wings, which were to sweep the dust off my windowe, and for paper, a private friend in Guernsey towne supplied me, for all the strict watch and ward that was kept about me by my keeper: in the use of all these I was so wary, that while any was coming up the staires, I had time to convey all away, that never any of my keepers could see either pen, ink, or paper, in my chamber. By this meanes, through God's merciful assistance, I writ the Reply to the Relation, which being finished, I sent away for England, by the foresaid private friend." He also wrote a "Supply to the Reply," which was not printed. "The Reply," he says, "did very hardly escape the bishops beagles, hunting it up and downe, while it was a printing; but the same Providence which preserved and produced that *for God and the king*, preserved this also, and brought it forth to light."‡

Some instances of the gross self-delusion under which Burton laboured, are to be found in the *narration* of his life. We have seen his readiness to apply prophecies to himself; and we select the following as an instance of turning his dreams to account. "Another dream I had in the Fleet, which was, that sundry friends being at dinner with me, I saw a fox coming downe behinde them, and watching to snatch away their victuals; whereupon I espying a book lying neere at hand, took it up and flapt it upon the fox, taking him by the neck with my right hand, and holding him up aloft, and saying to the company, Loe, here is the fox that would cousen us all of our victuals. The book was just of the same volume, binding, cover, colour, and bignesse,

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, 339.

† *The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets*, 20.

‡ *Narration*, 22.

that the Archbishop of Canterburie's book was entituled, *A Relation of a Conference*, which I did first see at Guernsey. And when afterwards I saw the Reply to this Relation published in print, what was this but the discovery of the subtle fox to all the company."* In a subsequent page he returns to the subject. "Now concerning the Reply: therein was verified the dream I spake of. The fox proved to be the Archbishop of Canterbury: The book that was flapt upon the lurking fox was Canterburies Relation itselfe retorted upon him. The right hand that held up the fox to shew his fox-like fraud was the right hand that writ the Reply to that foxes Relation, whereby through his cunning sophistry and notorious hypocrisie he thought to have gulled all England of the Gospel, and set up the masse, as the Reply hath plainly discovered." He had given another title to the Reply, "calling it the Uncasing of the Fox: but that I thought a more moderate title would better suit with the fury of those times."†

Burton's character may be estimated from these passages. In modern times he would have been treated as an enthusiast; but in those days it was the policy with all parties to suppress all opposition as far as possible. However, the reader will perceive, that Burton was the very man to court persecution, and then to glory in his sufferings, as though they were undergone for the glory of God, and not for the gratification of his own vanity.

In the Reply to Laud, Burton speaks frequently of himself, writing anonymously. He could not avoid an allusion to his censure in the Star Chamber. "Of these *THREE remarkable bitter men*, one was a minister of your own coat, saving that his was not of the scarlet-coloured dye."‡ He asks in another place: "Could not you see, that he was extraordinarily rayased up by God and by him extraordinarily assisted, both in his sermons, and in his book, and in his free and undaunted spirit in his *appearance* and *answer* before so many terrible ones in that court, and in that *fiery triall* in the pillory, and other tryalls, wherein he carryed himself from the first to the last with that constant magnanimity, that he seemed rather a *triumphant* than a *patient*."§ It will be remembered, that Burton stated in the Star Chamber, that he was not the writer of the News from Ipswich. He returns to the subject in this volume. "This is one of your marks, although (as I said before, and as I have it by very credible intelligence) he was not the author of it."||

Having called the persecutions of himself and others lawless, he exclaims, addressing Laud, "Lawlesse, indeed, wherein thou outstrippest the *persecutions* of *Stephen Gardiner* and *Edmund Bonner*, who had a law for what they did, but thou hast none. O

* Narration, 18.

‡ A Reply to a Relation, &c., 4.

† Ibid. 22, 23.

§ Ibid. 16.

|| Ibid. 186.

what punishments in hell shall be sufficient for these things."* Again: "My Lord, what have you to do with the saints *faith*, except that you endeavour to destroy it? Or with those saints, except to *persecute* and root them out? Or would you make us believe that you are one of those saints? Certainly, then you must become another gatesman. Your tyranny, your hypocrisie, your superstitions, your persecutions, your reconciliation with Rome must be utterly abandoned."† Elsewhere he says: "The pride of your heart cannot so easily be hid, as that you need wish, with *Momus*, if there were a glasse window in your brest, for men to look in and see it. Alas, though the glaring light of it blind your own eyes, that you cannot see it yourselfe: yet, any other that is but purblind, may, through the glasse or spectacles of this your book, see the monstrous and multifarious shape of it, had they not seen it before expressed in the capital characters of your most insolent, and all daring practises. And that you yet see it not, there is not a more infallible argument or signe of a more monstrous *proud heart*, which is ever self-blinded."‡

Laud in his book beseeches God to be merciful to him: "in which God, for Christ's sake, be mercifull to me, who knows that, however in many weaknesses, yet I have with a faithfull and single heart (bound to his free grace for it) laboured the meeting, the blessed meeting of truth and peace in his church." With malice almost fiendlike, Burton chooses to interpret this of a union with Rome. "O shameless hypocrisie! O blasphemous wretch," says he; and in the margin adds: "Blasphemy of the prelate against God's free grace, as if that had been the author of all his wicked practices." Then he adds a most impious prayer. "O God, thou searcher of all hearts, behold this blasphemous wretch, calling thee for a witnesse of his notorious and perfidious false heart, and ascribing it to thy free grace, as the moving and helping cause of all his impious practises. O Lord, be not mercifull to any wicked transgressor, that dare thus desperately take thy sacred name in vaine, and make thy grace the father of his gracelesse actions. Seest thou not, O thou all-seeing and all-avenging God, how this man hath been a prime instrument of oppressing thy word?"§

It is almost inconceivable, that a man, professing the Gospel of Christ, should vent such horrid and blasphemous imprecations. Such a man would have visited Laud with punishments far beyond the inflictions of the Star Chamber. Yet all is uttered under the plea of doing service to God. In another place Burton says: "For my part, though I would not joyne in *prayer* with such a *profane hypocrite*, as you are, and an enemy of *Jesus Christ* and

* Ibid. 23.

† Ibid. 110.

‡ Ibid. 396.

§ Ibid. 403.

his truth, yet my dayly prayer is, and shall be, that God would more and more let the King see how miserably he is abused, and the peace and safety of his kingdome distracted, and endangered, both by the late violent practises, and now by the publishing of such a pernicious book as this, so notoriously perillous, or rather most pernicious.”*

Before we quit Burton's Reply, another passage may be quoted, as an illustration of the practice in Laud's time with respect to the use of the surplice. Laud had said, speaking of ceremonies: “*Too many overburthen the service of God, and too few leave it naked.*” Burton, after various gibes and taunts, says: “As one of your canons provides, that your priest that is not able to have a long gown, may weare a short cloake: so you may doe well to provide, that your ceremonies and *habits* in your service be fitted both to the *persons* and to the *seasons*. For some ceremonies may be tolerable in winter, which are not so fit for summer: as for your priest to administer and preach in his surplice and hood in winter time, is more tolerable, yea and perhaps more useful too, as keeping both his corps and cold sermon that hath never a *soule*, nor any heat of *zeale* in it, warme from freezing. But, in summer time, to administer and preach with surplice and hood, 'tis enough to stifle any man, especially if he be a *fat* parson.”†

Burton was not without a miracle to cheer him in his exile. Thus he relates certain particulars of what he calls his miraculous rainbow. “There was presented before the window a rainbow, lying flat all along upon the sea, with the two ends close to the shore, and the bow from meward.” He says it filled him with wonder, “because it did not, as ordinary rainbows, stand upright, but lay flat upon the sea.” “Whereby it plainly appeared to be no natural and ordinary rainbow, but supernatural and miraculous.” Again: “I was persuaded that God had sent this rainbow to me for some special use.” After considering what he calls the “first rainbow,” he asks, “What is this rainbow to that? This is without a cloud, and lies flat upon the sea.” At last he adopted this interpretation. “That as I had sought God for his church that day, and had not received an answer of comfort, and being sad, God thereupon (without any my seeking of a signe) presented before me a miraculous rainbow. I took it to be sent of God, to be a signe, that God he would certainly and miraculously deliver his church, which now lay floating upon the seas of affliction, ready to be swallowed up.” This satisfied him, and he says: “When at any time since I have been disconsolate for the church, I have reflected mine eyes upon my rainbow. I say my rainbow, as having the sole propriety in it, seeing it was seene of

* Ibid. 398.

† Ibid. 100.

none but myself alone.”* He finds a fulfilment of his miracle in the events subsequent to the year 1640. His book was written in 1643; and another and greater deliverance was to come. “I say in part, because the great miraculous deliverance is yet to come.”†

Our author, moreover, was expert in discovering the fulfilment of predictions after the event. He evidently thought himself, or, at all events, chose to insinuate, that he was one of the two witnesses mentioned in the Revelation. “Why should I conceale that speech which I used to some ministers at Coventry, in my passage to Lancaster, who being sad, I said, come, be not sad, for three years and a half hence wee shall meet again and be merry. And truly, reckoning from the 14th day of June, 1637, whereon we were censured in the Star Chamber, it was just three years and a halfe when we returned from exile, even in the last moneth of the three years and a halfe, my selfe being sent for the very first day of that moneth.”‡ This was written in 1641; but he dwells upon the circumstance two years later. “Now the news and order for my enlargement coming to me on the Lords day, I took it as a gracious reward of mercy from God, whose day I had formerly stood for against all the adversaries thereof. Againe, secondly, this day was the 15th day of the month, to wit November, which was the first day of the last month, that made up the three yeares and a halfe from the day of my censure: and so was fulfilled that which I spake before at Coventry, that three years and a half hence we should meet againe and be merry. For June 14, 1637, was my censure, and November 15, 1640, was the first day of the last month that made up three years and a halfe: so as the parliament order calling me forth of prison to be presented before them, seemed to me that great voice from heaven, saying to the two witnesses, after their lying dead three days and a halfe (three years and a halfe) unburied, come up hither.”§

Such a man could put an interpretation on every circumstance however trivial. In his narrative, he compares his sufferings with St. Paul's in *thirteen* particulars. But not content with being equal to the Apostle, he specifies *fourteen* particulars, in which his sufferings exceeded those of St. Paul.|| One of these particulars is very curious. “Twelfthly, Nor did Paul live to know experimentally those sufferings, which Antichrist (foretold by him) should both craftily invent, and cruelly inflict upon God's servants, in these last times; which myself have now lived to see and suffer. Antichrist was then but a cockatrice in the egge; but now he is broke out, and growne to be a great red dragon.”

* Narration, 24, 25.

† Ibid. 26.

‡ The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets, 70.

§ Narration, 38, 39.

|| Narration, 35, 36, 37.

Calamy and the people of Aldermanbury did not fail to notice Burton's presumption in a tract, to which we shall presently refer. Alluding to Burton's justification of himself, they remark ; " Which puts us in minde of a book written by him of his life and sufferings, wherein he is pleased to compare his sufferings with the sufferings of St. Paul, and in many things to prefer his sufferings above Paul's sufferings."^{*}

Very slight incidents were magnified by Burton into very important matters. Thus among the "mighty confusions" which he had seen upon his enemies, he gives the following : " I being with some friends walking in the Tower, one came and told me, that the Archbishop of Canterbury (my proud adversary) as he was going along to the chappell to doe his devotions, was met by one, who told him that I was hard by in the Tower : whereupon the prelate presently returned, hastening to his lodging, least (it seemes) I should meet with him ; who now not brooking to see my face and eares defaced : how shall he look Jesus Christ in the face, whom he hath pierced ; when he shall come in flaming fire, rendering vengeance to all miscreants."[†] Of course Laud was apprehensive of a personal insult, and therefore avoided the meeting, though Burton insinuates that his conduct was an indication of shame and terror.

He also congratulates himself on a miraculous judgment on an individual who looked upon his sufferings as just. A certain attorney ventured to look upon Burton as no martyr. " No sooner had these words passed from him, than his right eare suddenly and strangely fell a bleeding at the lower tip of it." He tells us that the attorney was so dispirited, that he sent for half a pint of sack. Our author adds : " Yet such was this man's spirit, that instead of taking notice of the hand of God therein, he continued cursing, saying, had I not spoken a word against Burton, my eare would have bled ; though he could not show any reason or natural cause why his eare should then bleed, it being whole and sound." We are told further, that when the servant wiped the ear, no mark could be seen, " but a small pore, or hole, no more than a pin's point could goe into. Yet after this, the said attorney had found out a flamme to make Mrs. Monday believe that the cause was by a razor : wherewith he having cut his eare, and at that time rubbing it, it fell a bleeding." This, however, is denied by Burton, because it was the probable cause. He was resolved to have a miracle ; therefore he adds, " For all this shaver's device, he forbore any more to come to Mrs. Monday's house : who asking him at her doore, why he was growne such a stranger, and praying him to come in, he refused, saying, No, I

^{*} The Door of Truth Opened, 2.

[†] Ibid. 30.

will come no more to your house to work miracles.”* The attorney acted a sensible part. Mrs. Monday and her friends were resolved upon a miracle; and the attorney did not choose to argue about Burton.

I have already, in the article on Prynne, alluded to the return of the exiles; and there may be occasion to return to the subject in considering the case of Bastwick in a future number. As the present paper, therefore, will be of considerable length, I need not dwell on Burton’s conduct on his return. The following extract, however, from a contemporary writer, presents such a picture of the period now under review, that I cannot refrain from submitting it to the reader. “Upon their sending for Burton, and Pryn, and Bastwick, and the audacious riots and tumults attending their return to London without controll, the faction took such encouragement (having found their strength in the House of Commons) in their contempt of the priest, that a divine in his habit could not walke the streets of London without being reproached in every corner, by name of *Baals* Priest, Popish Priest, Cæsars Friend, and the like scoffings: nor durst parishioners show their wonted love toward their spiritual father; nay, scarce durst they come to hear him preach, without hazard of being accounted a *malignant*, if he were so conscientious as not to change his religion, (as these sectaries would have him.)”†

As Burton viewed Laud as his great enemy, he had his full revenge in his death. Yet this even did not satisfy his malice: for, like some others, he laboured, after the archbishop’s death, to exhibit him to the world in the most execrable colours. I have previously given instances of extraordinary malevolence towards Laud; and Burton did not fall behind the most virulent of the archbishop’s detractors. Laud’s conduct, as I have remarked in another paper, struck terror into his enemies, who were apprehensive that the people would regard him as an innocent man, and consequently view his death as a murder. Burton, therefore, performed his part in labouring to blacken the memory of the archbishop, and to render him odious to posterity. Indeed, we can scarcely contemplate the conduct of this *pretended* preacher of peace without horror. Not only did he glory in his death, but he set himself, with the most determined malice, to paint him as a man of the very worst character.

After Laud was in his grave, Burton published “The Grand Impostor Unmasked: or a Detection of the Notorious Hypocrisy and Desperate Impiety of the late Archbishop, so styled of Canterbury; cunningly couched in that written copy which he read on the scaffold at his execution.” The following passages, taken

* Narration, 50, 51.

† Persecutio Undecima, 21.

from various parts of the work, will display the character of Henry Burton in its true light. Alluding to his own sufferings, he says : " He little dreamed then, that such a pillory could in the space of seven years, grow to such a bulk as whereof to hew out and erect a scaffold on the Tower Hill, where himself should lose his head for others ears." " By this time, himself knows sufficiently, with what eye he looked unto Jesus, as whom he finds a just judge ; and punisher of that faith of his, which was none other than that of Babylon, as the reader may see at large in my Reply to his Relation of a Conference." " He finds not in his false heart any true cause of death ; but we find it in his hands. But, however, he chargeth nothing upon his judges : that is well : for never had traitor fairer play." " He closes all with a ' Lord, receive my soul to mercy ;' adding, Our Father, &c. Now, what hath an impenitent, hard-hearted hypocrite to do with mercy ? The Reply to the Relation hath set him forth in his colours long before : prophesying of his cursed end, which we see now fulfilled." " This is that Canterburian arch-prelate, in his life-time heir-apparent to the Popedom : subtle, false, treacherous, cruel, carrying two faces under one hood : Satan's second child, who ever is the first : as hard to speak truth as to do good, or to repent of any evil as his father the devil : an inveterate adversary to Christ and all true Christians : an underminer of the civil state : a traitor to his country : wilfully damning his own soul to save the credit of his cursed cause : and, therefore, worthy to have died the ancient death of persecutors, or traitors, which the ancient Romans used—to be sewed up in a culleus, or leather sack, and cast into the water."*

Could a man under the influence of Christian principles write in such a strain of any individual ? He even asserts that no one ever had " fairer play ;" and yet there was no law under which to convict Laud ; and, therefore, the Long Parliament sent him to the scaffold by an ordinance. Admitting, for argument's sake only, that Laud was the prime mover in the sufferings of Burton, was the alleged cruelty in the case of the three sufferers to be compared with that which is displayed in the preceding extracts ? They breathe a spirit of revenge, which is quite diabolical ; so that it is not possible to regard the man who could display such a feeling, as under the influence of Christian principles. Laud was but one of a body : and, however cruel may have been the inflictions of the Star Chamber, they were sanctioned by law, and were in accordance with the principles of the age. In sending him to the scaffold, his enemies acted contrary to all law, as their own

* Hanbury's Historical Memorials relating to the Independents. Vol. ii. 515, 517, 519, 527, 529. In this instance I have quoted from Mr. Hanbury, not having a copy of the original tract.

ordinance proves. As Burton glories in Laud's execution, he has made himself a partaker in the vengeance which was exacted. In Burton's case, the punishment, though very severe, was according to law. The archbishop was only one of the administrators of a system; and, notwithstanding the outcries of the Puritans, it was merciful in comparison of that which they themselves endeavoured to set up in its room.

It is clear that Burton would have inflicted the severest punishment on Laud, for he rejoiced at his death; and his conduct subsequent to his return from exile may be adduced as a fair presumption that he was neither quiet nor meek previous to his sentence in the Star Chamber. He was one of those troubled spirits whom it was necessary to curb; or he would have proceeded to still greater acts of violence. Laud's lot was cast in troublous times. Had Archbishop Abbot survived, Burton would have been the same turbulent individual, and his conduct would still have compelled the most lax and careless prelates to put him under restraint. In the present day, indeed, such a man, enjoying the fullest toleration, would soon sink down into insignificance. It is by opposition that such men flourish. But at that time the idea of a toleration was repudiated as dangerous to the very existence of religion.

Prone as Burton was to attack bishops, it might have been supposed that Hall would have escaped his censure; but it would appear that, in his estimation, a prelate must necessarily be opposed to the truth. Bishop Hall had published a book of great value, "*The Old Religion*," in which he admitted, that the Church of Rome was, notwithstanding her manifold errors and corruptions, a true church. This position was attacked by Burton, in his work on the "*Seven Vials*," as unsound and dangerous. Two persons, Butterfield and Chomley, came forward in defence of the bishop. The former has some passages which, as enabling us to understand Burton's character, may be quoted. "Thus M. Burton, lest the bishop by his divine eloquence, and accurate speech, should prevaile too farre with his readers, strikes first at that by disgrace, terming it finenesse of wit, and quaint rhetoricke: little hurting his adversarie thereby, but singularly dishonouring Almighty God." Burton was sensible of the bishop's eloquence; and therefore set himself to disparage it. Butterfield remarks: "Those irreproveable labours which the present age admireth, and posteritie shall rather envie than equall, that admirable facultie wherewithall the Author of everie good gift hath blessed our most heavenly prelate above all the sonnes of men, all is blowne away with a puffe, as if it were nothing but froth; and to what end, but to elevate his authoritie, and by bringing his person into disesteeme, to enervate his writings. This is the artifice wherewithall

some men at once doe thrust out others, and worke themselves into the estimation of the common people." The prediction respecting Hall's writings has been verified. Posterity has done him justice: while Burton, by his attack, damaged his own reputation.

Accustomed as Burton was to controversy, and disappointed in his expectations of rising in the church, his temper was evidently soured, so that even his friends were somewhat ashamed of his violence. Something of this kind may be traced in the following passage. "Mee thinkes I could feele his pulse, though I never saw his face, and tell you his temper: but because some reverend friends of mine have a good opinion of him for his honesty, though not for his discretion, for their sakes I spare him."* Of Burton's mode of treating his subject, Butterfield observes: "The subject of his discourse is the pouring out of the seven vialls: wherein, as if St. John in the spirit of prophecie had foreseen the errour of our most worthy prelate, and designed M. Burton for one of the seven *angells*, he powreth out the second viall wholly upon him; with how good successe, let the event decide."†

The bishop published his "*Reconciler*" for the purpose of setting himself right against the attack. He thus illustrates his position: "In the same sense, therefore, that we say the Devill is a true (though false) spirit: that a cheater is a true (though false) man, wee may and must say, that the church of Rome is a true (though false) church."‡ In this work the bishop gives several letters from the most eminent divines of the day, all agreeing with him in the position which Burton assailed. Among the individuals to whom the bishop applied, are Prideaux, the Professor of Divinity in Oxford, and Primerose, the minister of the French church in London. Now Prideaux is usually regarded as a Puritan, though a very moderate one; and he contends that the bishop's view was that which had been held by all our divines since the Reformation. Burton replied to Butterfield in his *Babel no Bethel*.

Thus we find Burton attacking Laud for alleged cruelty and popery, and Hall for heresy. Is it not probable that the charge in the case of the latter is as likely to be true as in that of the former? The man who would attack Hall, on such grounds, is not entitled to much consideration in any charges, which he may accumulate.

* *Maschil*: or a Treatise to give Instruction touching the state of the Church of Rome since the Council of Trent, whether she be yet a true Christian Church. And if she have denied the foundation of our faith. For the Vindication of the Right Reverend Father in God, the L. Bp. of Exeter, from the cavills of H. B. in his Book intituled the *Seven Vialls*. By Robert Butterfield, Master of Arts, and Minister of God's Word. London: 1629. 8vo. 77, 78, 130.

† *Ibid.* 77.

‡ *The Reconciler*, &c. London: 1629. 8vo. 8, 9.

In previous papers, we have seen something of the spirit by which Laud's enemies were actuated in hastening him to the block. Their conduct, too, after his death has been noticed. And we perceive, that Burton was one of those violent incendiaries, by whom the people were spurred on to call for his execution. Isaac Walton tells a strange tale on this melancholy subject. "About this time the Bishop of *Canterbury* having been by an unknown law condemned to die, and the execution suspended for some days, many of the malicious citizens, fearing his pardon, shut up their shops, professing not to open them till justice was executed. This malice and madness is scarce credible; but I saw it."* And alluding to Laud's speech on the scaffold, he says: "He seemed to accuse the magistrates of the City, for suffering a sort of wretched people, that could not know why he was condemned, to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, *that the parliament would hasten his execution.*"† That Burton was backward on that occasion, to push the people forward, no one who peruses the preceding pages can reasonably doubt.

But Burton, even after Laud's death, could not live in peace with his own friends. Having commenced his ministerial life as a son and defender of the Church of England, he complied with the Presbyterians, when he renounced Episcopacy. Yet Presbytery could not retain him. As soon as Episcopacy was abolished, and the Presbyterians were elated with the prospect of their own discipline in all its glory, a new party sprang up in their own ranks, by whom Presbytery was renounced as an evil of no less magnitude than the rule of the bishops. Burton being ever an agitator, fell in with this party; and, therefore, was at issue even with his two colleagues in suffering, Prynne and Bastwick. Nor could he sit down quietly, enjoying his own liberty; but he must enter afresh into the field of controversy in defence of Independency. We find him, therefore, early in the lists of the controversialists in favour of the newly-broached system. It is curious to find Burton engaged in a controversy with Prynne, his old friend and fellow-exile, to whom he dedicates his book. "My deare brother and late companion in tribulation," he commences. Prynne had written a book in defence of Presbytery. To this Burton replies, because it was Prynne's. "Had not the book had your name in the front, my stomach had not stooped so low, as to take it up or downe." Still he approaches Prynne in a milder form than usual. "Surely as an antagonist against you, I come not, but in the bowels of a brother."‡

* Walton's Lives. Major's Ed. 393.

† Ibid. 405.

‡ A Vindication of Churches commonly called Independent: or a Briefe Answer to Two Books: the one, intituled, *Twelve considerable serious questions touching*

Burton does not give a very flourishing account of the state of religion at the time, even though almost all the Episcopal clergy had been cast out, and their places were supplied by the Puritan or Presbyterian party. "England," says he, "is generally ignorant of the mystery of Christ's kingdom." "If the people have not heard of Christ thus a king, no nor to this day in most congregations of England doe heare, or understand anything of Christ's kingly office over consciences and churches, as whereupon a right reformation doth principally depend: how can such a reformation be speedily set up, when the preaching up of Christ's kingdome is altogether silent, as if ministers mouths were not yet freed from their old muzzle?" So that he was as dissatisfied now as he had been under the domination of the prelates. Prynne had quoted certain texts in favour of Presbytery. Burton replies, "Alas, brother, these very Scriptures our prelates abused to maintain their unlimited liberty of setting up their rites and ceremonies, as suteable to the civill government, which absurdity I have fully repelled in my *Reply to Canterburies Relation*."*

It would appear that Burton saw clearly the character of Presbytery. "Good brother," says he, "let's not have any of *Dracons* laws executed upon innocents. And remember how not long agoe the prelates served us: we could not have the benefit of law, of appeale, no exemption from bloud-letting, and eare-cropping, and pillorying, &c. And shall wee now turne worse persecutors of the saints, then the prelates were?"† Nor was his opinion of a Presbyterian incumbent different from that which he had entertained of the Episcopal. "He is very meanly gifted now-a-days, that will be wooed and won to take a benefice under a hundred or six score pounds. And brother, why should godly ministers indeed be yoked with such earth-wormes and mammonists as are in some parishes, and as some of your Presbyterian combinations would necessitate us unto?"‡

On the subject of toleration Burton was improved, though he had no mercy for bishops. "For any man's conscience, be it never so erroneous, as that of papists, yet certainly the conscience of such simply considered in itselfe, nor you, nor any man hath any thing to doe, further than to instruct and admonish: inforce it you may not. But shall we tolerate popery, and so idolatry? I answer, it is one thing to tolerate popery and idolatry publicly, in a land, and another to tolerate a man in his conscience. Magistrates may not tolerate open popery to be set up; but the conscience of a papist, they are no masters, or judges of."§

Church-Government: the other, Independency Examined, Unmasked, Refuted, &c. Both lately published by William Prinne of Lincolnes Inne Esquire. By Henry Burton, a brother of his, and late companion in tribulation. London: 1644. 4to.

* Ibid. 2, 6, 7.

† Ibid. 15.

‡ Ibid. 21.

§ Ibid. 39.

Prynne was driven, in defence of the new system of Presbytery, to say, "that none of us three brethren sufferers suffered for opposing bishops legall authority, or any ceremonies by Act of Parliament established." Burton replies, "here brother give me leave to answer for myself: first, for all manner of *ceremonies of humane ordinance*, imposed upon the conscience in the worship of God, I openly, for the space of almost a twelvemonth, immediately before my troubles, preached against them every Lord's day."* For nearly twelve months, therefore, Burton, by his own confession, was left to himself. It is strange that he did not perceive that he ought to have quitted his living when he could not comply with the requirements of the church. He imagined that he might oppose the laws of the church, and yet remain in his post. It is, moreover, curious to find him talking of human ordinances, as if all the ceremonies adopted by the Independents were sanctioned by the divine law.

A controversy of a more bitter kind was carried on with Calamy. For Prynne, as a fellow-sufferer, Burton entertained some feeling of affection: for Calamy he had no such feeling. He was excluded from a lecture in Aldermanbury church, and Burton rushed to the press to vindicate his cause. Some of his words were interpreted by the clerk as savouring of Independency. "Tales were carried the same day to Mr. Calamy by his officious clerke." The next day Calamy alluded to Burton's sermon, lamenting the separation of some, while the Parliament and Assembly were engaged in the work of reformation: "That while a house is a purging, men should separate from the defilement, and not wait to see what the purging will be." Burton had taken a morning lecture every alternate week, but before the next lecture day the sexton informed him that the churchwardens had taken away the keys, and that he was not to preach there again. On the morning of the lecture the churchwardens called on our author with a message from Calamy, that the closing of the doors was not with his knowledge, and that he had his consent to preach provided he would not preach "of those things." An interview took place, at which Calamy, after some conversation, alleged other charges against Burton; and in the end they separated, as our author says, "without hope of having the doors unlocked." It appears that some misunderstanding had existed before between these two bustling men: for Burton says, "I wondered what spirit haunted those walls, that so few people came to heare me in that place; when as in any other place I had a full audience."†

* Ibid. 72.

† Truth Shut out of Doores: or a Briefe and True Narrative of the Occasion and Manner of Proceeding of some of Aldermanbury Parish in shutting their church

The reply was somewhat sharp. Alluding to the title, the writers say: "In which title M. Burton doth seem to assume to himself the name of *truth*, and to make the *shutting* of *him* out of doors to be the *shutting* of *truth* out of doors; which how fit it is for any humble and self-denying minister to speak of himself, we leave it to the reader to judge."* Calamy's name is not in the title of this work; but he was probably the principal, if not the sole author, though it was put forth in the name of the church of Aldermanbury. However, the writer, or writers, do not spare Independency. "It is taken for granted that the shutting of *Independency* out of doors, is the *shutting* of *truth* out of doors." "An opinion is not a *truth*," they observe, "because M. Burton says it is. Bold and confident assertions may work upon those that have men's persons in admiration; but a wise understanding Christian will consider not so much who speaks, nor the confidence of him that speaks, as the weight and strength of the arguments upon which his confidence is grounded." "Let not M. Burton assume such a high measure of confidence to himself, as to make his judgment and the *truths* of *God* to be *terms convertible*. The world is too wise to believe any such thing. And many will say that this is *self-worship* and *self-idolatry*."† It was denied that Calamy had spoken of separating from *the defilements*, as Burton had asserted; and the writers remark, that he need not wonder at the small congregations when he preached at Aldermanbury, for that "it was the *spirit of error* that haunted them and drove them away."

Burton was soon in the field with another pamphlet, in which he insinuates that Calamy was the author of *The Door of Truth Opened*, though it was issued in the name of a body. "Who will be the man that will own the book for his? I dare not, I cannot say: for I cannot bring legal witnesses that saw him write it, although I heard both a man and a woman crying in the streets, Buy Mr. Calamies Answer to Mr. Burton. Only this I may say, find me a man that hath the quintessence of fine wit, of a close conveyance, of a vafrous subtilty, of a smooth tongue and sharp teeth,

doores against me. Published for the clearing of the truth from false reports, and more especially for the satisfaction of those worthy underwriters who chose me to performe that Catechistical Lecture, to whom I ought to give a just account of my carriage therein. By Henry Burton. London: 1645. 4to. This is a tract of four leaves.

* *The Door of Truth Opened: or a Brief and True Narrative of the Occasion how Mr. Henry Burton came to shut himself out of the church doors of Aldermanbury: Published in answer to a Paper, called Truth Shut Out of Doors: for the Vindication of the Minister and People of Aldermanbury, who are in that Paper most wrongfully and unjustly charged: and also for the undeceiving of the Underwriters, and of all those that are misinformed about this businesse. In the name, and with the consent of the whole Church of Aldermanburie. London: 1645. 4to.*

† *Ibid.* 3.

of boldnesse to calumniate, and shamelesnesse to utter falsehood, and such must needs be the pen-man of the pamphlet.”* In this reply, Burton makes certain declarations respecting Calamy’s conduct in earlier times, by way of contrast with his own: “I have not, under pretence of enjoying my ministry, abased myselfe to the superstitious innovations of the prelates, and thereby caused many, both ministers and people, through my example to fall into the same snare.”† Elsewhere, referring to the same subject, he says: “But you will say you have repented: would God it were *a repentance not to be repented of*. For were it so, how could the old spirit of bondage still remaine, only turned into the spirit of domination?” And such as now glory most in their new reformation, were they not among the very last that held up the Service-Book as loth to lay it downe till very shame left it.”‡ Alluding to Calamy, Burton says: “he tells me I have not beene many years of this judgment. And I believe the like of you for your Presbytery. You may read over againe the Narration of my Life: yet for all this, my independent Presbytery (as you call it) is senior to your dependent Presbytery.”

It is remarkable so soon after Laud’s death, against whom these men were united, to find them quarrelling with, and reproaching each other. As long as the Archbishop survived, he was the mark at which their arrows were aimed; but when he was removed out of the way, these old friends began to contend with one another.

Burton’s Reply called forth Calamy in his own person.§ He charges Burton with passion: “A man not only of like passions with others, but made up all of passion: and that whosoever will contend with him shall be loaded with dirt, rather than with arguments.”—“Scarce any man since Montague’s Appeale hath written with more bitterness.”|| Calamy gives some curious information respecting Burton’s early life, and as the particulars were not denied, their truth can scarcely be questioned. “Mr. Burton may remember that there was a time when he did *abase* himself to the superstitions of the bishops, as *hundreds* in this city can witness. And when he was appointed by a prelate to satisfie the consciences of some that did scruple that wicked oath, *Ex*

* Truth still Truth though Shut out of Doors. Or a Reply to a late Pamphlet entituled the Doore of Truth Opened: Published in the name, and with the consent of the whole Church of Aldermanburie. With some Animadversions upon a late Letter of the Ministers of London to the Reverend Assembly against Toleration. By Henry Burton. London: 1645. I.

† Ibid. 5.

‡ Ibid. 8, 9.

§ A Just and Necessary Apology against an unjust Invective, published by Mr. Henry Burton in a late Book of his, entituled, Truth still Truth, though Shut out of Doors. By Edmund Calamy, B.D., and Pastour of Aldermanbury. London: 1646. 4to.

|| Ibid. 2.

Officio, which he did endeavour to doe, as I am credibly informed. All which I relate to shew that that which he saith of himself is not true, and what little cause he hath to accuse others for things done 12 years agoe, that not many years before was guilty of as bad things himself.* He calls upon Burton to "ask his own conscience how far in former times he hath *been guilty of that which he accuseth in others.*" Alluding to Burton's remark respecting his repentance, he says: "The plain *English* of these words is this, that none ever repented of their conformity to *Pre-laticall* innovations, but *Independents.*" Calamy gives us a curious picture of those singular times in the following passage: "But I perceive by this very passage, that let the Presbyterian ministers meet never so often to humble themselves by Prayer & Fasting for their former conformity (as they have often done) yet, if they will not turn *Independents*, they must still be accounted amongst the number of those that have been vassals to Antichrist." Various particulars are given: "I went to Bury, and there made in a sermon a *recantation* and *retractation* of what I had done in the hearing of thousands. And this I did before the times turned against Episcopacy, not out of discontent, nor because I was disappointed of my expected preferment at court. Secondly, after my cumming to London I was one of those that did joyn in making *Smectymnus*, which was the first deadly blow to Episcopacy in England. Thirdly, my house was a receptacle to godly ministers in the worst of times: here was the remonstrance framed against the prelates: here were all meetings."†

There is evidently a fling at Burton on his leaving the court, and becoming an agitator. It was said that his disappointment made him an enemy to bishops. This charge is indirectly confirmed by Calamy. But after all, what a sad picture have we presented to our view of those sad times! Two men reproach each other for their former conformity: and then they labour to show what services they had rendered in the opposition to Episcopacy. Yet Calamy at the Restoration would have been content with bishops. Nay, he would have conformed, if a few concessions had been granted to save his former reputation. *Smectymnus* was a most dishonest performance, since it was written by men who had sworn canonical obedience to bishops; and yet Calamy boasts of his concern in that publication. These were the men who traduced Archbishop Laud after they had sent him to the block!

Calamy gives another piece of secret history in replying to Burton's charge of continuing the Service Book: "Let M. Burton know, that at a meeting at my house, it was resolved by

* Ibid. 5.

† Ibid. 9.

above a hundred ministers, after a long debate, that all that could in their judgments submit to the reading of some part of it, should be intreated for a while to continue so to doe. To this our Dissenting brethren then present did agree, and one of them made a speech to manifest his concordance. This is enough to give any man satisfaction for the late laying of it down."* The truth is, that Calamy and his brethren only intended some changes in the Book of Common Prayer, until the aid of the Scots became necessary to enable them to subdue the king: and then the Covenant took the place of the Liturgy, and they became Presbyterians.

The last sentence is a severe censure upon Burton, and looks very much like a justification of his sufferings under the sentence of the Star Chamber. "If he would be accounted as a *confessour* and *martyr*, let him not expose my good name to martyrdom, and therein make me a *martyr* and himself a *persecutour*: for it will alwaies be accounted as great a persecution to be *branded* in our *good names*, and *stigmatized for idolaters* and time-servers, &c., to all posterity, by *M. Burton's pen*, as to be *pillosed and lose our ears* by an *Episcopal hand*." This is plain speaking. Calamy regards Burton in the light of a persecutor—even a greater persecutor than the Archbishop of Canterbury. That the judgment is just, though made by another persecutor, must be evident to those who consider Burton's career. Such an acknowledgment from a Presbyterian is not a little singular.

Burton did not survive this controversy with Calamy very long; for his death took place in the year 1647, though Wood intimates that he survived his old master, Charles I. He was buried on the 7th of January, 1647-8.† "Afterwards seeing what strange courses the great men at Westminster took, he grew more moderate, notwithstanding he was an Independent, and lived, as I conceive, till they took off his old master's head."‡ Wood was mistaken respecting the time of his death, as the preceding date will show: nor was he less in error in speaking of his moderation. At all events, the Presbyterians did not regard him as more moderate in his latter days, at least if we can depend on the testimony of Calamy. His character is thus summed up by Granger:—"Henry Burton, because he could not arrive at such a height of preferment in the church as he aspired to, conceived an implacable hatred against the church itself. He wrote and preached against the hierarchy, and the administration, with all the spleen of disappointed ambition."§ From this decision few will dissent, if they will duly consider the evidence adduced in the preceding

* Ibid. 11.

† Biog. Brit.

‡ Wood, II. Fasti, 349. Bliss's ed.
§ Granger, ii. 192.

pages, derived not merely from the works of others, but from his own confessions or admissions. The special object of his hatred was Laud, because he imagined that the Archbishop thwarted his schemes for his advancement in the church. He charged the Archbishop with Popery, which led to his dismissal from the court; and from this time all his bitterness was directed against that prelate as the cause of his disappointment.

The Reply to Laud's Conference with Fisher may be appealed to as an evidence of Burton's malice. The passages already quoted prove, that our author was influenced by most revengeful feelings, which led him to endeavour to blast the reputation of a man whom he regarded as an adversary. Of this book, obnoxious as it is, he was accustomed to boast, as though he had rendered good service, by his attack on Laud, to the cause of truth. Very different has been the verdict of most men since that period: and even at the time some of Laud's opponents allowed him his due share of merit for this work. Sir Edward Deering, a leader in the movement against the Archbishop, says: "His book lately set forth (especially for the latter half thereof) hath muzled the Jesuite, and shall strike the papists under the fifth rib when he is dead and gone. And being dead, wheresoever his grave shall be, Paul's will be his perpetuall *monument*, and his own book his lasting epitaph."^{*} Deering was one of the men who wished for a reform of, but not the destruction of, the Church: and in speaking in Parliament he said many bitter things against Laud. But on reflection, and seeing the tendency of the course of events, he regretted his bitterness: and, by a republication of his speeches, he made some amends, in the remarks by which they were accompanied, for his former violence. Thus, speaking of Laud, he says: "For the Bishop, I professe I did (and do) beare a good degree of personall love unto him, a love unto some parts and qualities which I think him master of. His intent of publike uniformity was a good purpose, though in the way of his pursuit thereof he was extreamly faulty. It is true, the roughnesse of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him: yet would he often (of himself) find wayes and means to sweeten many of them again, when they least looked for it. Lastly, he was alway one and the same man: begin with him at *Oxford*, and so go on to *Canterbury*, he is unmoved, unchanged: he never complied with the times, but kept his own stand, untill the times came up to

* I have a copy of Laud's Conference, in the original binding, which was once in the possession of Sir Edward Deering. The volume is splendidly bound, and has Deering's autograph on the fly-leaf. It was presented to one of his friends, whose name is also written by Deering. This slight circumstance shows that Deering really valued Laud's book, or he would not have bound this volume in a superior style in order to present it to a friend.

him. He is not now in a condition to be flattered, nor was I ever so low to use it."* Surely this testimony is of more value, in estimating the character of Laud, than the assertions and charges of his deadly enemies. His traducers of his own age were all men of a changeable nature. They changed their opinions with the times on many important points. Burton was first a defender of the hierarchy; next a Presbyterian; and lastly an Independent. Laud was ever the same man. He was no time-server. The conduct of the men who suffered under his rule, both in hunting him to death and then labouring to blast his reputation, not only indicated a feeling of revenge on their part, but it shows that they would have exercised even greater severity in imposing their own system on others. The following passage from, on such a subject, a most unprejudiced authority, though applied to the Church of England, may with equal justice be applied to Laud and his so-called martyrs: "I am very sorry that I must confess that all parties among us have shewed, that as their turn came to be uppermost, they have forgot the same principles of moderation and liberty which they all claimed when they were oppressed. If it should shew too much ill-nature to examine what the *Presby-*

* A Collection of Speeches made by Sir Edward Dering, &c., in matters of Religion. Some formerly printed, and divers more now added: all of them revised for the vindication of his name, from weake and wilfull calumnie, &c. London: 1642. 4to. 4, 5. This volume was voted to be scandalous by the tyrannical Commons, simply because Deering defended himself from calumny by showing that he never intended the destruction of episcopacy. The following passage may serve as a sample of the reproaches heaped upon him by unprincipled Presbyterians. Speaking of Deering, Vicars says: "Who at the beginning, and for some continuance of this parliament, was well reputed and reported of: but at last brake out into a most virulent opposition of the honourable and pious proceedings of the parliament, which he further most indiscreetly prosecuted by printing and publishing a book of all his former and late speeches. Whereupon the said Sir Edward Deering was call'd to the Bar, sent prisoner to the Tower, cast out of the House, and his said book condemned to be burnt."—*God in the Mount*, 77. Vicars condemns Deering for speaking well of Laud's Conference, "a book most full of pregnant expressions of the said prelates rotten-heartedness." Deering had formerly spoken of burning the Canons of 1640. A writer of the times, in allusion to that proposal, says, he "not long after had those same speeches burned by the publick hangman, himselfe expelled the House, and forced to flie the fury of the people under a priest's coate, and read prayers in a church for a disguise, and become an earnest suitor for a deanery, when he had so railed against deanes and chapters, but missing this preferment turned apostate from the king to those whom himself had called rebels and traytors: yet rejected by them also for his labour, and soone ended his days with grieffe and scorne."—*Persecution Undecima*. Printed in the year 1648. P. 18. Echard alludes to his asking for the deanery, and states that he entered into priest's orders. This is very improbable. He certainly came in to the parliament: but not as an enemy to the king, as is evident from his petition. He died June 23rd, 1644. See Rushworth, vol. ii. part 3, 383, 384. Echard, vol. ii. 513. Echard says, "he ended his days in grief and obscurity." Alluding to his treatment from the parliament, Echard remarks: "Nay, their old friend Sir Edward Deering cou'd not escape their fury, who for not going their full lengths, and publishing his book of speeches, which they thought reflected on some of their friends, was likewise expell'd the House, and sent to the Tower: and the book was ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman."—*Ibid*. 300.

tery did in *Scotland* when the *Covenant* was in dominion, or what the *Independents* have done in *New England*: why may not I claim the same privilege with relation to the Church of *England*, if severities have been committed by her while she bore rule? Yet it were as easy as it would be invidious to show, that both *Presbyterians* and *Independents* have carried the principle of rigour in the point of conscience much higher, and have acted more implacably upon it than ever the Church of *England* has done, even in its angriest fits. So that none of them can much reproach another for their excesses in those matters.* This passage clears Laud of the charge of unheard-of cruelty; for, allowing that the period of his influence was one of the "angry fits" of the Church, and admitting that he was the prime mover in the transactions of those times, we have still the testimony of Burnet, that the rigour exercised upon nonconformists was less than they themselves imposed in the day of their triumph.

THOMAS LATHBURY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

FROUDE'S NEMESIS OF FAITH.†

DEAR SIR,—“The Nemesis of Faith,” which has been talked about, written about, abhorred, lamented, and condemned, again and again, by the so called *religious newspapers* and *Magazines*,—has not, it seems, been fairly examined and sifted as it deserves. Any other such silly and wicked book would have been brauded as well as condemned, and if it so deserved, shown to be false, selfish, and not genuine. The Nemesis has escaped this fate, without meriting its ignominious safety. I propose, therefore, to take advantage,—not an unfair one I hope, of this opportunity,—and show you why it seems to deserve being called an unmanly, selfish, bad book, genuine neither in its title nor its pretended aim.

When a man holding the position which Mr. Froude lately held in the University of Oxford, outrages the society to which he belongs, by sending before the public a book containing either secret or open attack on all that Christian men hold dear in doctrine and belief,—his book is naturally expected to have at least one of two characteristics;—either full, frank, hearty sincerity in all that is treated of and

* Burnet's Collection of Papers. 4to. 1689. 85, 86.

† The Nemesis of Faith, by [the Rev.] J. A. Froude, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

related, or somewhat like fair logical reasoning, inference, and deduction.

We look in vain for either of these in the *Nemesis of Faith*.

It is characterised neither by sincere heartiness of style nor the power of solid argument. The author does not seem to have set before him that which should be the one object of all writing, earnest search for truth. His language is bright, flowery, and poetical, but there is neither consistency nor manliness about it. It may point out defects in the things that be, errors and abuses where men are slow to believe them,—but it strikes upon chords which, if they vibrate at all, do but grate harshly on the ear and on the soul of the reader. *It points to no better way.* It puts forth no claims,—it has no articulate speaking voice. It comes armed with no authority, but such as any miscreant may have who, under the cloak of fair smooth words, approaches to insult and mock you,—or in the dark, and from behind, stabs you as you turn to accost him. It cavils and sneers at much that all good men hold sacred, in words and in a spirit which some wicked men would shrink from as too utterly those of an apostate and a scorner. Even weak-minded men of any, or no faith, would regard such a book as unmanly and selfish, as more like the muttered repinings of a disappointed, discontented man, than the pouring forth of an earnest though troubled spirit searching for the truth. The author would have us form the latter opinion; the former is that which we are insensibly led to adopt. I know little of the personal history of this unhappy author; nor, if it were otherwise, would this be the place to enlarge upon so disagreeable a subject. Not long since I believe he joined himself heart and hand to the party of the great master spirit who was “at the time rising up in Oxford, and drawing all men towards him.”—p. 143.

I know not if he actually became one of those very delectable young gentlemen who acquired the happy name of “Itch-Newmans,” but it seems clear that having gone through the whole round of prescribed duties and devotions, he found them but sounding brass and as a tinkling cymbal. Thence he passes through many and various grades of scepticism, doubt, and infidelity, and at last reaches a state of mind enabling him to write the “*Nemesis of Faith*.”

The goddess Nemesis in the days of “those great kings, patriots, poets, and princes,” of the olden time, spoken of at p. 130, was, we believe, with the permission of her worthy papa and mamma, Jupiter and Necessitas, the dispenser of all good and *evil gifts* to mankind—especially the latter.

Est Dea quem Nemesin dicunt Dea, magna, potensque,
Quæ bona cœlestum concessu cuncta deorum
Possidet.

If she still held office we should almost incline to the belief that she had a hand in bestowing upon us this book, as bearing her name on the title-page, rather than take the word Nemesis in its ordinary sense. From whatever source, however, the evil gift is inflicted on us, and we do well to examine it. The book then commences with a

series of ten letters, written by a young gentleman named Markham Sutherland, in the country, to his friend Arthur,—we believe at college. Then follow some eleven pages of loose, disjointed, unconnected scraps, taken, as well as we can understand them, partly from the *omnium gatherum* in Markham's portfolio, and partly from that of his amiable friend Arthur.

From p. 99 to 162 we have the confessions of a sceptic, to which neither Mr. Thomas Paine, nor the most bigoted of his disciples, would wish to make the least addition.

At the end of this MS. Arthur (whose opinions as well as those of his friend Markham are meant to express, we imagine, the entire body of the author's,) remarks that "he knows not what others may think of it," but to himself "it seemed as if his friend were working round, slowly perhaps, but surely, to a stronger and more real grasp of life."

This closes the third section of our author's work, and his friend coming gradually "to a stronger and more real grasp of life," begins "to find a happiness to which he had been long a stranger."

He is now beside the blue waters of the Lake Como, having rooms "in a small cottage close to the water." Here, far away from poor deluded England, and all its strife of creeds and confessors, the wanderer begins to be happy. Of "the many men so beautiful" they should be neither God's children nor the devil's children, but "children of men," he has but few for neighbours; and none that can forbid or check thought, opinion, or word, in which he may choose to indulge. In what his happiness consisted and what was its fearful termination, we shall hereafter see. Meanwhile, let us examine more closely the contents of each of the four divisions we have named; commenting on what seems worthy of notice as we proceed.

Markham Sutherland, the writer of the decade of letters, is a young gentleman, who, having taken a good degree at Oxford, returns to his father's house with honours thick upon him, but without having chosen a profession. "The three black Graces have been presenting their charms to me," he writes, "but I can't get the apple delivered." His father urges him in vain. He compares him to "a timid boy waiting on the river bank to take his plunge; the longer he stands shivering the harder he finds it." Of this remark Arthur laments the truth, but still chooses not. He has a small independence, and "wishing to be a man, and not a professional man," still delays going out into the world, where alone each man must hammer and forge a character for himself. Markham rejects law and physic as roads to fortune, for in treading either of them "we must learn a dirty lesson, and train our lips into very smooth chicanery, or it is slow enough her wheel will move for us." This is at least complimentary to the physicians and counsellors of our land.

The clergy are disposed of in a no less summary way. As a body they are uninteresting, their only *duty* to patter through two Sunday services, which *duty any one of them* will undertake,—for what, gentle reader?—for Christ's sake as a labour of love, as a neighbourly kindness, as an act of generosity, as a solemn duty?—nothing of the sort. They all are willing to help him who needs, and every man's motive is

one and the same,—“*auri sacra fames*,” mere filthy lucre. For they have “*all aimed at getting livings, not cures of souls*.”

Worthy Markham utterly repudiates and condemns the whole body as a corrupt body, only seeking for that “*which* will keep their wretched bodies living in the comforts they have found indispensable.” Not *one*, no not one among the thousands of hardworking poor clergy of our land who is worthy of any name but a seeker for the precious metals? They are all labourers, not in God’s vineyard, but a kind of spiritual “California.” If this was Markham’s deliberate opinion, and he too felt, bubbling up within, the hunger and thirst after the accursed thing, and feared lest he should sell all he had to become a washer of gold-dust,—then he was right in delaying his choice. Nay more, he was most guilty in ever daring to enter a body of men whom he judged to be so depraved and worldly. Through the remainder of Letter I. Markham murmurs sweetly over the sad condition of the working classes, whose simple ways he loves so much, “that he can say with all his heart he felt himself called to be their teacher.”

But still he delays taking orders.

In Letter II. his reasons for not having obeyed the call appear more fully. Before he can take orders he must, he says, unfeignedly believe “all the canonical writings of the Old Testament.” He supposes that he must believe all these books to have been written by men inspired by God; that whatever is told in them as fact, is fact, and that the books of Psalms and Prophecies were also written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. If these were his only difficulties, he could easily school his reason to meet and overcome them. But alas, Markham “will not, must not, believe that the all-just, all-merciful, all-good God can be such a being as I find him there described.” He cannot believe that God created mankind liable to fall,—laid them in the way of temptation under which He knew they would fall, and then cursed them and all who were to come of them, and all the world for their sakes; jealous, passionate, (we almost tremble to write the words) capricious, revengeful, punishing children for their fathers’ sins, tempting men, or at least permitting them to be tempted into blindness and folly, and then destroying them.” This in Markham’s opinion is the God of the Old Testament, and his true servants were, according to the same history, one strange people of fanatics so hideously cruel that even women and children fell in slaughtered heaps before their swords. He would sooner perish for ever than stoop down before a Being who may have power to crush him, but whom his heart forbids him to reverence.”

Such was Markham’s creed with regard to the Old Testament; and being such, his belief in the New Testament was of course of a like nature. He begins by doubting the reality and eternity of hell, as taught by our Lord and his Apostles. The whole teaching of the New Testament being founded on that of the Old, and belief in the one inseparably connected with belief in the other, Markham soon unfolds more fully his system of faith, or rather, he proceeds to deny, one by one, the chief doctrines of Christianity. It may be as well at once to collect from different pages a summary of his unbelief. P. 17. “I

cannot fear a God who keeps a hell-prison house ; no, not though He flung me there because I refused."

P. 54. It seems difficult to believe that fashionable loungers and ball-going young ladies have immortal souls, which the Son of God came down from heaven to save.

"Oscillating in the temperate inertia of folly," answering no end of God or devil, surely one would think we should *be put out*—i. e., supposing we are all to be kept burning, and to require snuffing.

P. 68. The Catholic doctrine is so great a mystery as to crush him with its bare imagination.

P. 70. Regarding the doctrine of *the atonement* in its human aspect, it seems to him not justice, but seconding the first fault of man "by a greater injustice."

P. 72. That the atoning sacrifice of the cross was predetermined before the world was made, he cannot regard as a revelation, only rendering the hard life enigma tenfold harder.

P. 87, 88. The real aim of the book appears even more fully. The inspiration of the Bible, the doctrine of the Atonement, the fact that all men have souls for which Christ died, having been sneered at or denied, the next step is but a natural one. It is to doubt the divinity of our Saviour, and the belief of the church with regard to Him, His sufferings, trials, temptations, and humility is but trifling with words "*unless He was a man, and but a man.*"

P. 154. The Saviour of the world being a mere man, and his Atonement no atonement, His Gospel no gospel, Markham naturally enough regards the world "not as a world of profligates and pickpockets, thieves and sensualists, but as a world of men and women not all good but better far than bad ; a world of virtue as man's heart regards virtue ;" "a world we cannot enter into without loving it, and yet if we love it we die."

P. 162. He says: "I had said to myself, can it be that God, Almighty God, He the Creator Himself, went down and took the form of one of those miserable insects crawling on its surface, and died Himself to save their souls? Did ever man ask it honestly and answer *yes*? I say, did ever man who doubted find his own heart give him back the church's answer?"

This is a fit conclusion to the "Confessions of a Sceptic," and having reached it we need add nothing to this summary of an infidel's belief.

Let us now return to Letter III. Letter II. closes with a request to his friend Arthur not to write him "stuffy letters about his state of mind," nor tell him it is wicked to have thought all this. In the next, accordingly, Markham proceeds to develop his negative opinions on the subject of the Old Testament Scriptures. In the course of these remarks, which show but little reverence for the subject of which they treat, Markham exclaims: "Oh heavens! how our hearts bleed with the poor mourners by the waters of Babylon; how we exult with them, and share their happiness in the glorious hymns they poured out on their return, if we may believe that it was they themselves whose souls were flowing out there in *passionate simplicity.*" He

then says; "but if this be not so, and all these psalms and hymns were but a kind of superhuman ventriloquism (as Coleridge calls it), then how are we perplexed, confused, and stupified."

If the entire literal and verbal inspiration of the Scriptures is at all defensible, this is not the place to defend it; nor are we about to attempt its defence. But Markham's assumption takes for granted what is allowed by none—viz., that the writers of the Old and New Testament Scriptures cannot in any sense be accounted inspired, without at once regarding them as mere machines, or passages for sounds, in which they might or might not have more share than the hand on the dial of the clock has in the hours which it marks. This is but denying an extreme opinion on the one side, to rush into a fearful extreme of error on the other. It were well for Markham if, while quoting Coleridge's words in this single point, he had looked somewhat deeply into the spirit and teaching of his writings on some others. It were fairer if he had presented Coleridge's opinion more fully and faithfully. It is but a sorry faith of which nine-tenths are doubt and denial. The whole tone and spirit of that strange wild book, "The Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit," differ widely from those of the pages before us. Thus writes Coleridge—and his belief, however it may differ from that of many other believers, is at least reverential and sincere—speaking of the whole Bible, "See here in these several writings one and the same Holy Spirit, now sanctifying a chosen vessel, and fitting it for the reception of heavenly truths proceeding immediately from the mouth of God, and elsewhere working in frail and fallible men like ourselves, and like ourselves instructed by God's word and laws. The first Christian martyr had the form and features of an ordinary man, nor are we taught to believe that these features were miraculously transfigured into superhuman symmetry; but he being filled with the Holy Ghost, they that looked steadfastly on him saw his face as it had been the face of an angel. Even so has it ever been, and so it ever will be, with all who with humble hearts and a rightly disposed spirit scan the sacred volume. And they who read it with an *evil heart of unbelief*, and an *alien spirit*, what boots for them the assertion that every sentence was miraculously communicated to the nominal author by God himself? Will it not rather present additional temptations to the unhappy scoffers, and furnish them with a pretext of self-justification?"

We look in vain for any such spirit as this in the pages of *Nemesis*.

This third Letter closes with a fervent wish for one week of his old child's faith, to go back to calm and peace again, and then to die in hope; for one look of the blue sky as it looked then when we called it heaven. This is about as reasonable as, having thrust one's hand into the fire, to keep it there and then long for the ease and comfort of a sound member.

In Letter IV. the tone and spirit are much the same; friend Markham endeavouring to prove that pagans are identical with old country villagers, and that the deep faithful simplicity of such old believing patriarchs was other than the simplicity of Christian faith.

He becomes "laudator temporis acti" indeed, when he would fain accept the words of the Christian poet—

"Tumulum monstravimus esse domum spei,
Verum cœmeterium, portam requiei;"

and yet raise a temple to *Pan*—Almighty Pan—on the sacred ground, where, in *Christian* hope,

"The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

Then follows an affecting interview (prettily enough told, if we only looked for prettiness without truth,) with an old ruined abbey, from which we gather that if we would save our hearts from breaking, we must cease to believe in the eternity of any creed or form at all, p. 33. We suppose even of that creed on which stands the church that can never fall, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail.

"Life," says philosopher Markham, (now himself a ventriloquist,) "Life is change; to cease to change is to cease to live; yet if you may shed a tear beside the deathbed of an old friend, let not your heart be silent on the dissolving of a faith."

"This is what the old ruin said to me, Arthur; did the ruin speak true?"

We are sorry that so respectable an authority should speak falsely even here, but he omitted to mention *one great change still*. He seems quietly to say all life is change; at length comes a time of repose when change shall cease, and with it life. Sleep then comes, and with it death.

"How wonderful is Death,
Death and his brother Sleep."

The Christian looks yet for another change. Death comes and life ceases for a season, or appears to cease, but on the morning of the resurrection, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, we shall awake from the dust of death, and *be changed*, how gloriously words may not tell.

Letter V. affords Markham small comfort. He envies his brother's cheerful heartiness in the duty to which God has called them, but he himself does, and can do nothing, p. 35. Five columns of *Times* advertisements crowded with new books bring no new peace to his soul, and though this inertia seems "very helpless," he waits for guidance, which his soul must have "if he give it time." What guidance the man has a right to expect who folds his hands and does nothing, we know not, unless it be in pondering on those two lines of Dr. Watts—

"For Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do."

In Letter VI. the crisis comes. He finds himself at the parting of two ways; one bright and flowery, and the other so dark and gloomy that he will *not* look down it; if he *does*, he will never dare to choose it. In this delicate crisis his bishop offers him a living, which his father urges him to accept. Markham cannot make up his mind.

He is unwilling to mortify his father, and therefore begs for two days' meditation. These are granted, and the young candidate for the priesthood rides over to ———, to talk to his uncle, the dean, on the subject. We have no means of ascertaining whether the dean was of a Californian spirit, but he certainly gave Markham the best advice he could on the matter, and having heard a full confession of his state of mind, and the state of things at home, directs him to present himself to the bishop for orders, but to say not a word of what he (the dean) had just heard. Upon this advice Markham resolves to act; delights his father with the news, and now himself decidedly Californian, makes up his mind that hunger is a reality, and that "when he has sons of his own to manage, he shall be quite as anxious about the *provision*." In a little while he is coolly talking over the matters of income, houses, furniture, and the advantages of a good wife. But even after this Markham hesitates. We who are acquainted with his opinions, only wonder how he could *ever* acquiesce in so many doctrines, of which he denied the truth—or ever dare to enter a body of men of so debased and worldly a spirit as he pronounced the priests of the church to be. How he at length reconciled these things to his own conscience, and allowed his friends to reason for, and persuade, him in the matter, it does not appear. At all events, the despair of doing nothing begins now with iron rust to eat into his soul, and he implores his friend Arthur to tell him what he ought to do.

Letter VII. opens with "a truer view of things." Markham is advised by his friend, and is the better for the advice. He says, now that he is "to teach under authority, and will therefore endeavour to learn under authority." The two pages which follow this contain a clever sketch of modern society, and paint it as a race for wealth. This is a brilliant picture, full of truth, but has little to do with friend Markham. His father and sisters, who have hitherto in the days of his obstinacy looked coldly and suspiciously on him, now regard him with smiles and affection; and the paternal home is filled with sunshine. But poor Markham "has still a fountain of cold water playing inside his own heart, which all but extinguishes him."

In Letter VIII. we find the die is cast. "For good or evil, he is finally committed to his calling, and must now abide by it." He is ordained deacon, and then priest. "With three-fourths of what I have undertaken," he writes, "it will be with all my heart—with the remaining fourth, with" This is a fearful and expressive blank. We almost shrink from filling it up: and yet it must be done. And there is but one way of filling it up. The blank has but one meaning—*this*, that in one fourth of the duty which he had solemnly undertaken, and solemnly vowed before God and man to fulfil as that God shall be his helper, *his heart was not*.

How could it be otherwise, seeing that all right discharge of duty springs only from a right faith; *and of all the high and holy mysteries*, in which he who is ordained professes his firm and hearty belief, *Markham believed not one*; or if one, or even two, only as maimed and distorted articles of the great and glorious creed of the true church?

How could duty spring without roots? How could his heart go with that which his lips trembled as they affirmed?

We only shudder to think how Markham could answer yes to the searching and solemn questions which were addressed to him as he stood before God, and by the Bishop of Christ's church.

1. He solemnly answers questions put to him "in the name of God," and of his church, as if he spake with his whole heart—Yea, by God's help, I will.

He declares that he is persuaded, that holy scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ; that he will so teach his people; and, moreover, will teach nothing which cannot be proved by, or concluded from, *Holy Scripture*; the *Inspiration of the whole of which he in heart utterly denies*, "as having nothing in it but what men might have written, but much, oh much, which it would drive him mad to think any but men, and most mistaken men, could have written."

2. He solemnly vows with his lips to minister faithfully the doctrine, sacraments, and discipline of Christ, while, in his heart, he denies that Saviour to be the Christ of God—affirming Him to be a man, and but a man, (p. 88); and of necessity denying the full force and divine institution, and the entire benefits of the Holy Sacrament, which is a type of the death and passion of our only Saviour and Redeemer.

He not only swears that he will administer these sacraments—the efficacy of which he must deny in heart—but that he will drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word; though, in reality, he affirms that word not only to be *not God's*, but such as man must have written, so false is its teaching. Thus Markham takes the solemn vows of ordination. Thus he takes words into his mouth, which his heart in reality abjures.

But the die is cast. He is a priest; one of that body whom he contemns and despises.

His eighth Letter here closes, and a year is supposed to elapse before the ninth is written. The year passes, and Markham having found "little enlightenment" in his cheerless duty, as a reward for his *submission*, again consults his friend Arthur.

Letter IX. opens thus: "Something very uncomfortable has befallen me." What this very uncomfortable thing was, we will briefly explain.

Evening soirées abounded in his parish, partly musical, and partly religious; made up of wax lights, psalm singing, and edifying conversation. Markham naturally enough thought all this a bore, and declined having aught to do therewith. This was offence the first.

Secondly, he didn't "marry any of them." This was actual sin. He throws cold water on schemes of philanthropy, and patronized no societies. The clouds of dislike ripen into secret conspiracy, and at length into open rebellion. He is entrapped into a dinner-party at the house of an evangelical parishioner, to which also comes a rector of a neighbouring parish, expressly invited for the purpose of dragging our hero into the depths of a theological argument. Into this argument he

was beguiled, and to the horror of all present, analysed by this spiritual chemist, for his betrothed's pleasure—(she sits complacently watching the scene from the opposite side of the table)—for the chemist's vanity, and the parish scandal.

The subject was the Bible and Bible Societies. Markham's opinions on these points we may easily imagine.

On the present occasion he uttered them most freely, fully, not to say furiously; launching a tremendous anathema against all religious societies, especially the one for which his hearers pleaded. The women—four or five—stood with eyes fixed and ears quivering, “as if the earth was to open and swallow a blasphemer,” p. 64. The spiritual chemist, with sparkling eyes, exclaimed, “It is as I told you—the enemy is among us.” Confusion, dismay, and cold civilities followed. Tongues were busy in the parish, and on the following Sunday, the church was half empty.

It was the last Sunday on which Markham spoke to his people the words of life, in their parish church, as their parish priest.

The rector of the neighbouring parish had doubtless long regarded Markham with suspicion, though he came to him in sheep's clothing.

“He is a wolf among the sheep,” said he to his young friend, Miss Hickman. Had the ladies understood Greek, he would have added, in magnanimous wrath, to Markham himself—

Αὐτὰς μὴ νυν μοι τόδε χῶεο, μηδε νημίσσα,
Οὐνεκὰ σ'οὐ το πρῶτον, ἐπεὶ ἰδόν, ὡδ' ἀγαπησα·
Αἰ γὰρ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν
Ἐρριγεί, μὴ τις με βροτον ἀπαφοιτ' ἐπίεσσιν·
Ἐλθὼν πολλοὶ γὰρ κακὰ κέρδεα βουλεύουσιν.

But they knew nothing of any Ulysses, Grecian or spiritual; so that the rector contented himself with spreading the news of Markham's invasion of the flock, his discovery and exposure. In due time this reaches the ear of the bishop.

A note precedes an interview at the bishop's house, to which Markham repairs at the earliest possible opportunity, judging that the “sooner down the better with all nasty medicine, from the first magnesia draught to the death finish.”

“The first magnesia draught,” his interview with the bishop, may be easily imagined. His lordship had heard such and such reports of such and such language at a private party; and, moreover, that Markham's sermons were such—*every one*—as a Socinian would preach. Slowly, and by degrees, to the kind old friend of his youth, does the misguided Markham narrate all the truth; and then, when asked, pour forth a full confession of his religious opinions.

We are acquainted with these, and may therefore spare ourselves the pain which they caused the worthy prelate. *He* was affected even to tears, bitter tears, but his solemn duty must be done. Markham himself was moved by these tears, “caught his hand and kissed it.” Tears were in the eyes of the good old bishop, broken words of prayer escaped his lips. “He was praying to be taken away from the evil day, that last dreadful day of horror, when the devil should have

power for a season over hearts not sealed with the devil's mark, when even the elect would be tempted to deny their Lord."

But one course could be followed. Markham must resign his living for a time, travel, and see what men are; "see what all men are, or must become, who allow their faith to glide out of their hearts." "You may," added the bishop, "you may yet, by God's grace"—He faltered, paused. But of this Markham would not hear. If he ever saw his error, his humiliation would be far too deep to dare to become the minister of the benefice which he now resigned.

A few words more, it was all over; the living resigned, his employment gone.

Such was Markham Sutherland's career. "He is again free, again happy." His real grief is for his father. *He* and *they* (at home) will never forgive him.

Markham leaves England with the hope that they will at least forget him, if not regard him somewhat kindly in after years. For the present we leave him.

The author of *Nemesis* would have written more fairly had he prefaced his friend's letters (if they be anything more than a vehicle for his own vague, unhappy thoughts) with a statement, a clear statement of Markham's religious views. He should have said, My hero denies such and such great mysteries, such and such chief doctrines in the creed of the church into which he is about to enter as a priest and teacher. Nevertheless he does enter this church, with the words of avowed belief in his lips, with denial in his heart. He has written to me ten letters, (or I have composed these ten letters, which will express his opinions, and narrate his history.) These ten letters I now publish, with occasional random scraps of remark of my own, which elucidate, enforce, and explain the opinions, sayings, and doings of my friend.

But it was unfair to send forth a sentimental story of a sceptic, who commences with something very much like perjury, and ends his career with a very near approach to adultery, and call such a thing the *Nemesis of Faith*. It was folly to expect that such a tale would be received in any way but as a sham and an invention. Mr. Froude has dressed up his story, such as it is, with great show of touching phrases, beautiful descriptions, and poetical words. But these are but the tinsel with which any figure, the most hideous, may be dressed by a clever artist; and such we allow Mr. Froude to be. The tinsel and trappings we have stripped from the figure; and the bare reality that remains is a hideous and revolting one. So at least it will appear, we trust, to all who call themselves Christians throughout the Christian land of England. No man who seriously holds the fearful opinions which Mr. Froude and his friend Markham hold, and is *in reality seeking for the truth*, could write such a book as the *Nemesis*. No earnest-minded, sincere man would add as a tail-piece to a book which pretends to have a good aim, a finale over which J. J. Rousseau would have gloated; the morality of which even the unbelieving Jew of Amsterdam, Baruch Spinoza himself, would have repudiated and scorned.

Of the pages which follow these letters we will notice little. They are, we suppose, intended to show the progress of a diseased mind, as it slowly sinks to the lowest depths of being, before, what the author calls, "shipwreck of the entire spiritual nature."

We will, however, touch here and there upon a few of the chief features in this fatal progress.

P. 84. Occurs the question, "Why is it thought so very wicked to be an unbeliever?" As an answer to this, we will only quote the author's own words: "Because an anathema upon unbelief has been appended as a guardian of the creed." This is, at all events, one reason. Friend Markham, denying the divinity and the authority of the Saviour, of course denies the divine authority of His words; or he would have remembered by whom the anathema upon unbelief was first uttered, when it was said, "He that believeth not shall be damned." Mark, xvi. 16. In p. 85, Friend Markham announces that the end of all culture is "that we may be able to sustain ourselves in a spiritual atmosphere as the birds do in the air." The Peripatetics we have heard of before this, but of the *Atmospherics* never. Mahomet's coffin, we read, still hangs midway above the earth, between Mecca and Medina. Whether the faithful, in green turbans, hover about this, and seek to be attached to it as spiritual limpets, we know not. But it sickens our author "to see our philosophic savans, as they call themselves, swinging in this way mid-air among the precipices of life." We think that a mere glimpse of such a sight would sicken most men.

P. 86—88 are occupied with a direct attack upon the divinity of our Saviour. It is a harmless attack, and as such we pass it unnoticed.

In p. 92 he arrives at the conclusion, that "sin, as commonly understood, is a mere chimera."

It were well, indeed, for our author, (*if he does not live to repent*), if this conclusion were a true one. But, alas! it is founded on a few pages of their flimsy reasoning—a mere dressing up afresh of old, condemned, exploded heresies—shallow and superficial as any bald assertion in the theme of a school-boy. It closes thus: "Our failures are errors, not crimes—nature's discipline with which God teaches us; and as little violations of his law, or rendering us guilty in His eyes, as the artist's early blunders, or even ultimate and entire failures, are laying store of guilt on him."

This the author declares, in the next section, to be the "working off in a sort of moral fermentation of the strong corruption with which his friend Markham's mind was impregnated," p. 96.

While this fermentation is in process, Markham, sick enough in heart and spirit, as we may imagine, goes off to spend a winter at Como. His sister offers to accompany him; but he, thinking it better for himself, for her, and all of them, "to hold himself under his own keeping," departs alone. "He was not ill enough to be alarmed or to alarm us; . . . so only the seven devils were kept away, which seemed the only danger."

We have hitherto—here adds the author—been turning over the

centre pages of his friend's life. "What follows will complete it from its beginning, and we shall see what he was before, and whether by and by he was determined."

This is to pave the way to the "Confessions of a Sceptic," with which our friend Markham entertains himself in the Italian winter following; which caused in the author feelings which he will not endeavour to analyse, "lest he find himself more in sympathy with them, than he wishes to think he feels." When we say that these confessions are perfectly in character with the rest of the book, and are for the most part of too painful a nature to be more than alluded to, we have said almost all that is necessary. But one point is especially to be noted throughout them. They have a peculiar power and energy about them which could spring only from the writer's own convictions. It reads like his own confession, which he here brings forward as the "retrospective sketch" of his friend. There is an individuality about it, a succession of bright lights and shadows, which all and every one reflect the same tone of mind which the author shows in every page of the *Nemesis* confessedly his own. There is the same cold, bitter, sneering throughout; the same exquisite beauty of language; the same fearful mixture of poison and honey. Friend Markham is a mere "*nominis umbra*." He is, at best, a mere stalking horse, behind which the enemy lurks. But the winged arrows which pass from the unseen foe are not a whit the less deadly because the quiver from which they come is labelled harmless, or decked with every grace of exterior that may allure the imagination or captivate the fancy of youth. What but a diseased or poisoned mind could arrive at such a conclusion as this, "that religion cannot be taught to boys?" The author draws a wide and marked distinction between the religion of home and that of school; and that there is a distinction no one can deny. But the boy who leaves home full of all the holy, earnest, and loving thoughts and sensibilities (which the author so beautifully again and again describes,) and is in reality in earnest, must fall most fearfully, if, in the school to which he goes, "religion leads him to no result." If he become *utterly a formalist and a hypocrite there*, he must have been little better than a formalist at home. We deny that any boy of earnest, sincere heart could have been made a hypocrite by the teaching of Arnold at Rugby, Moberley at Winchester, Wordsworth at Harrow—(there are many others such as these)—though he were subject to all of the forms mentioned in p. 119, "chapel-going, Greek Testament classes, article classes, and the like."

The reason why the author so rigidly denies any virtue to the teaching, training, and external religious forms of a school which has an earnest, hearty Christian for its head, appears in a previous sentence. "At present we know nothing at all of the form after which it is most God's will man should most shape himself, and until we know something, it is idle to lay down laws for the best way of forming him." This last assertion, mild as it may seem to most thinking readers, is but the natural consequence of our author's opinions and belief (if any), as developed in the work before us. He who denies

the Divinity of the Saviour, the atoning Sacrifice of that Saviour, the Inspiration of the Holy volume which is the Testament of that Saviour Himself, naturally enough adds to the list of denials the assertion that Christ's example is not for man to follow, that the steps of His holy life are not to be marks and guides for his followers, as the church teaches; that the rules and precepts of the gospel are neither rules nor precepts for the moulding of his character; and that it is idle, in our present state of knowledge, to lay down laws for the *best* way of forming him.

It is worse than idle to dream of *arguing* with one who holds such opinions as these, or makes such assertions. We, therefore, pass briefly over the remainder of the sceptic's confessions, merely noticing, as we pass, that they embody a fair sketch of Newman's apostasy and reception into the Romish Church, as of the then aim of the Tractarian party.

P. 154. Our author refreshes himself with a second diatribe against the whole body of English clergy, whom he denounces as a most miserable example of disbelief in their own precepts; as waging war against indulgence, luxuries, and riches—when they are *other* men's sins—but quietly and decently *themselves* sinking down into their very depths.

He then asks, "Why must they be for ever gentlemen?"—using the word *gentlemen*, it would seem, in the sense of proud upstarts, or self-satisfied Pharisees—who lord it over the poor in spirit or estate. This is, indeed, a most strange sense to put upon the word gentleman. Mr. Froude has not alleged even a single word in proof of this his assertion; nor is there ground for belief that it is true of the twentieth part of the English clergy. And if this, as it would seem, be the sense in which the author uses the word gentleman, we deny that the English clergy, taken as a body, are gentlemen in any such sense. But considering the "gentleman"—with honest old Fuller, in his birth, breeding, and behaviour—as "generous, at least, in his qualities, if his birth be not"—"in his youth not possessed with the great hopes of his possession"—"at the university so studious, as if he intended learning for his profession"—"courteous and affable to his neighbours"—"furnishing and preparing himself in peace against time of war"—we gladly answer Mr. Froude's question. *There is every reason why an English clergyman should be for ever a gentleman in this sense of the word.** And if the author is for once ironical, in the midst of jests and sneers, and uses the word as the old prebendary of Sarum used it, then we tender our best thanks to him for the singular taste with which he forces himself to pay his single compliment to his former *brethren*, (alas for the word)—the English clergy. We must again express our wonder that he ever so far descended from his own lofty ideal, as to become one of so debased and so debasing a community.

The "Confessions of a Sceptic" close abruptly; the writer having

* It is in this sense of the word that we should wish to regard the author himself as a gentleman.

traced Newman's winding course and fall, and professed himself unable to follow him to the extreme renunciation, and fearful alternative, involved in entering the Romish church.

We are glad to have reached the close of at least a portion of a painful labour.

In looking back over the 160 pages through which we have past, and marking the features, development, and progress of a single mind—for but one idea, and the picture of one mind, pervade the volume—all must be much struck with their exact likeness to, and correspondence with, the main features of another character which good old Fuller sketches in quaint but most forcible words. It is the character of an Atheist; and the successive steps reached in his downward progress towards ruin, are the very steps before us in the pages of the "Nemesis of Faith."

Thus speaks Fuller:—

First, he quarrels at the diversities of religions in the world; complaining how great clerks dissent in their judgments, which makes him sceptical in all opinions.

2. He loveth to maintain paradoxes, and to shut his eyes against the beams of a known truth; engaging his affections in disputes even in such matters where the *supposing* them wounds piety,—but the *positive* maintaining them stabs it to the heart.

3. "He scoffs and makes sport at sacred things. This by degrees abates the reverence of religion, and ulcers men's hearts with profaneness."

4. "Hence he proceeds to take exceptions at God's words."

"Of these," says Fuller, "it is just that they who will not feed on the plain meat of his word, should be choked with the bones thereof."

5. Afterwards he grows so impudent as to deny the Scripture itself.

6. Hence to deny God Himself.

7. He furnisheth himself with an armoury of arguments to fight against his own conscience.

8. At last he himself is utterly overthrown by conquering his own conscience.

9. His death commonly is most miserable.

We will briefly notice in conclusion the singular exactness with which the eighth and ninth clauses in this description describe poor Markham's career.

We return, then, to the small cottage on the banks of the blue waters of the Lake Como. On its waters, when dim evening was spreading her grey mantle over the earth, Markham was wont to float gently on, in dreamy forgetfulness of all but the present, at times warbling on his flute as the feeling rose within. The nightingales were his delighted listeners for a time. At length *one other especial listener is added.*

This is a young, elegant, and handsome Englishwoman.

She is living on the banks of Como; and with her a husband, poor man!

Helen listens by moonlight to the warbling of this "improba Syren" of a Markham.

"And drinking in the sweet seraphic strain,
Is lost in ecstasy, half joy half pain."

An accidental meeting follows, with bows, blushings, and embarrassments. Then calls, cards, and civilities. Mr. and Mrs. Leonard and Markham Sutherland become acquaintances, and then almost at once most intimate friends.

Of Mr. Leonard we need say little. His part in the play is small and trifling. He married his wife chiefly for her pretty face, forgetting, or not knowing that

"Beauty is but a springing flower,
And thus it fades away."

Markham would have told him this more prettily in Latin:

"Forma fuit, dum forma fuit, nascentis ad instar
Floris"

But he was seldom at home to be talked to,—least of all about his wife's pretty face. For a time she was well enough. But after four years marriage he was content to stay with her now and then, for a week at a time. A longer tête-à-tête fatigued him. As may be supposed poor Helen could in reality have little real love for such a husband. He, good easy man, goes away again without the least reluctance or compunction. He thinks Markham a nice pleasant fellow, who, playing the flute and talking poetry, would far more than supply his absence. Poor, simple, credulous, Johnny Bull! he goes away now for months at a time, quite contented, nay happy, in the thought that his wife has so pleasant a companion. Meanwhile, "no more dangerous person than Markham could have been thrown in the way of Mrs. Leonard. So soft, so gentle, so unlike the men she had met; he seemed like a being of another world to her."

There was a vacuum within her heart for some one object of love to fill up; and this object was now ready, and at hand; all she could wish or hope for—the idol for the niche. At once it was madly placed there; and the worship paid with all the fondness and fullness of a woman's love. As for Markham: "It was a new life to him;" a fairy vision become real; "as if from Heaven," more than his wildest dreams could picture to his heated fancy. "Now for the first time he found himself loved for himself," slighted and neglected as he had been, suddenly singled out by a fascinating woman, &c. &c.

"Quid plura?" why more of the details?

Poetry, music, moonlight, sentiment, Platonic love, dreams, fascination, *hand in hand* "*saying more than its morning greeting*;" two metals melting fast in the warm fire of love; a few more degrees of heat—and then

We leave the blank as it appears in the page before us. It is "eloquently dumb." Meanwhile Leonard comes not. "He knew his wife was happy," he said; "and as nothing made him so happy as to know that she was so, and as he could not add to it, he was

going with Count —— to a castle in the Apennines, for another six weeks or two months."

But neither Helen nor her Paris missed him, or envied him his castle among the snowy Apennines.

In p. 174, following the significant blank we find Markham unwell, unable to leave the sofa. Helen and her little Annie are away upstairs, and he asleep. She, however, returns alone, and watches—bending over him her soul loved. "Her long ringlets were playing upon his cheek with their strange electric touches." A tear falls upon his face, as he lies half awake, and half unwilling to break so sweet a charm. P. 175. Look, attitude, and tears all tell the bewildering depth of her love. "He caught the hand which lay beside him, pressed it to his lips, and as it lay upon them, felt it was not only his own which held it there." Then follows, dear Mrs. Leonard; lips convulsively trembling; the lady kneeling; hands clasping, fingers twining; thoughts they dared not utter; a delicious present. Even Byron or Rousseau would have added little to the impassioned voluptuousness of the scene. It is suddenly broken in upon, and marred, by the entrance of the little Annie, who runs all joy and gladness to mamma.

Both mamma and Markham are of course rather confused by this sudden interruption from the outer world.

He rushes off to fling himself in an agony upon his bed; she remains to weep passionate tears over her child, to pray that Heaven would strengthen her, "*and forgive her IF she was doing wrong.*"

A most notable IF.

She tries to write to Markham, once, twice, thrice, to beseech him to leave her. There is a page of gentle see-sawing—of to be, or not to be, whether he shall go or stay—which ends, of course, in the lady doing that which is wrong, and being naughty again. There are duties—dear duties—to Markham as well as to her husband; as to *the afternoon* and its little scene, *she* would forget it, *he* would forget it, and all would be as it had been. They meet, are embarrassed. Markham at least compromises with his sense of duty. He cannot resolve to go, but writes urging Leonard to return; unable to give the real reason, and inventing false ones. P. 180. Markham did not go. He never thought of going now.

P. 182. Here appear "weeks of intoxicating delirium;" "her promise of her heart's truth broken, and he loving her as he should not love the plighted wife of another."

P. 185. "On went the summer." On, also, went the happy, platonic, philandering, two. They looked not forward; there was no thought of guilt. The whole beauty of the creation was about them.

"Good is as thousands, evil as one,
Round about goeth the golden sun."

The summer went, and sober autumn came. But Leonard was still in the Apennines; happy, and as he thought secure in the belief of his wife's faith.

P. 188, 9. Helen and Markham, and the little child, are returning

by moonlight from a day's sojourn on one of the lake islands. Annie is by herself in the bow of the boat, propped up by cushions, and covered with a sail. The two are by themselves, for a time silent and sad. They talk of Leonard's return in a month; of their future plans. Of confessions, and love, and unutterable attachment—of what the wretched husband will do—as coolly and calmly as if he were simply returning to a badly dressed dinner. It seemed to them at last that flight was the only resource.

"We shall do what the world forbids," he continued; "the world will punish us with its scorn. It is well. When we accept the consequences of our actions, and do not try to escape from them, we have a right to choose of our own course, and do as we will." *French morality again.* Such reasoning as this, if reasoning at all, will doubtless justify any criminal or fraudulent action whatever, to the guilty person's conscience, but at no other bar. One thing, however, crushes Helen into sad grief. It is the thought that she will have to part with her child. Everything else, name, fame, every household social tie, honour—religion itself—in exchange for the beloved Markham—everything but her child. Her head sinks upon his shoulder, and she weeps bitter tears.

Little Annie, all unconscious the while, is dipping her tiny hands into the rushing moonlit water as it passes, and watching the silver stars as they look up from the blue depths. Poor child, a fever was already in her veins, and within two days, "ere sin could blight or sorrow fade," she was beyond all stars and light, in peace, with Him who gave her spirit at the first. Grief and bewildering agony of despair now descend on the ill-fated two as a thick cloud. The child's death seems in some sense a judgment. She wildly exclaims, it is a judgment on herself for marrying the father. "If I am not to die, too, take me away. I can never see him again."

But the shock has been great to Markham. He talks coolly, if not coldly, of his lady love's ardour.

"Oh, Helen, we must think of duty now. Think of your husband."

These are to her "strange words." She loved Markham with all the full intensity of a woman's love. He was all in all to her. "*Husband*," she repeated, "I have none. *You* taught me that I had none. Is not *there* a witness too?" (She was pointing to the lifeless form of her child.)

No answer came from the stricken, overwhelmed Markham. He rushed from the room; madly, and in despair.

He never saw her again.

At the early break of morning, while the grey mist yet lingered on the mountain tops, he had left the house,

Βῆ δ' ακιών παρὰ θίνα θολάσσης

His hair moist in the morning air, and the breeze playing coldly about his disordered dress; on he wandered by the lake side.

What should he do? Go back? How go back?

How look on her again? Words, images, voices, beings, now rose up from the gloomy and dark past. They crowded upon him, and filled his guilty imagination with wild and dark fear. There seemed to be a mark upon him; a miserable spell, a moral pestilence, which made him his own hell, and tainted whatever he approached.

At length, among the dim and shadowy horrors of his soul, comes the thought of Death; "more and more alluring as he dwells on it."

Years before, the possibility of such a situation "had floated before him as a possibility,"—(we should rather say probability)—since *he always carried about his person a deadly poison*. As he gazed at this, it seemed to him that here was the goal to which all was pointing. "So *he would expiate his sin.*"

This is viewing suicide in a novel light. It has been looked upon as the last refuge of despair, of agony, of madness—as an end at least to present suffering; but poor Markham's view of thereby *expiating* his sin is indeed a strange and horrible one. To talk of taking vengeance *on one's life* for the sins of the body, as if life in itself in the abstract were in any sense the cause or source of sin—brings back the fearful words of Fuller, "at last he is utterly overthrown by conquering his own conscience—and dies miserably."

With this wretched idea floating in his mind, Markham determines upon putting an end to his life, at once. He repairs to the cottage of a neighbouring peasant, to whom he is known—coolly takes breakfast, and writes three notes; one to his banker concerning the three per cents, a second to his old lodgings, that books and MSS. might be packed and forwarded to his friend Arthur in England; and a third to Helen. The last was brief and scrawled, and blotted with tears; simply saying he was gone, and would return once more, but that she would never see him again.

This done, he retires into an inner room, "and falls at once into a deep unbroken sleep."

Were we not reading of a most painful, and awful subject, this would almost seem like the close of a scene in the Surrey theatre. There is something almost melo-dramatic in the business-like way in which the three notes are written, the eggs and bacon dispatched, and repose sought.

Moreover, *the deep sleep is opportune*. It enables the peasant, after he has executed his commission anent the three notes, to unfold his budget of news to the priest, whose confessional he was wont to seek, whom he now *accidentally* encounters in Como.

The worthy father, it seems, knows the name of Markham, and now hears the strange story of the mysterious visit, and the triad of notes, and then ensues a little smart dialogue.

"Perhaps he is mad, and the Devil has hold of him," suggests the peasant.

"It is no place for me. He is an heretic and an Englishman, and I could do nothing," says the priest.

The peasant, grateful for Markham's kindness to him in sickness and distress, urges his suit. "He prayed to the Virgin for help, he

says, and she sent the English signor to me ; and it cannot be that she would employ in that way a lost heretic."

Thereupon the priest is lost in deep reverie. Suddenly a thought strikes him. "To-day," he exclaims, "yes, it was to-day he was to come."

More mystery—another letter. He reads: "Como, on the 10th, directed to St. —, where fail not to see him."

"Yes, it may be so, something might be done."

Exit priest and peasant.

Scene changes from Como to cottage ; Markham at table, having inquired for his messenger, coolly writes adieu "to such of us," says Arthur, "as cared to receive it."

One letter was to his father, and the second enclosing the first to Arthur, who, as he read over his friend's last letters concerning Helen, "*could almost wish that his purpose had been fulfilled as he designed it.*"

Here again appears a most odd *coincidence* of opinion between himself and friend, if nothing more.

But, "he will not anticipate." The curtain is about to fall, and in the grand tableaux, good reader, you will hear more fully the fate of our dear hero. Meanwhile observe one other small touch of melodramatic skill. It was quite necessary that you should see the last, last, note of Markham to Helen. It must be so *very* interesting. But the difficulty was how to get it for you. This difficulty, however, is managed most neatly. It never reached its destination, but by some most lucky chance, or mischance, quietly slipped into the packet for Arthur in England. He it is, who now gives you a glimpse of it. It is of course blotted with tears, and almost illegible. We are sorry, after all this promise, not to give our readers a glimpse of this epistle. But we really feel there will be greater kindness in refusing than in granting a sight of it. It is in character with the whole scene ; a cool, calm, lecture to poor Helen on her naughty deeds, though in words he takes to himself all the fault. It is strangely unnatural. Such words as *these* come most oddly from the lips of him who is about to rush upon one of the most fearful of all crimes, and to appear before his God's tribunal with the guilt of self-murder upon his soul. He advises Helen to recognise God's hand in all that has happened. He tells her that if God has taken Annie from her, and him from her, it is for her sake, that He may win her for Himself. All this wise Christian advice he can give to the partner of his guilt—but for himself he has not a word. He simply and calmly looks forward to a future union of spirits hereafter, when he may be better worth loving, and love be no sin, in eternal peace. For this he begs her to pray.

This, to say the least of it, is a strangely cool way for a man to reason and talk, who is close to a violent and sudden death, inflicted by his own hand.

But whether so or not in the reader's eyes, the scene closes abruptly. The picture on the next page is one of exquisite beauty.

Mr. Froude's great skill as an artist is here again most captivating ; the picture is a most painfully beautiful one.

It is a lonely and holy cell of some departed and sainted hermit on the shores of the lake. Some remnant of the chapel remained amid the ruins ; even the old stone once the altar. Every holy touching association is connected with the spot—and there, on the lonely wall, sits poor, desolate, despairing Markham—to drink poison, and die the death of a dog. His last frail remnants of reasoning with himself, his agonizing soliloquies, we pass over entirely, as too painful and too noxious to be more than alluded to. But the fatal moment seems to be at hand, the die cast, his last words uttered, the hand raised—when suddenly as the last echo dies away, enter the mysterious friend of the priest of Como, *in the very exact* and most desirable time. “Die without hope, the worst sinner's worst death, to bear your sin, and your sin's punishment through eternity.” So exclaims the new comer, with sudden, sharp, tones.

Markham's amazement we may imagine.

He turned and saw the figure of one before him, whom he knew not to be dream or spectre, or mortal man at first. But after all, it was only Frederick Mornington, who had in past days with keen silvery voice caused thousands of bosoms to thrill as he preached to listening thousands, “and now had been in Italy for two years washing off, in a purer air, the taint of the inheritance of heresy.”

He it was who struck our dear friend the priest as a sudden thought, “and was in due time dispatched to seek,” he says, “one who might be saved.”

He deserved a Society's medal most certainly.

Be this as it may, Markham is fascinated, scolded, and led off, making no effort to resist.

What remains is soon told. Markham makes a full and frank confession to his friend, promises to undertake the penance laid on him, to repeat his confession under the authorized seal of confession, and is told he may look forward to being received into the holy church, and hear absolution from her lips.

All this in due time happens. After conditional baptism comes the monastery ; then cold, severe discipline, and stern prohibition against even the mention of Helen's name until his director could give him hopes that his prayers might be offered for her, unsullied by any impurity. “She still belonged to the old life which he had flung off, and he endeavoured only to remember her in an agony of shame.”

Alas for Markham, and if alas for him, still more for poor Helen. The news of his supposed death crushed her to the very earth. Her refuge too, at last, is in the bosom of the Romish church. She retires into a nunnery, and there gradually fades, droops, and dies ; and yet *unreconciled* with the church in which she had taken refuge.

She would never confess she had *sinned* in her love for Markham. And in this state she died.

I close the account of Markham in the author's own words. “But Markham's new faith fabric had been reared upon the clouds of

sudden feeling, and no air-castle was ever of more unabiding growth ; doubt soon sapped it, and remorse, not for what he had done, but for what he had not done ; and amidst the wasted ruins of his life where the bare bleak soil was strewn with wrecked purposes and shattered creeds, with no hope to stay him, with no fear to raise the most dreary phantom beyond the grave, he sunk down into the barren waste, and the dry sands rolled over him where he lay ; and no living being was left behind him upon earth who would not mourn over the day which brought life to Markham Sutherland."

So ends the Nemesis of Faith, and with it the career of the wretched Markham.

Whether the writer of such a work be a fit person to undertake the headship of a training college for youth, either in Australia or even in Botany Bay, has again and again been discussed in the public prints ; and no doubt the question has long since been settled by the proper authorities. Nothing need be said on the point here. The wish is not to hunt Mr. Froude to the death, or to burn over again his book, which I believe was burned at Exeter College.

Every man has now-a-days a right to publish his opinions in any shape or form he may choose—thanks to the liberty of the press—so long as he avoids gross indecency, blasphemy, and treason, (how far Mr. Froude has avoided these the public must judge for themselves.)

But as every man has a right to publish, so is it a censor's right, as it is his duty, to point out to the public the pernicious or deadly nature of any publication that seems to deserve the labour.

Of the author now in question, as I said before, I know little ; and that little, with what we gather from his book, leads one not to persecute, but rather to mourn over and to pity a man of such rare talents, such deep feeling, shipwrecked in faith, and stripped, I fear, of almost every source of comfort for time or eternity. Altering but a word in the verse of our greatest living poet, we would say,

"Speak gently of a brother's fall :
Who knows but gentle love
May win him at our patient call,
The surer way to prove."

In a letter which he has lately addressed to the editor of a weekly paper, the author endeavours to avoid the guilt of writing such a book as the Nemesis, by pleading "that it is a book of pure fiction containing a picture of a person of weak mind" whose entire spiritual nature suffers shipwreck. He adds : "I do not mean to say that the obvious moral of my book is the whole moral, or that the book has, *strictly speaking, any simple moral, or that it is itself in any sense a moral book ; perhaps not.*"

This is the author's defence when he is accused of attacking all that Christian men hold most dear in religion and morality. It amounts to this : "I have not myself attacked either religion or morality, but I have written and published some letters, and a short story concerning (a friend of mine), a person of weak mind, "who has been unhappy enough to be cast adrift from the system in which he has been brought

up," and for what *he* does, says, or writes therein, I am not responsible. It is true that here and there, throughout the book, my own individual words and opinions appear, and I do not say that it is itself in any sense a moral book; but notwithstanding this, I must beg that the obloquy of having written an immoral work may not descend on me, nor the charge of advocating infidelity be brought against me.

"It is my book, not me, that you must condemn."

If this be all that can be advanced in defence of such a book, and its authorship, that defence is its best condemnation. There is no need of further evidence.

Books have been written in past times, and are still written in our own time, inculcating lessons of the grossest immorality, the wildest blasphemy, the most fearful infidelity. In some of the worst of them, which have appeared in the form of novels or romances, every passion has been engaged, every feeling brought to bear, and every weapon directed, against what is good and holy. Some poor feeble advocate of the truth may be introduced, but only to serve as a butt for the shafts of ridicule, to be sneered at as a hypocrite, or derided as an utterer of feeble nothings in defence of religion.

And yet in defence of any one of these the author might plead as the author of *Nemesis* pleads: "My book is a fiction; my hero is a person of weak mind; he *unfortunately was cast adrift from the system under which he was brought up; and he is perhaps rather immoral, and lax in his notions, &c.; and perhaps the book is not a moral one; but, I assure you, I am most moral; and would not on any account behave in such a naughty manner.*" Such a plea is, we repeat, a plea of guilty.

But even this plea cannot lessen our pity for the author of *Nemesis*. It is his very self that speaks in such deeply earnest passages as the following; and the man whose soul is not touched as he reads them, must be of cold heart indeed. He is looking back to the early days of his past childhood, "the golden age." "Beautiful it lies there," he writes, "on the far horizon of the past, the sunset which shall be the sunrise of heaven. Yes, and God has given to us each our own paradise, our own old childhood, over which the old glories linger, to which our own hearts cling, as all we have ever known of heaven upon earth." Again, "When we had about us our father, our mother, brothers, sisters, and the faces of the old servants, and the sheep, and the cows in the meadow, and the birds upon the trees, and the poultry in the bushes and the sky, and God who lived in it; and that was all. And what a beautiful all! My delight in the long summer afternoons, was to lie stretched out upon the grass, watching the thin white clouds floating up so high there in the deep ether, and wondering how far it was from their edge up to the blue, where God was."

He who can write such words as these must indeed long for the golden days of his youth, if, in his manhood, he becomes the writer of a *Nemesis of Faith*. Well may he exclaim, "Would to God I could again live and believe as a child." And no one who hears such deep longing after better things, can refuse to sympathize with suffering so sad, though self-inflicted.

But let him who thus in manhood looks back upon the days of his

youth, remember that it is even then possible once more to strive for, and at last to attain to the purity and loving faith of a child, although the hand upon the dial of our years still point to the noontide of our life, or even the dim twilight of old age, when man has gone forth to his work and to his labour until the evening, and the night *is at hand* when none may work. To know and believe this is at once the hope and joy of every true Christian. May the day come at last when Mr. Froude also shall have known this hope and this joy in believing, and again become as a little child in faith, simplicity and love.

If he has had difficulties and doubts to contend with, let him remember this has been the lot of many a mind besides his own, inferior neither in power or purity. If he would conquer these doubts and difficulties, let him struggle earnestly and manfully against them. If he has wind and tide against him, let his motto be—

“Totis incumbere remis ;”

let him pull stoutly on till the tide turn, and the wind change in his favour. It is better to struggle for a few hours, than to lie rotting in melancholy nothingness for one's life. To him that overcometh shall the crown be given.

I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,
June, 1849.

A COUNTRY CURATE.

MALVENDA ON THE MILLENNIUM AND THE FIRST; RESURRECTION.

REV. SIR,—I have shown in former letters that the celebrated prophecy in Rev. xx. was understood by the Fathers of the early centuries in a literal sense. Passages in proof of this have been produced from St. Justin Martyr, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Hippolytus, and St. Cyprian; and from Lactantius, also, at a somewhat later date. Extracts have been given from some divines of acknowledged learning and eminence of our own church, who have regarded such an interpretation as the only consistent and natural one. It is well known that a different interpretation was attached to this prophecy by Fathers of later ages, and that some modern commentators on the Apocalypse have adopted, what is styled, this figurative or spiritual explanation of the text. It may be useful to point out some of the palpable absurdities resulting from such a mode of interpretation, and to show how it would make the language of St. John directly contradict the declarations of Holy Scripture elsewhere.

For this purpose I will avail myself of the explanation of this passage which is given in the very learned work of Malvenda De Antichristo.

It is well known that Malvenda, in his interpretation of the prophecies which relate to Antichrist, justly follows the views of the great Fathers of the church, and very consistently argues that it is utterly improbable that those who lived close to the times of the Apostles, and who derived their religious knowledge from the immediate disciples of

the Apostles, could have been so far mistaken, as some in modern days have regarded them to have been, on a point of so great importance.

But the Church of Rome, to which he belonged, frowns on the doctrine which the primitive fathers taught concerning the first resurrection and the Millennium. Here, therefore, for the first time, we hear from him that "it is truly a matter greatly to be wondered at, that a certain persuasion and expectation of a future reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years prevailed amongst some most holy and ancient Fathers of the church;" and that "scarcely any other point of that nature can be discovered in respect to which the Fathers were under such a manifest hallucination." (Lib. xii., § 2.) He has, however, the candour to show that the doctrine of the Fathers differed most materially from the gross errors said to be taught by the heretic Cerinthus—and that St. Jerome did them injustice in confounding the teaching of the former with that of the latter—"for," says he, "the Fathers attributed such corporeal delights to that kingdom of Christ only as are regular, moderate, virtuous, and far removed from all profaneness—such as become a nation of saints;" in other words, they teach that the nations then living on earth will be in a state, in all material respects similar to that of unfallen man in Paradise. He further remarks that "Ribera (on Apoc. xx.) gives his judgment that that opinion cannot readily be convicted of heresy; for no definitive sentence, either of any general council or of the church against it is on record: nor can it be so readily refuted, as some would have it, by testimonies from Scripture." He then alludes to what has been asserted by some, that the opinions of Apollinarius on the Millennium were condemned in a council held at Rome by Pope Damasus: "but this," he adds, "is foreign to our subject; for though we grant that the doctrine of Apollinarius concerning the millennial kingdom was condemned in that council, (which, however, can only be presumed on slight and uncertain conjecture, *since it does not appear that any decision was made at that time except in respect to his other heresies*;) this had nothing to do with the sentiments of the Chiliastic Fathers; for that their doctrine was extremely different from that of Apollinarius, which was the very doctrine of Cerinthus, both all affirm, and we a little before have distinctly shown."*

All this shows that Malvenda found it difficult to gainsay the plain testimony of the primitive Fathers on this subject, evidently consistent as it is with the literal meaning of the words of Holy Scripture. Yet in submissive obedience to the authority of the Church of Rome, which, though it has not dared to brand the doctrine as a heresy, yet holds it in disapprobation, he is constrained, in direct contradiction to his usual practice, to reject the uniform earliest teaching of the church,—to reject what, if anything does, certainly deserves the title of an apostolic tradition—and accordingly we find him charging so eminent a divine as St. Irenæus with interpreting the prophecies of Isaiah,

* See on this point the lucid argument of the author of Eruvin. Essay VII. pp. 179—181.

Ezekiel, and St. John, "in a coarse and carnal manner" (*crasse carnaliterque*, Lib. xii. § 2, p. 211)—with what truth let those judge who have read the extracts produced in my former letters from that ancient bishop; and how such a statement can be reconciled with his own words above referred to—viz., that the Chiliastic Fathers taught that the delights of the millennial kingdom would be such only "ut sanctorum populum decebet" (Lib. xii., § 4, p. 215) is his concern and not mine. It seems to me sufficiently clear that this learned man, on this topic, fell into the same snare in which so many interpreters of prophecy have been caught—viz., that he allowed his controversial prejudices to bias his better judgment. Accordingly, rejecting the literal signification of the prophecy concerning the first resurrection, (which prophecy he pronounces to be "*mirâ involutum obscuritate*;" as it is indeed in no small degree on his plan of interpretation, and if men are determined to make it mean anything rather than what the words plainly signify,) he adopts an explanation suggested by Fathers of a later æra, when the perversions of heretics had apparently brought discredit on the doctrine concerning the millennial kingdom which was handed down by the disciples of St. John. He first, however, mentions the notion entertained by some that the binding of Satan commenced on the establishment of the church by Constantine the Great, and continued till the rise of the Turkish power. This he rejects, because it is hard to comprehend in what reasonable sense Satan could be said to have been bound in the time of Julian the Apostate, and because the prophecy states that Satan is to be subsequently "loosed for a *little* season," which term is palpably inapplicable to the period of the duration of the Turkish empire. He therefore, on the authority of St. Augustin, St. Gregory, St. Prosper, and others, gives it as his judgment that the period of a thousand years signifies the whole interval between the death and ascension of Christ, and the coming of Antichrist at the end of the world—a finite number being put for an indefinitely large one. The only texts of Scripture which he produces in justification of so extravagant an assumption, are Psalm, cv. 8, "the word which He commended to a thousand generations:" Job, ix. 3. "If he will contend with Him, he cannot answer Him one of a thousand:" and Ecclesiasticus, xvi. 1, which he gives thus—"Melior est unus timens Deum quam multi filii impii," as to which, what it has to do with the question at all is difficult to perceive, and the whole together sufficiently prove that he was in a great strait to find any scriptural authority at all for his hypothesis. It seems sufficient for any unprejudiced mind to say in reply to this that the phrase *χίλια ἔτη*, or *τὰ χίλια ἔτη*, occurs no less than six times in six successive verses, with nothing whatever to induce us to suppose that it signifies anything else than what it literally indicates—and when all the prophetic periods relating to the past, which we can prove to have been fulfilled, have been accomplished according to the literal meaning of the terms, and when all the Fathers who lived nearest to the times of the Apostles understood that this would be accomplished in a similar manner, it seems most reasonable that these considerations and the

authority of these earlier divines should outweigh any authority that may attach to the judgment of later Fathers. Moreover, if we are to be at liberty, in order to make the language of Scripture suit some hypothesis of our own, to make such a phrase mean some period quite different from what the expression could possibly suggest to any mind unperturbed by controversial theories, there seems an end to all certainty in expositions of Holy Scripture, and any words of it may be made to signify anything which a fanciful imagination or controversial prejudice may suggest.

To proceed to other palpable absurdities which such a supposition unavoidably involves, we are told that the binding of Satan means the suppression of idolatry and the restraints placed on Satanic influence through the spread of the gospel—"neque enim post exortum evangelii lumen idolorum cultus viguit : et quamvis diabolus scēpius pacem ecclesiæ lacessat multosque perdat ; at non tot quot ipse vellet et potest, cohibitus et vinctus a Deo." (Lib. xii. § 5, p. 219.)

We may first ask how this supposition that Satan is bound and shut up in the bottomless pit during the present dispensation is to be reconciled with the words of St. Peter (Ep. i. v. 8,) "Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, *walketh about*, seeking whom he may devour."

Again, the passage in question does not simply say, as he interprets it to signify, that Satan is placed only under a *partial* restraint, so that he cannot mislead and destroy as many as he would ; but *absolutely* that "a seal is set upon him that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years should be fulfilled."

Moreover, Malvenda's own reply to the hypothesis above-named as rejected by him—viz., that it is absurd to talk of Satan being bound during the reign of Julian, is equally applicable to that which he adopts ; and we may add, that it is alike contradictory to reason and common sense to say that Satan has been bound during the spread and the dominance of the Mahometan imposture and the corruptions of the Church of Rome. If any one is inclined to receive Malvenda's idea respecting the binding of Satan, who at the same time holds "the monstrous unnatural supposition that Christian Rome is Antichrist," we may justly urge that it is monstrous and unnatural to the very last degree, to suppose that Satan has been bound during what (on that hypothesis) is the most ferocious persecution which the church of Christ was ever to be exposed to, and that the reign of Christ and his saints should be regarded as synchronical with the reign of Antichrist. And, finally, the main point of Malvenda's interpretation still is, and ever has been, during the present dispensation, most palpably and conspicuously false—for, so far from idolatry having ceased to exist, it still exists and ever has existed, during the whole of the period to which he regards the passage to have reference, as far as it has hitherto elapsed, throughout a very considerable part of the Gentile world. To imagine nothing more to be intended by so remarkable a prophecy than what has hitherto been achieved, "is to suppose," to use the words of Bishop Horsley, "that the prophets describe things compara-

tively small under the greatest images. And this being once granted, what assurance have we that the magnificent promises to the faithful will ever take effect in the extent of the terms in which they are conveyed?" (Biblical Criticism, Isaiah, xxxiii. 20.)

The reigning of the saints with Christ, and the judgment described as given to them, he explains to signify that they who have died in Christ, live and reign with them during this period in heaven. How this is to be reconciled with the doctrine of scripture, and of the primitive church, concerning the intermediate state, he does not inform us. St. Peter, on the day of Pentecost, after our Saviour's ascension, said, "David is not ascended into the heavens." (Acts, xi. 34.) The text, moreover, makes very prominent and particular mention of the martyrs who die in the times of Antichrist as partaking *especially* in the glories of the kingdom spoken of. Malvenda's explanation of this is, that those martyrs "are said to be designed to reign for a thousand years—that is, *within that period* which elapses from the resurrection and ascension of Christ to the general resurrection." Now he believed that Antichrist's times are to occur on the loosing of Satan at the close of this dispensation. The reign of the martyrs who suffer under Antichrist therefore, on his hypothesis, must be the very brief time that will elapse between their martyrdom and the coming of Christ—i. e., those of whom St. John makes the most prominent mention as designed peculiarly to partake of the glories of the millennial kingdom, will have that distinction for a much shorter time than any others of the saints. This surely sufficiently carries along with it its own refutation.

The application of this subject to the present state of the church in another point of view, which has been made by some—(i. e., making the *reigning* foretold by St. John synonymous with St. Peter's description of Christians as a *royal priesthood*, &c.,) seems altogether contradictory to the general declarations of scripture, which describe the Christian's whole course here as one of trial and conflict; which remind him that he must suffer now in order to reign hereafter; which assert that during the whole period of the Bridegroom's absence the church must expect to fast and mourn, and that through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom of God. That kingdom is ever connected with the appearing of Christ and described to be consequent upon that great event, (See 2 Tim. iv. 1); and the reign spoken of in Rev. xx. is accordingly described as occurring immediately after the Lord's coming to judgment, set forth in Rev. xix.; and the whole is manifestly to be understood as relating to the same kingdom described, under precisely similar circumstances, in Daniel vii.

As far as the interpretation given to the prophecy under consideration by Malvenda and others derives any support from the Fathers to whom reference has been made above, we need only observe that, while St. Augustin and St. Gregory were great divines, and while their names are justly to be held in reverence, yet they were not infallible; and when their authority is brought forward, in order to contravene that of Fathers who equally demand our respect, and who lived much nearer to the times of the Apostles, and who state that

they derived their views on these subjects, not from their own private judgment, but from the disciples of the Apostles, we seem not only justified in preferring to follow the guidance of St. Justin, St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, and St. Hippolytus, but even compelled to do so by the well-known canon of Tertullian, "Si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod et ab initio, ab initio quod ab apostolis: pariter utique constabit id esse ab apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum." (Adv. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 5.)

In a subsequent part of his work, (lib. xiii. § 8), when Malvenda comes to treat of the celebrated period of three years and a half which the prophets assign to the times of Antichrist, he justly defends the literal interpretation of this expression. "The Fathers and all ecclesiastical writers," he observes, "from the Word of God and constant tradition, have invariably taught that Antichrist will possess dominion only for three years and six months." He then remarks, after referring to the well-known texts in Daniel and the Apocalypse, that "the sectaries assert, that in these passages a definite time is put for an indefinite;" and having recited certain expositionson this system, he adds, "*pudor est has interpretationes audire.*" May we not very reasonably inquire if the same remark may not be made with equal justice on the similar meaning which, on no better grounds, he attaches to the period of the 1000 years?

He proceeds: "The Fathers and orthodox interpreters have always taken a time, in Daniel and St. John, to signify exactly and definitely one year; times, [to signify] two years; and half a time, half a year. Indeed, that a time and times means a year and years, is evident from Dan. iv. 23, in regard to the period during which Nebuchadnezzar had his dwelling among the beasts: '*till seven times pass over him:*' where St. Jerome, Theodoret, and all other expositors interpret [the expression] seven years But, in order that there may be no doubt that Daniel and St. John foretold that Antichrist will reign precisely three years and a half, this very point is most evidently perceived from other oracles of the same holy prophets, where clearly and exactly they have expressed, by means of months and days, that the period of the reign of Antichrist will be three years and six months definitely: from whence it is easily known that, by a time, and times, and half a time, they implied nothing else than three years and six months."

Most assuredly if, when a period is so distinctly, and in so many different forms of expression definitely, marked out, we are to conceive ourselves at liberty to interpret it to mean something essentially different, we go about to sanction a principle of interpretation which reduces the teaching of Holy Scripture to utter confusion, and leads to any extravagance which rationalistic neologianism may choose to devise. The censure which Malvenda afterwards adds, is therefore not a whit stronger than justice demands, though it is remarkable as coming from one who has so inconsistently advocated the notion concerning the millennial period above alluded to. "*Novatores per phrænesim dies pro annis accipiunt, atque intelligunt hic (Dan. xii. 11, Apoc. xi. 3), annos mille ducentos sexaginta, vel nonaginta. Verum*

Ib. [The King writes against Luther.—margin.]* See the Preface to the Booke itself. Ed. Lugdun. See Dr Baily. Lif: of Bp: Fisher. chap: 4. p. 36. Campian. Nar: de Divortio. p. 1. Scultetus in his Annals. An. 1521. gives this free and fair account of it. Prodiit Libellus ille—exercitato aliquo Theologo dignior, quam adolescente Rege, (cui, quanquam maxime voluerit, non licuerit in literarum studio ætatem terere) ut alii Thomæ Mori, alii Fisheri Roffensis, plurimi vero alterius alicujus summi viri opus id fuisse haud sine causâ suspicarentur. That the King was not the Author of this Book is very plain from what is sayd by Sr Thos. More, both in his Life wrote by W. Roper, & in the other Life dedicated to Roper, and wrote in Q. Mary's time, thus. I (Sir Tho: More) was never procurer nor counsellor of His Majesty thereunto, but after it was finished by His Grace's appointment, and consent of the Makers of the same, only a sorter and placer of principall matters therein contained.—See MS. Life of Sir Tho: More by N. H. L. D. Fol: 39, 40. MS. Coll: Eman. [*In Baker's MSS. in the British Museum vol. III. p. 301—304, is a notice of various Lives of More, as I learn from the Index published last year.*]

P. 32. [he would needs, &c. line 13.] This was necessary, the Booke being prohibited by y^e Bp's order. See Fox. vol. 2. p. 284. 289.

P. 35. [some for 6 Months. line 17.] more than a month. v: Fidel: Servi Subd. Infid. Respons. P. 37. Cl. 19. 6. 44. He was created Prince of Wales Feb: 18. an. 19. Hen. 7.

P. 35. [*which was perhaps consummated, &c.* line 11 from foot.] This Clause it seems was wanting in the first Bull, & therefore the Princess not thinking it full enough obtained this 2nd Bull with the Clause added. v: Fidel. Servi Respons. Subdito Infid. p. 37. v. Bacon. Hen. VII. p. 206. v. Speed. p. 768. v. Fox. vol. 2. p. 328.

P. 36. [Dies Feb. 22. Margin, 12 line from foot.] Dies 6 Calend. April. v. Geo. Lilly's Chron.

P. 37. [Duke of Richmond. line 7 from foot.] D: of Richmond was not born at y^e first Treaty with France, & very young at the 2nd.

Ib. It is said, &c. [line 4 from foot.]—I have heard Dr Draycott; that was his (Longlands) Chaplein & Chancellor, say, that he once told the Bp. what rumor rann upon him in y^e matter, & desired to know of him y^e very truth; who answered, that in very deed he did not break the matter after that sort as is sayd, but the King brake the matter to him first, and never left urging of him untill he had wonn him to give his consent to others that were y^e chief setters forth of y^e divorce between y^e K. & Q. K. Of y^e w^{ch} his doings he did sore forethinke himself, and repented afterward, declaring to y^e sd. Dr, that there was never was any one thing that did so much & so grievously nip his heart.—See MS. Life of Sr Tho: More by N. H. L. D. p. 11. MS. Coll. Em. no. 74. MS. in ArchB. Harsnet's Library agrees exactly with that at Eman: both wrote in Q. Mary's time.

* See the Duke of Saxony's Letter in Ellis. Ser. III., Letter 167.

P. 38. [so I am inclined—line 12.] Si ex libidine, ac non iudicio, Rex ista egisset, poteratne furorem amoris totum fere decennium frangere— . Decennio toto, Rex bonitati litis confisus a Pontifice nunquam appellavit, &c. v: Ric. Morysini Apomax. p. 46.

Ib. [The Grounds, &c.—margin.] Sunt nonnulla secreto sancto Domino nostro exponenda, et non credenda literis, quas ob causas, morbosque nonnullos, quibus absque remedio Regina laborat, et ob animi etiam conceptum scrupulum, Regia majestas nec potest, nec vult ullo unquam posthâc tempore eâ uti, vel ut uxorem admittere, quodcumque evenerit.—Words of y^e Record in L^d Herbert. Lif. Hen. 8. p. 219, 220.

P. 39. [Cortes. line 11 from foot.] v. Fidel. Servi subdito infideli Respons. p. 42.

P. 41. [*Sister*. line 7 from foot.]*

P. 42. [Rastal, &c. line 17.] He wrote such a Book, quoted in a MS. at Gresham College.

P. 43. [Boleyn was made, &c. line 13 from foot.] Antisanderus says, he was not ambassador till An: 1519. for w^{ch} he appeals to our histories, and other *recondit monuments*. p. 125, 127. Dugd. Baronage speaks of it no sooner. L^d Herbert says he was sent that year, p. 94.

P. 44. [as Stow says. line 29.] Stow, P. 530. She was in England An: 1528, and in favour then with the King, and an enemy to the Cardinal. v. Fox Mart. vol. 2, p. 279. If Sanders may be credited she was then in England when her father brought over that Picture. De Schism. Angl. p. 16, 17. She came over An. 1522. Herb. Hen. 8. p. 122, 257.

Ib. [last line.] This Speech is wanting in the printed Life, and the Earl of Northumberland is brought in addressing himself to his son, the Lord Percy in very different words, tho' to the same purpose, viz. to dissolve the Contract. v. Wolsey's Life, chap. 9. This Speech agrees with the MS. copy in the Public Library Cantab.

P. 55. [Sequel, &c. line 11.] The affair had then been long depending at Rome, and was now drawing towards a period in that Court.

Ib. [Margin. Two Letters, &c.] in her own hand. Vitellius B. 12. Fol. 1. a.

Ib. [Margin. A Postscript, &c.] in the King's own hand. The orthography is not observed in these copies.

P. 58. [Solemnities, &c. line 22.]†

Ib. [Decretal Bull. line 34.] This Bull is printed at large in Antisanderus, p. 200. But whence he had it, is not sayd. It is dated 16 Kal. Jan. An. 1527. See Herbert, H. 8. p. 251. See D^r Hakewil's Answer to D^r Carier. P. 49.

P. 59. [line 3, &c.] That there was such a Bull, w^{ch} was shown to the King and afterwards burnt, we have the King's word. Collect. p. 109. & Guicciardin's testimony. Hist. Lib. 19.

P. 71. [Vicar, &c. line 14.]‡

* See Original Letters of Royal &c Ladies by M. A. E. Wood. Letter 80.

† See Warham ap. Ellis. Ser. III. Letter 174.

‡ See Gardiner ap. Ellis. Ser. III. Letter 178.

P. 72. [Margin. line 4.] v. Rymer Acta pub. Tom. 14. p. 299.

P. 73. [She said, &c. line 17.] Wolsey's Lif: chap. 16. varying.

Ib. [Card. of York. line 16 from foot.] Lif: chap. 16.

P. 74. [incident. line 20.] *indecent*.

P. 77. [ancienter Cardinal. line 18.] Wolsey was created Cardinal 7. Id: Sept. An. 1515; Campegio, An. 1517. So Wolsey was the antienter Cardinal. v. Ciacon. ad. An. Quær.* *whether precedence was not from hence, that Campegio was Cardinal Bp., Wolsey only Cardinal Presbyter**. But this is observed by Fulman; Wolsey is named first in the Bull or Commission from the Pope. v. Ld: Herbert, p. 233, 255, and both styl'd Presbyt. Card.

P. 79. [Reader, &c. line 28.] He might possibly be Divinity Reader, but he did not take orders till after his wife's Death. v. Fox. Martyr. vol. 3. p. 657.

Ib. Waltham-Cross. line 34.] Waltham Abbey. v. Fuller, v. Strype. p. 4.

P. 80. [So it was given, &c. line 28.] In Michaelmas Term An. 1529. See More's Printed Works. p. 1530.† It was taken from Wolsey, Octobr. 18, given to S^r T. More Octobr. 26. v. Stapelton. Vita Mori, cap. 14. p. 1033. The Great Seal was delivered to S^r Tho: More on Munday, 25 Octobr. An. 21 Hen. 8; see Dugdal's Catalogue of Ld. Chancellors. P. 23. v. Rymer. An. 1529.

Ib. [Then was his rich, &c. line 43.] The House of his See could not be forfeited or seiz'd, but was convey'd over by him to y^e King. v. Life, cap. 18, p. 84, 85, & afterwards confirm'd to him by the Dean & Chap: of York. v: Heylin, Examen. p. 86. Had it by purchase. v: Statut: 28. Hen: 8. chap. 12. It was convey'd to the King by recognisance, v. Stow, p. 551. The conveyance confirm'd by the Chapter of York. v. Holingshed. p. 928.

P. 81. [Lieutenant of the Tower. line 11 from foot.] Constable of y^e Tower. Lif: cap. 20. Ld: Herbert Hist. p. 382. And so in the MS. Life. And ought to be so; for these two are distinct offices. See Stow. Chron. p. 583, where the offices are distinguisht.

P. 82. line 1. &c. v: Life printed. cap. 20. P. 112-3, varying from the MS. as quoted.

Ib. [28th of Nov. line 6.] 29th. On St. Andrew's even. Fabian ad an: 1531. According to Geo: Lilly's Chron: dy'd 3tio Cal: Decem:

P. 85. [margin, Wood.] with whome agrees Bry: Twyn: Apolog. p. 332, 333. See a Vindication of the Oxford Historiographer and his Works written by F. D. Lond: 4to. An: 1693, where Wood's accounts are sayd to have been taken, From, a Treatise of Marriage written by Nich: Harpsfield. Fol: MS: 2nd. From the Life of Queen Catherine written by Will: Forest, in the Reign of Q. Mary and dedicated to her. MS. 3rd From an Apology for the Government

* The words in italics are struck out in the original.

† In the edition of 1557 there are only 1458 pages. The statement here referred to may be found p. 1418 of that edition, column 2 G.

of the University of Oxon: against K: Hen: 8. By a Master of Arts. MS.

P. 86. [Doctor Edmonds. line 19 from foot.] This mistake is already observ'd by M^r Wharton De Episcopis London: in vitâ Bonner. Joh: Edmunds was Master of Peterhouse, commenc'd D.D. An: 1520. The year when this determination passt at Cambr: is left uncertain by y^e Author by placing it after Oxford, and by the Date in the Collection. an: 1530. It certainly passt at Cambridge an. 1529 or 1530 and it is equally certain that it passt at Oxford after it had been determin'd at Cambridge. Thus much appears from a MS. Letter of D^r Will: Buckmaster* Vicechan: to D^r Edmonds, dat: crastino Dominicæ Palmarum, who after he had given a large account of his reception (with the determination) by the King at Windsor, (where he came Dominicâ secundâ) adds, that it had not then (viz. crast: Dominic: Palm:) passt at Oxford, & says, that M^r Provost (viz. Fox.) had been there in great jeopardy. v. MS. Coll: Corp: Chr: Miscellan: P. D^r Buckmaster was elected Vice-chancellor of Cambr: Octobr: 17, an: 1529. Ex Reg-ro Acad. So the time when it passt at Cambr: is fixt and certain. It passt at Cambridge Mar: 9. an: 1529.

P. 87. [Crooke's Original Letters. marg.]+

P. 89. [no Money &c. marg.] Rastal (in the notes of S^r Tho: Moor's Life) says the King had spent 100,000 [sic] about procuring y^e Instruments of y^e Universities for his Divorce [*The Notes here spoken of are thus described by Baker in a note on the fly-leaf of a copy of S^r Tho: M's works in the Library of St John's.* "The Publisher of these works W^m Rastell wrote the Life of S^r Tho: More. I have seen, certen breef notes appertaining to Byshope Fyshere MSS: collected out of S^r Tho: More's Lyfe, written by M^r Justice Restall; why that Life was not prefixt to S^r Tho: More's works, I cannot say, unless it were wrote after, the Title bearing, *Justice Restall*, w^{ch} he was not till a little before the Queen's death."}]‡ There is a Treatise printed at Luneburg, An: 1532, dedicated to the Emperor's Ambassador in England, Eustathius Chapnysius, w^{ch} charges very indirect practices by moneys, and bribes, and by taking opinions in vacation time, when very few members were present, and those easily corrupted. (v: Tr: Cl: 19, 9, 23. This Treatise is against y^e Divorce.) And amongst those very many retracted y^r opinions. ib: p. 5. There were only seaven foreign universities in all: ib. 14. and most of those French; ib. Præf. The Spaniards, Germans &c were on the other side: ib. Sanders who may lye in other matters, yet brings too plain proof of this, viz, of corruption and Bribes: v: Sander. p. 49, 50 &c. So does Cochleus in his Letter to K. Hen: 8, dat: An: 1536. And Rich. Morysine in His Answere confesseth, that moneys was given, and

* In the Baker MSS. in the British Museum, vol. x., p. 244. (Index published in 1848.) I give a copy below from the transcript in the Univ. Libr., C. 232.

† Several are printed in Ellis. Ser. 3.

‡ It appears from the index to Baker's MSS. that the notes here spoken of are transcribed in vol. xx., p. 11-201, of the MSS. This volume is in the British Museum. (Index, v. Fisher.) See too Burnet, vol. i., p. 41, 42.

defends it, only says, that they were small summs, and rather Fees than Bribes. v. Apomaxis, p. 50. 52 &c. v. Cavendish. p. 58.*

Note Additional to p. 86.

The Vicechancellor Dr Buckmaster's Letter concerning the matter of the King's Divorce.

To the Right Worshipfull Mr. Dr. Edmondes, Vicar of Alborne, in Wiltshire.

My duty remembered, I heartily commend me unto you, & I let you understand, that Dominica 2^{da} at afternoon, I came to Windsor, & also to part of Mr. Latimer's sermon, & after the end of the same, I spake with Mr. Secretary, & also with Mr. Provost, and so after Evensong I delivered our Letters in the Chamber of Presence, all the Court beholding. The King with Mr. Secretary did there read them, but not the Letters of Determination, notwithstanding that I did there also deliver them with a Proposition. His Highness gave me there great thanks, & talked with me a good while. He much lauded our Wisdome & good conveyance in the matter, with the great quietness in the same. He shewed me also what he had in his Hands for our University, according unto that, that Mr. Secretary did express unto us, &c. So he departed. But by & by he greatly praised Mr. Latimer's Sermon, & in so praising sayd on this wise, This displeaseth greatly Mr. Vicechancellor yonder. Yon same, sayd he unto the Duke of Norfolk, is Mr. Vicechancellor of Cambridge, & so pointed unto me. Then he spake secretly unto the s^d Duke, w^{ch} after the King's departure came unto me, & welcomed me, saying amongst other things, that the King would speak with me on the next day: And here is the first Act. On the next day, I waited untill it was Dinner time, & so at the last Dr. Butt came unto me and brought a Reward; Twenty Nobles for me, and five Marks for the Younger Proctor, w^{ch} was with me; saying, that I should take that for a resolute answer, & that I might depart from the Court when I would.—Then came Mr. Provost & when I had shew'd him of the answere, he sayd, I should speak with the King at after dinner, for all that, & so brought me into a privy place, where as he would have me to wait. At after dinner I came thither & he both, & by one of the Clock, the King entered in. It was in a Gallary. There were Mr. Secretary, Mr. Provost, Mr. Latimer, Mr. Proctor & I & no more. The King there talked with us untill six of the Clock. I assure you, he was scarce contented with Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provost, that this was not also determined: An Papa possit dispensare, &c.? I made the best, & confirmed the same that they had shewed his Grace before; & how it would never have been obtained. He opened his minde, saying, that he would have it determined at after Easter, & of y^e same we counsailed awhile. I pray you therefore study for us, for our Business is not yet at an end; An Papa potest dispensare cum Jure

* See Croke's Letter in Ellis. Ser. III. Letter 184.

Divino? &c. Much other conversation we had, w^{ch} were too long here to write. Thus his Highness departed casting a little Holy Water of the court; & I shortly after took my leave of Mr. Secretary & Mr. Provost, with whome I did not drink, ne yet was bidden, & on the morrow departed from thence, thinking more than I did say, & being glad that I was out of the Court, where many men, as I did both hear & perceive, did wonder at me. And here shall be an end for this time of this Fable. All the world almost cryeth out of Cambridge for this Act, & specially on me. But I must bear it as well as I may. I have losst a Benifice by it, w^{ch} I should have had, within these ten days. For there hath one faln in Mr. Throkmort: gift, w^{ch} he hath faithfully promised unto me, many a time. But now his minde is turned, & aliniate from me. If ye go to the Court at after Easter, I pray you leave me in remembrance there, as ye shall think best. But of this no more.—Mr. Latimer preacheth still. Quod æmuli ejus graviter ferunt. I am informed that Oxford hath now elected certain to determine y^e King's Question. I hear say also that Mr. Provost was there in great jeopardy. Other tidings I have none at this time, but that all the Company be in good Health, & heartily saluteth you. And thus fare you heartily well. At Cambridge, in crastino Dominicæ Palmarum.

Your own to his power,

WILLIAM BUCKMASTER.

The King willed me to send unto you, }
 & to give you word of his pleasure }
 in the s^d Question.

In a letter from the University, An. Reg. Ed. 6* thus, *Recenti adhuc memoriâ vigent Dr. Thompson de Coll. Christi; Dr. Nattres, de Aula Clar: Dr. Egglesfield ex Coll: Jesu; Item, Dr. Buckmaster, Socinus Aulæ Regis.*

He was fellow of Peterhouse at the writing this Letter, & so owed duty to the Master Dr. Edmunds.†

I am, &c.,

St. John's College, June 1, 1849.

J. E. B. MAYOR.

DODD'S CHURCH HISTORY.

SIR,—By the merest accident in the world, my attention has this moment been called to a passage in the last or May number of your Magazine, which, I think, entitles me to claim your indulgence for a brief reply. It occurs in the article on "Gibson's Preservative against Popery," wherein the writer is pleased to speak of what he calls "the republishing mania" among Catholics; and, having thus prepared the ground for his attack, proceeds to mention me as "one curious example" of "the incompetent editors, selected only as being thorough-

* That is, I suppose, "in the sixth year of Edward." I have here, as everywhere else, followed exactly the documents themselves.

† See Ascham. Epist. Lib. 2, 39, p. 112, Ed. 1703, for another notice of Dr. Buckmaster, and Baker's MSS. in the British Museum, vol. xiv. p. 171, for some account of his Vicechancellorship.

going men for their party," with whom they (the Catholics) "have had to contend." On the mere question of competency, or incompetency, it would ill become me to speak; and, had my anonymous assailant confined himself to the simple expression of his opinion on the subject, I must have been contented to submit to it in silence. But he has done more. He has stated what he would wish the world to receive as facts; and, as these facts possess not the slightest foundation in truth, he must excuse me if I not only demur to his accusations, but also endeavour, through the medium of your pages, to set myself right with your readers.

The charges advanced by your correspondent may be reduced to three heads:—that, in my edition of "Dodd's Church History," I have "taken several very extraordinary liberties with my author, of which I have given the reader no notice whatsoever;" that these liberties "are of such a nature, that the student who would quote Dodd can never tell, without reference to the original edition, whether he is reading the words of the author, or the additions (to say nothing of suppressions) of the editor;" and, finally, as "the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this publication"—the one, in fact, on which your correspondent evidently relies to establish my incompetence—that, "in the course of my researches," I "never seem to have discovered the name of the author, whose work I undertook to edit," (pp. 530, 531.) A few words on each of these points will perhaps show whether the "thorough-going" qualities of the partisan rest entirely with me, or are more gracefully illustrated in the conduct of my accomplished critic.

1st. With regard to the "liberties" which I have taken with my author, and to the omission of all reference to this supposed fact. In the Prospectus, circulated before the appearance of the work, and again in the Advertisement prefixed to the first volume, having alluded to the difficulties under which Dodd wrote, to the consequent inaccuracies and omissions observable in his History, and especially to "the defective arrangement of his materials," I proceed as follows:—"From the mention of these defects, the public will readily anticipate the design of the present edition. Where an error shall appear, it will be corrected; where an omission of consequence shall be discovered, it will be supplied. If the mistake extend only to a date, or affect only an immaterial portion of the narrative, it will be rectified, without notice, in the text. In other instances, whether of inaccuracy or omission, a note will be inserted; and whatever the researches of later historians may have discovered will invariably be added." Now, these, with the transposition of certain parts and passages, which was necessary in order to remedy "the defective arrangement of Dodd's materials," and which is also specially noticed in the Prospectus and the Advertisement, are the *whole* of the "liberties" which I have taken with this author. Whether they are altogether so "unwarrantable," as my assailant is pleased to assert, the public will judge; but that I have omitted to apprise the reader of what I have done, is one of those assertions which, with the evidence of the above extract before us, will be best described as simply untrue.

2nd. But there is no special and particular indications of the "liberties" which I have taken with my author; so that, in reality, "the student can never tell whether he is reading Dodd's words," or only "the additions" which I have made to Dodd. Now, what are the facts? It is, of course, unnecessary to advert to the large mass of original papers with which I have enriched the work, and which are there printed for the first time. Setting these, therefore, aside, my additions, in the first and second volumes, are confined, I think exclusively, to the notes; in the third and fourth, they comprise, besides the notes, a few pages of text relative to the foundation of certain religious houses abroad, together with two entire articles, or original papers, on the subject of Persecution; and these additions, both in the notes and in the text, are not only *printed within brackets*, but are, moreover, all and each of them, *actually marked with my initial*. In the fifth volume, I have been equally careful to distinguish my additions from the original matter. That volume is almost entirely my own. The first article in it is expressly headed as an "*Additional Article*," and is moreover marked, *not only in the text, but also in each separate note, with my initial*. The other additions in the volume are also placed within brackets and similarly marked: while, to remove the very possibility of doubt upon the subject, I have prefixed to it an *Advertisement*, in which the very first words declare that, "with the exception of a very few pages, it is offered to the public as *an original supplement to what Dodd has written*." It is difficult to imagine that your correspondent would venture to speak so confidently and so unsparingly of a work which he had not seen; and yet, if we reject this supposition, I am afraid that we must adopt a much more unfavourable one.

3rd. I now come to the last of your correspondent's charges—my alleged ignorance of Dodd's real name. I "*seem*," so he assures his readers, to be "quite unconscious that Dodd was a fictitious name, and that the real author was not Charles Dodd, but Hugh Tootle." And so, to *seem unconscious* is, in the apprehension of this writer, to be *really ignorant*: not to enunciate any particular fact whenever and wherever he may please to look for it, is the same thing as to be utterly unacquainted with it, and to be in reality wholly "incompetent" for the task I have undertaken! But what is the real amount of ignorance or incompetence displayed by me in this matter? That, *in the work itself*, so far as it has yet gone, I have nowhere alluded to the fictitious nature of the signature under which the Church History was published, is undoubtedly true: but I have mentioned it elsewhere, and *in immediate connexion with the work*; and had my assailant's "researches" been as extensive as he would doubtless wish the world to believe them, he would, I suspect, have been aware of this. If, however, he is really ignorant of it, let him look at the *Prospectus*, which was issued, and extensively circulated, shortly before the appearance of the first volume; and he will there find, in the very first words of the first sentence, the following explicit statement:—"The work of HUGH TOOTLE, better known under the assumed name of CHARLES DODD, stands alone among the compilations of Catholic His-

tory." That this was not repeated in the *Advertisement* prefixed to the work, was the effect of design. Dodd's Life was to be inserted in its proper place, in the biographical part of the History: and it was unnecessary to set forth in the Advertisement what would more appropriately appear in the Life.

With this I take leave of your correspondent. To the insinuated charge of "*suppression*," I disdain to offer a reply. Insinuation is the weapon of the literary, as of the moral, assassin. If my assailant mean to accuse me of having dishonestly mutilated any part or passage of the History, let him do it distinctly and manfully, and I shall then know how to deal with him.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Edinburgh, June 5, 1849.

M. A. TIERNEY.

CRITICAL REMARKS ON JAMES, III. 18.

SIR,—To make intelligible the remarks I am about to offer on James, iii. 18, I will begin by quoting the passage as it stands in the Greek. καρπὸς δὲ δικαιοσύνης ἐν εἰρήνῃ σπείρεται τοῖς ποιῶσιν εἰρήνην. The received translation of these words is, "And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace." For reasons, which I shall presently state, the following translation, which follows more closely the order of the words in the original, appears to be preferable: "And fruit from righteousness in peace is sown by them that make peace." The former translation conveys to the English reader the idea that righteousness is the fruit sown, and that it is sown in peace by them that make peace. Whereas the Greek rather signifies that righteousness is a plant yielding fruit, and that fruit from this plant of a particular kind, designated by the words ἐν εἰρήνῃ, is sown by the act of making peace. Thus, by a beautiful antithesis, the inward perception of the spiritual fruit of peace, is placed in relation with the outward act of righteousness in making peace. The same construction of the preposition ἐν, with the noun, to designate that wherein the fruit consists, occurs in Ephes. v. 9. Ὁ γὰρ καρπὸς τοῦ φωτὸς ἐν πάσῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ.

The above interpretation is supported by a similar passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xii. 11), which may be thus rendered: "Now no correction for the present seems to be joyous but grievous; yet afterwards it makes a return of peaceful fruit from righteousness to them that are exercised thereby. The original of the latter clause is, ὕστερον δὲ καρπὸν εἰρηνικὸν τοῖς δι' αὐτῆς γεγυμνασμένοις ἀποδίδωσι δικαιοσύνης, where it is evident, from the collocation of the words, that δικαιοσύνης is not the genitive case after καρπὸν, but is governed by the preposition in ἀποδίδωσι. In this passage, καρπὸν εἰρηνικὸν precisely amounts to καρπὸς ἐν εἰρήνῃ in that from the Epistle of St. James.

It is worthy of remark, that the definite article is not placed before καρπὸς in the passage under consideration. This is most probably to be accounted for by saying that fruit from righteousness is various in kind, and that one kind among several is indicated by the addition of

ἐν εἰρήνῃ. St. Paul, in Gal. v. 22, where he speaks collectively of the fruit of the spirit, has ὁ καρπός. In the enumeration that follows of particular fruits, *peace* is included.

The translation I have been advocating has an important bearing on a question of doctrine. St. Paul says, (Rom. v. 1), "Being justified by faith (δικαιωθέντες ἐκ πίστεως) we have peace with God." According to St. James, peace follows upon an outward act of righteousness. Does it not, therefore, follow, that the δικαιοσύνη ἐκ πίστεως of St. Paul is *actual* righteousness, and that it springs from, or comes after, faith (as the preposition ἐκ points out), because, without faith it is impossible to *do* the things that are pleasing in the sight of God? Requesting your favourable reception of these remarks,

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. C.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC OATH.

OUR readers, we doubt not, have not forgotten the remarkable extracts we transcribed from the *Tablet*, with regard to the Roman Catholic Oath. We shall proceed to lay before them some documents which have since appeared in the same newspaper, and which appear to us to be as remarkable, and as worthy of preservation, as anything which has emanated from the Roman-catholic party, since the passing of the Act of Emancipation.

"THE CATHOLIC OATH.

"On the 21st May a petition was presented to Parliament by Mr. Sharman Crawford for the alteration of the Catholic oath. It was signed by the Rev. Mr. Green, and forty members of the congregation of Mawley, in Shropshire, and it accords with the sentiments which have been already expressed by the rev. gentleman in his recent letter in this journal. We confess we very much sympathise with Mr. Green in this effort of his. In common, we imagine, with all our readers, we look upon the oath with very great aversion, and could never take it but with the greatest repugnance. It is, moreover, an oath which in the wording is so exceedingly obscure and ambiguous, that every sentence, phrase, and word, are rather to be considered as pegs to hang doubts upon than as the expression of a rational and clearly conceived meaning.

"Not that we believe the reputed framers really drew it up with the intention of making it such as it is. They had a very difficult part to play; many different interests and conflicting prejudices to reconcile and satisfy; and in the wild imaginations of those by whom they were opposed, had to encounter a variety of unknown dangers, for meeting which a vague phraseology was the natural and almost the necessary instrument. From this, or some other cause, the oath, which ought to be simple, solemn, formal, precise and unmistakeable, is exactly the reverse; and to crown all, you are obliged to swear that you take the oath 'in the plain and ordinary sense of the words,'

when the words have no plain sense, but are very extraordinary nonsense. Such being the real nature of the oath, half-a-dozen different opinions prevailing as to its meaning and obligations, and the chief end it serves being an occasion for bandying charges of perjury, there is just one course which the Legislature, if it be composed of men of honour, ought to take—and that is, to amend the oath ; to make it convey a clear and intelligible meaning, and to relieve Catholics from the odious imputations to which it has given rise. If the Catholic members of Parliament had any spirit of unity, or felt much real interest in the subject, they would never be content to leave it in its present state. It makes the blood of every honourable Catholic boil with indignation when he thinks that the Legislature creates materials for Exeter Hall slander, and makes the mouths of Catholic noblemen and gentlemen the pit from which the calumny is digged. How it is that these legislative Catholics stifle their wrath so completely, and endure the shame flung on their religion with so much and such enduring meekness, it is beyond our sagacity to discover. The ‘oath’ ought to be the subject of regular standing agitation in Parliament ; and just as ready as Exeter Hall fanatics are to taunt Catholics with an inclination to perjury, just so resolute ought the Catholics to be, to take from them the not unplausible pretences upon which the charge is based.

“ Having entered so far into the subject, we feel ourselves compelled—not indeed to revive the controversy of 1835-6—but to modify some opinions we have expressed about the oath when we have formerly spoken of it. We take it for granted that every Catholic who has taken the oath, has taken it *bonâ fide* to the best of his opinion, and has kept it with the same exactness. We have no imputation to make on anybody else, and no wish except that the doubt as to the meaning of the oath should be cleared up by an alteration of its form, or rather that it should be altogether abolished ; but having somewhat changed our opinion on this same meaning, we wish to explain it frankly.

“ There are two ways in which the oath may be considered. The first is, as of an oath drawn up by hostile politicians, who, careless about the honesty of the act, laboured to gull and delude the Protestant fanatics on the one side, by a trap artfully laid for Catholic consciences on the other ; politicians who cared little about the meaning or sanctity of the oath, and with their eyes open exposed us to the danger and disrepute of perjury as a means of escaping from a stubborn political dilemma. If this supposition were true, nothing would be more justifiable than to take the ambiguous words of the parliamentary formula, and, in the absence of any distinct or consistent *animus* on the part of the imponent, put on them the least stringent interpretation the words will bear. This, we confess, is the view we have heretofore taken of the oath, and we have thus found no difficulty in justifying the laxest practical exposition of it. In point of fact, no human being can educe a clear and undeniable meaning from the words. The man who takes the oath, meaning to

conform to the intention of the Legislature as expressed in words, swears by approximation.

"But, besides the words, there is another guide—the circumstances under which the words were chosen; not the mere language of Sir Robert Peel or the Duke of Wellington, in proposing the measure, but the whole train of circumstances which preceded and determined the particular form of the Emancipation Act and the oath contained in it. These circumstances were never brought fully under our notice until we received the other day three pamphlets published by Mr. Eneas Macdonnell in 1835. We should be ashamed if we allowed any consideration of Mr. Macdonnell's unpopularity with many of our readers to prevent our acknowledgment that the facts he has collected together have very materially altered our opinion.

"Mr. Macdonnell says emphatically that 'the Catholic oath did not originate with Protestants; it was not Protestant either in its conception, its birth, or its growth. It is substantially, literally, purely, emphatically, a Catholic oath; suggested by Catholics, desired by Catholics, conceded to Catholics, framed in the spirit and almost in the terms proposed by Catholics, and taken by Catholics.' But Mr. Macdonnell not only *says* this; it seems to us that unless his arguments can be confuted, or rather unless he can be proved guilty of mis-stating facts, he *demonstrates* these startling propositions.

"Startling indeed they are to us twenty years after emancipation; but whoever carries his mind back to the period before emancipation, and to the desperate eagerness with which priest and layman, the zealous and the selfish, alike struggled for that great boon, will find it somewhat easier to understand how promises should have been made and engagements entered into which we now hardly find credible. When the holy father himself was prepared to grant a veto, what minor liberality in the same kind of traffic can be wondered at?

"It is possible that Mr. Macdonnell's facts may be disputed; but it is singular that in the long and hot controversy of '35 and '36, the points upon which he takes his stand were ignored on both sides; and perhaps, therefore, even many of our readers whom that discussion wearied, may find something new in what we are going to lay before them. Mr. Macdonnell commences his illustration of the purpose the oath was intended to serve, so far back as 1757, when the Catholics of Ireland issued a declaration of principles of which the author was Dr. O'Keefe, the Catholic Bishop of Kildare.

"9th. It has been objected to us, that we wish to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead. Now we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention; and further, if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by our being restored to the right of the elective franchise, *we are ready, in the most solemn manner, to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion, or Protestant Government in this country.*—(P. 17.)

"English official language, like everything else English, is never struck out at a heat, but grows; and the beginning of the present

Catholic oath, says Mr. Macdonnell, is to be found in this very declaration. In 1793 the Irish Catholics had conceded to them the elective franchise on condition of taking an oath which was framed by Dr. Duigenan, and follows almost word for word the formula supplied by Dr. O'Keefe.*

"In 1792 the Catholics of Ireland presented a petition to the Irish Parliament, in which they 'solemnly and conscientiously declare, that we are satisfied with the present condition of our ecclesiastical policy. With satisfaction we acquiesce in the establishment of the National Church; we neither repine at its possessions nor envy its dignities; *we are ready, upon this point, to give every assurance that is binding upon man.*'

"In 1812 the Catholics of Ireland petitioned the United Parliament, and strenuously insisted on the terms of the oath above-mentioned, and the perfect security given by it to the Irish Church Establishment.

"Mr. Macdonnell also quotes the declarations, printed and spoken, of many lay personages of distinction—English and Irish—to the same effect. These, for brevity, we omit, but the language of two distinguished ecclesiastics must not be passed by. The Rev. Michael Collins, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, being asked by the Commons Committee of 1824, whether, 'when the disabilities were removed, the Roman Catholics as a body would *acquiesce in the present settlement of church property,*' replied, '*I am satisfied they would.*'

"The Venerable Doctor Doyle was questioned on the same point, and the difficulty of a Catholic honestly giving security to the Establishment was pointed out to him. But the good bishop shows that there was no difficulty in the case.

"'Entertaining those tenets, how do you conceive that a Roman-catholic ecclesiastic can recognise and engage for the maintenance of a Protestant ecclesiastical establishment?—I do not see anything more easy than that, because the state in which we live has been pleased in its wisdom to establish a certain mode of worship, and to give certain immunities and privileges to the clergy of that establishment; this entering into the state as an integral part, why should not we support the state which supports that establishment? I do not see certainly, how that interferes at all with our tenets; but I view it just in that light in which I have placed it before your lordships.'

"In 1826 the Irish Catholic Association, in an address to the people of England, pointed to the oath of 1793 as giving full security to the establishment. 'Far from meditating the overthrow and destruction of the Protestant Government and Protestant establishment of the empire, *we are ready to swear, as we already do swear, to support, &c. &c.*'

"* I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power, the settlement and arrangement of property in this country, as established by the laws now in being; I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead; and I do solemnly swear, that I will not exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom.—So help me God.—(P. 19.)"

"In the same year the Irish bishops all concurred in a pastoral address, in which they refer to the oath of 1793, insist on the security which it gives to the establishment, and declare that they 'approve, subscribe, and publish' it.

"In the same year the English vicars-apostolic published a declaration, in which they insist upon it that they 'regard all the revenues and temporalities of the church establishment as the property of those on whom they are settled by the laws of the land.'

"In the same year the 'British Roman Catholics' published and circulated with this declaration of the bishops, a declaration of their own, in which they profess their devotion to the institutions of the country, and treat the charge of hostility to any of them as an imputation of guilt. 'Every principle or practice hostile in the remotest degree to those institutions we most explicitly disclaim. *Year after year we repeat the humiliating task of disavowal; still we suffer the penalties of guilt.*'

"In 1827, these acts and declarations were again referred to publicly as containing an exposition of Catholic purposes.

"Previous to the 6th March, 1828, the British Catholic Association had distributed 297,150 copies of tracts in which these various protestations were contained, with the view of convincing their enemies that emancipation would bring with it no danger (among other things) to the property of the Establishment.

"Through 1828 and in 1829, the same distribution continued; the same assurances were repeated; the same securities offered.

"The case then stands thus:—

"In 1757, a form of words was invented by the Catholics themselves, to be sworn to as a security for the property of the Establishment.

"In 1793, a partial emancipation was granted, and an oath, following almost servilely the Catholic form, was enacted as the condition of emancipation.

"From 1793 to 1829 (that is, for thirty-six years) the Catholics on both sides of the Channel, of every order and class, exhausted the English language, and expended immense sums of money in devising and circulating the most solemn declarations to convince Protestants that the oath of 1793 did provide them the most ample security for the inviolability of their church property.

"In 1829, a new emancipation was granted. The condition of it was made—a new form of oath?—*no*; but the old form of 1793 and 1757, invented by the Catholic Bishop of Kildare, and accepted by Dr. Duigenan, as a perfect security for the property of the Establishment; that same old form, made, by an omission and one or two small verbal alterations, more stringent and less obnoxious to quibble and evasion. For the sake of comparison, we add in a note the material clauses of the oath of 1829.*

* I do swear that I will defend, to the utmost of my power, the settlement of property within this realm, as established by the laws; and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establish-

"The present Catholic oath is not Sir Robert Peel's oath, nor is the meaning of it to be settled by doubtful and conflicting words (if any) which fell from him in the emancipation debate. It is the traditional form of words which, for two and seventy years before 1829, the Catholics, with the most solemn adjurations, had held out as giving perfect security to the Establishment, offering at the same time to give greater security, if any greater could be desired. It is an oath which, if it is to be interpreted by its inventors, must be interpreted by the Catholic Dr. O'Keefe and the Protestant Dr. Duigenan. It is an oath of which the circumstances that determine the mind of the imponent are not the transactions of 1828 and 1829, but an uninterrupted current of facts and declarations, extending through more than seventy years, and all pointing to the same construction with a unanimity which can be neither gainsaid nor mistaken.

"These being the facts, if the present writer had the honour of a seat in parliament—unless and until he be better informed—he would no more presume to vote for the alienation of any Protestant church property, so long as that oath was in being, than he would blaspheme God or renounce his faith. With other men's opinions we have nothing to do; still less do we make any imputation on other men's consciences. We know that honest men, Catholic and Protestant, have differed and do differ on the obligations of the oath; and for this purpose we cannot but concur with all those who urge that a new oath, less doubtful in its form, should be insisted on, and the whole question put for the first time on an honourable and rational basis."

This article was published in the *Tablet* of June 2nd, and on Saturday the 9th appeared the following:—

"THE CATHOLIC OATH.

"We expected to be deluged with answers to our remarks of last week on the meaning and obligations of the Catholic oath. At present we have received none such, but instead of them most unmistakeable proofs that what we have written has given offence in a quarter where, in our humble judgment, no such offence ought to have been taken. We have also received from another quarter very emphatic approbation; and from a third quarter an energetic protest, not against our construction of the oath, but against its lawfulness, and against the Catholic members who take it; and a very vehement intimation of opinion that the oath is to the members who take it pregnant with 'damnation.' This last opinion, going as it does considerably beyond anything we have said or even thought, is the opinion of an Irish priest living in Ireland, and moreover a very zealous Old Irelander. We mention this fact for a reason which will presently be apparent. Those who approve what we have written, and those who go beyond what we have written, we shall take the liberty to pass by

ment, as settled by law within this realm; and I do solemnly swear that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in the United Kingdom."

for the present, and address ourselves solely to the indications of dislike forwarded to us from the source first alluded to. We take these in their order.

“(1.) Our *‘article of last Sunday is unnecessary.’* We reply most respectfully that we acknowledge no better judge than ourselves as to when it may be necessary for us to lay before our readers such opinions as we have the fortune to form on matters of public interest. No person can be so well acquainted as ourselves with the reasons which may make it necessary for us to adopt a particular course on a particular occasion; and as in this instance we have not thought it requisite to explain all our reasons for writing about the oath, we venture humbly to demur to the remonstrance of any objector who, not knowing all the facts, pronounces our conduct *‘unnecessary.’* In this particular instance, however, the explanation is, in part, not very far to seek. When the subject was formerly under discussion, we expressed and enforced an opinion that the oath did not bind Catholic members from assailing the temporalities of the Protestant Church Establishment. We did so, we need hardly add, in perfect good faith, grounding ourselves on the slipshod, careless, unmeaning language of the oath itself. About twelve days ago we received for the first time evidence which—unless it can be shown to be untrue—has completely altered our opinion. Finding ourselves, therefore, in the position of one who has unwittingly propagated a false notion of a most important public duty, we took the earliest possible opportunity of correcting the mistake. In our view it can rarely be called *‘unnecessary’* to correct mistakes, to retract mistaken opinions, and to substitute truth for falsehood. But this is not all. Our readers know well that this very oath has been a prominent subject of parliamentary discussion during the current session, and that clashing opinions about it have been expressed by Catholic members. We venture, then, to think that it may it may be just as *‘necessary’* for us to publish our poor opinion as for Mr. Sheil, Mr. Anstey, Lord Arundel and Surrey, and Mr. J. O’Connell to give publicity to theirs. But, further, we beg to call the attention of the objector to a notice of motion given for last Tuesday by Mr. Bernal Osborne:—*‘For a committee of the House to take into consideration the temporalities of the Church of Ireland.’* No doubt every reader thinks it *‘unnecessary’* for any one else to do what he dislikes; but when a question is raised as to the meaning of an oath taken by Catholic members, who in the course of three days will be called on to put upon it one construction or another, and either to keep the oath or to break it, we do not see how it can be *‘unnecessary’* for a Catholic journalist to labour to throw a small ray of light on the matter, and to help the members aforesaid to form a clear understanding of the obligations they have taken upon themselves.

“(2.) Our article is, *‘despite the faint reservations, not very charitable.’* Possibly it may not be very charitable to differ from our correspondent as to the meaning of a public document; but what rather occurs to us is, that if our opinion be sound, it would not be very charitable to contribute even our passive aid to what we think a

violation of public faith. In these cases it seems to us that the obligations of truth, honour, and honesty, are identical with those of charity. We repeat that we judge no one who differs from us; we do not even suspect such of evil intention; but we are not bound to take the good intentions of any person, however respectable, as the measure of our judgment upon facts.

“(3.) Our article ‘has given a triumph to the *Standard*, to Eneas Macdonnell, to Newdegate, and to Spooner.’ We don’t know how this concerns us in any way. What we do know is, that to advocate and enforce truth gives no triumph to the Father of Lies or to any subject of that distinguished potentate. About any other triumphs, real or imaginary, we do not profess to take much heed. The one thing needful in this matter, is to have the oath and its meaning distinctly understood and rigidly acted on, or as rigidly renounced and refused. If the gentlemen above enumerated make an ill-natured triumph out of our attempts to produce this result, they are perfectly welcome—as far as we are concerned—to any worldly satisfaction or spiritual benefit they can extract from so questionable a proceeding. Up to the present moment, however, we have seen no evidence of any such design.

“(4.) The objector charitably hopes the article in question was not written by the Editor. Ordinarily we leave our writings, such as they are, to speak for themselves; but if proclaiming the authorship of our remarks can lend weight in any quarter to the tenor of them, we are happy to avow that the article was written by the Editor, and that it expresses his deliberate opinion until he be better informed about the facts.

“(5.) Under the supposition that it was not written by the Editor, the objector ‘does not hesitate to say that it is of the usual stamp of the effusions of English (born) Catholics, when they think that they can make a point or join a cry against an Irishman, and at the same time vindicate their own superior godliness.’ An author is generally a very bad judge of the ‘stamp’ of his ‘effusions,’ and therefore it may be as our correspondent suggests. If so, we deeply regret that so foul an earmark should be discovered on what we have written. We console ourselves, however, with thinking that probably the Irish Priest who is in such terrible alarm about the ‘damnation’ of the Catholic members is still more tainted with English illiberality than ourselves. Surely our correspondent will not shut his eyes to the fact that (whatever may be the case with Italy or some other countries much talked of recently) *Truth*, at all events, is not a ‘geographical expression.’ What is true is not the less true because some Irish members happen to be concerned in it. But the fact is, that the point at issue has no special bearing upon Ireland or Irish members. The oath is Catholic, not Irish. The Catholic members who have taken it are from both sides of the Channel; and the English member for Beverley put the same construction on it, with reference to the appropriation clause, as the Irish member for Dublin.

“The Hon. Mr. Langdale and the late Mr. Edward Blount were as ardent upholders of what we should call the lax view of the oath, as

any Irish members past or present ; and the notion that there is any 'point' or 'cry' against Irishmen is, therefore, simply unfounded. The question is about the meaning of an oath which is taken by all Catholic members, and which therefore concerns all Catholics—British, colonial, and foreign. The endeavour to construct an Irish grievance out of such a difference of opinion would rather tend to show that reasons are not quite as plenty as blackberries, and that it is easier to complain than to confute. If we are wrong, and if any of our readers have any facts to allege which prove our error, we shall be happy to consider and make them known ; but in the meantime we altogether decline to treat the rectification of a point of honour and honesty as 'unnecessary,' or to be influenced by the dictum that there is any insult to Ireland in differing with half-a-dozen English gentlemen as to the construction of an oath which is taken by every English Catholic member of Parliament, and by every English Catholic barrister."

In the *Tablet* of June 16th was published the following letter from the Irish Priest, to whom the Editor had alluded in the preceding article :—

" THE CATHOLIC OATH.

" Dear Sir,—I perceive, by the *Tablet* of last Saturday, that you have made allusion to my letter on the 'Catholic Oath.' Allow me to thank you for this favour, and to request your insertion of the following very easy syllogism, and the explanation of its second proposition, which I believe to be conclusive on the point at issue between you and the Catholic members of Parliament.

" 1st.—An oath, in the Catholic meaning, is an invocation of the Almighty, as a witness, that truth is spoken by the swearer.

" 2nd.—But the Catholic member (*in fieri*) of Parliament takes an oath, that he will not interfere with the present position of the Established Church in these kingdoms.

" 3rd.—Therefore he invokes God to witness that he speaks the truth.

" Now, dear Sir, a portion of *our* general creed, nay, of the world's creed, is—that it is a rank perjury to take an oath offensive to God, and consequently invoke the Almighty to witness the same. But what is the oath taken by our Catholic members ? That they will not make use of their vote, as members of the Imperial Parliament, to the detriment of the present establishment of the Protestant church. Can this be an oath pleasing in the eyes of God, and worthy of *Him* as a witness ? That the present and past establishment has been and is the robber of the industrious agriculturist ; the robber of the famishing widow and orphan, whose food and raiment it has taken away to feed the sleepy glutton of the sinecure and the propagator of a system of slow persecution against the Catholic church, is too evident to require proof. And yet a Catholic swears that he will not intermeddle with such a system of injustice ! 'Tis blasphemy added to perjury. Let Catholic members think upon this.

" Yours, dear Sir,

" THE IRISH PRIEST."

In the same number of the *Tablet* appeared the following editorial article:—

“THE PARLIAMENTARY OATHS BILL—THE CATHOLIC OATH.

“We have had another debate this week on the Parliamentary Oaths Bill, which has been read a third time and passed in the House of Commons. Its chief object, of course, is the emancipation of the Jews, which has our hearty good wishes. May they get it; and much good may it do them and us. But our interest in the debate concerns the Catholic oath far more than the Jewish oath; and we wish to show our readers what is thought in the House, by independent, intelligent and unprejudiced men, of the Catholic members who first swear the oath and then vote for assailing the temporalities of the Established Church. We take the following from an able speech by Mr. Roebuck:—

“ ‘He (Mr. Roebuck) was anxious to know what was meant by the term ‘the House was to be un-Christianised?’ (Hear, hear.) Why, they were about to admit certain gentlemen amongst them who openly professed the Jewish religion. (Hear, hear.) Were they sure they had none in that House who did not profess the Christian religion at the present time? (Hear, hear.) Had that never occurred to them? Surely the right hon. gentleman was sufficiently well read to know that once, ay, and twice, in the history of England, those sat in that House who openly abjured belief in the whole doctrines of Christianity. The right hon. gentleman, he could perceive, shook his head at this, and pointed to the table, meaning, he (Mr. Roebuck) supposed, to refer to *the oath—that cobweb by which they caught the honest man, but which was totally impotent against the person who did not care what or how many oaths they imposed upon him.* Did they think that the admission of half-a-dozen infidels (he would use the word at once), in spite of themselves, would un-Christianise the House? or did they flatter themselves that its un-Christianisation would be prevented by their swallowing an oath about which they cared nothing? But the right hon. gentleman said the bill was dangerous in another way, because they were about to admit Catholics who took this short oath. But what was to happen then? He had been obliged, he had said, to introduce, as a species of safeguard to the church, in order to conciliate opposition and to soften down the bigotry of his countrymen, a clause in the oath taken by the Catholics; and on the repeal of the Test Act the Dissenters had to bind themselves not to injure the Established Church. The same Catholic oath, nearly, had been administered down to this day, and what was the result? *Why, he thought, one Catholic had been pricked in his conscience about the oath—scarcely more than one.* He (Mr. Roebuck) had seen Catholics most properly legislating, voting, speaking, and doing all they possibly could, as members of Parliament, to alter the revenues of the Established Church. Had Catholics and Dissenters legislated on the Church of England just the same as if there had been no such clause? *And where, then, was the use of an idle oath, by which only one conscience was pricked—an oath that, like a flimsy web, could not catch the strong flies, but sometimes entangled the wings of a weak one.* (Hear, hear.)’

“ We commend this passage to the especial attention of our Catholic members of Parliament, English and Irish, and when they have pondered over it we exhort them to——do as they think best ! Mr. Roebuck is evidently mistaken in his history of the oath. He supposes it to have been borrowed from that framed for the Dissenters, instead of being, as it is, the same in substance with the Catholic oath of 1793, which was borrowed from the declaration of the Catholics, clerical and lay, in 1757. But in some other points of his speech Mr. Roebuck is (we suppose) unquestionably sound. Looking at the practice of the men about him, he evidently considers parliamentary oaths in the same light as many people do Custom House oaths—things of mere form ; vain ceremonies which it is wrong for the Legislature to impose ; which a condescension to the frailty and weakness of the House render a necessary evil ; but which limits none except a delicate and honourable conscience in the widest discharge of its legislative functions. This is Mr. Roebuck’s view of the case. He approves of Catholic members joining him in his attacks on the property of the Established Church, *and he is very glad that the oath does not answer the end it was intended to answer—that is, that it is not kept by the Catholics in the sense in which it was imposed by the Legislature.*

“ We beg the particular attention of our parliamentary readers to this plain and honest avowal. Mr. Roebuck is not an enemy of the Catholics, but of the bigots who tie them up with oaths and declarations. He solicits their aid, and thinks it ‘most proper’ that they should ‘legislate, vote, and speak, and do all they possibly can, to alter the revenues of the Established Church.’ But while he thinks thus, it never enters into his head to quibble about the terms of the oath or to pretend that the Catholic members keep it in the sense in which it was imposed. He takes the plain, common-sense view of the oath, and wishes it and all other oaths of the like kind abolished. He says that it was imposed to please the bigots and to secure the temporalities ; and he urges its abolition because it does not answer its end ; because it does not secure the temporalities ; because Catholic members on whom the oath was imposed to tie up their hands, break the puny bond, and just like other people put their fingers into the pockets of the Established Church.

“ Observe, this ally of the Catholics does not say that the oath means so and so ; that the Catholics take it in that sense, are bound by it, and keep it. No ; he pays them no such compliment. He says, that the oath was meant to restrain ; that the intention of the imponent was to restrain ; but that *in fact* the oath does not restrain, because neither Catholics nor anybody else will be restrained by parliamentary oaths any more than the common run of merchants are bound by Custom House oaths. In a word, he defends his Catholic allies by a frank confession or accusation of perjury !

“ Of course Mr. Roebuck is not infallible. But what the Catholic members of Parliament may be quite sure of is, that he speaks the sense of a large section of the House, and that the difference between their friends and enemies consists in one side accusing them of perjury and blaming it, and the other side confessing the perjury and defending it.

"There are two classes of Catholics, quoth Mr. Roebuck; one weak, the other strong; one small flies, the other great; one prickable in conscience, the other not prickable; one which takes the oath, carefully considers its meaning, resolves to obey it, and is restrained—the other, which bolts the oath without consideration, resolves never to heed it, and is *not* restrained. The weak, small, prickable Catholic parliamentary flies, whose wings are held by the flimsy web of an oath, are, according to Mr. Roebuck's enumeration, exactly *one* and no more. The strong, vigorous, robust, case-hardened, impenetrable consciences, the flies whom no web of an oath can hold or bind, are, according to the same shrewd observer, all the Catholic members but one. Now, we beg it to be understood that we don't go along with Mr. Roebuck in this enumeration; but we wish the fact of the general repute to be well understood. We wish to have it thoroughly comprehended that not the bigots alone think the Catholic members of Parliament break their oaths. Their most zealous and laxest friends complacently regard the best of them as good, honest, jolly men of the world, who wouldn't pick a pocket, tell a lie of the kind society thinks disgraceful, or refuse to pay debts of honour—but who are no more nice about other matters than men of the world should be, and whose moral capacities and functions fit them for swallowing and digesting on the largest scale oaths parliamentary and commercial. Say what you will, quibble as you will, and draw the finest and most airy distinctions—there is the great fact of public repute. When you take the oath and act on your sense of it, the world at large believes you to be strong, robust flies, whom the web of an oath cannot bind.

"But yet a step further. Observe how Mr. Roebuck puts our Catholic representatives on a level with infidels. It is perfectly edifying. You pretend to keep out all but Christians, he says, and you let in infidels. No—says his opponent—we exclude them by the oath. What, retorts Mr. Roebuck, don't you know that the robust infidel takes the oath 'on the faith of a Christian,' and swallows it without winking? And, he continues, is it not just the same with the Catholics? You think to bind them with an oath, but you have failed. Perhaps one weak, foolish, conscientious house-fly, has been held fast by your web; but for that one I can name six dozen noisy and vigorous blue-bottles who burst through the obstacle without effort or difficulty. As the infidel swears on that Christian faith which he does not hold, so Catholics swear to respect the temporalities of the Established Church, an oath which they do not keep.

"We have something more to say upon this subject, but this will suffice for the present; and in the meantime we beg to make way for the Rev. Mr. Green, who favours us with a very apt and seasonable quotation.

"To the Editor of the Tablet."

"Sir,—The cause of religion owes you a debt of gratitude for your just and seasonable observations on the Catholic oath, set forth in the *Tablet* of the 2nd inst. I hope that on the forthcoming occasion of Mr. Osborne's motion in the House of Commons, respecting the Irish Church Temporalities, they will prevent a recurrence of the grievous

scandals to which religion was subjected in the period intervening between the years 1832 and 1840. In the course of that period, owing to the part which certain Catholic members of Parliament took respecting the said Church Temporalities, and their lax and unsatisfactory interpretation of their oath, the Catholic religion was reviled and insulted throughout the length and breadth of the land.

“In confirmation of the statements of Mr. Eneas M'Donnell (if any confirmation should indeed be thought requisite), may I be allowed to subjoin the following testimony of the Duke of Wellington, given in the House of Lords, less than a twelvemonth ago. On Monday, Aug. 14, 1848, the Earl of Shrewsbury having complained of the oath on a former occasion, when a certain Catholic peer had ventured to express his opinion on the expediency of a re-distribution of the property of the Irish church—the Duke of Wellington is reported to have observed in reply :—‘The noble earl has complained of the oaths administered to your lordships upon taking your seats in this House, and seems to think that those oaths are very unjustly imposed. I beg the noble earl’s pardon upon that subject. Having been in Parliament, either in this or the other House, for a very considerable number of years, I have some recollection of the origin of the imposition of those oaths ; and if I am not mistaken, my lords, *every one of those oaths was founded upon propositions in a petition presented by those who are now unwilling to take them.* (Hear, hear, hear.) They demanded certain concessions on the part of Parliament—concessions with regard to objects which were considered as being essential to maintain for the support and protection of that which this, and the other House of Parliament, the legislature of this country can never cease to support. (Hear, hear.) They assured us, “We are suffering because we cannot adopt the tests, and take the oaths which we are required to take ; but we are ready to swear—as we have stated in our petition—that we have no desire otherwise than to support the existing state of property in this country.” *It was on these petitions—on the model of these petitions—on the contents of the petitions—as I can prove by the very words of these petitions themselves—by their contents, and the assurances which they contain, that these oaths were framed.* (Hear, hear.) Now, I would recommend the noble earl,’ &c. &c.

“I remain, &c. &c.,

“THOMAS GREEN.”

“Mawley, June 11, 1849.”

Mr. Green, our readers will recollect, is a Roman-catholic priest in Shropshire, whose petition to the House of Commons gave rise to the article we have reprinted from the *Tablet* of June 2. Another letter from him has been published in the *Tablet* for June 23. We here reprint it :—

“THE CATHOLIC OATH.

“To the Editor of the *Tablet*.

“Sir,—In addition to the evidence of the Duke of Wellington, quoted in the last week’s *Tablet*, with reference to the origin of the

Catholic oath, perhaps some further testimony to the same effect, on the part of Sir Robert Peel, may not be unacceptable to your readers. Your leading article of the 2nd inst. informed us, from the statements of Mr. Eneas M'Donnell, that in the year 1757 the Catholics of Ireland 'issued a declaration of their principles, of which the author was Dr. O'Keefe, the Catholic Bishop of Kildare;' that, 'in 1793 the Irish Catholics had conceded to them the elective franchise on condition of taking an oath which was *framed by Dr. Duigenan*, and follows almost word for word the formula supplied by Dr. O'Keefe;' and that in 1829, when a new emancipation was granted, 'the condition of it was . . . the same old form of 1793 and 1757 . . . made by an *omission*, and *one or two small verbal alterations*, more stringent, and less obnoxious to quibble and evasion.' The evidence of Sir Robert Peel will sufficiently explain the circumstances of the said 'omission' and the said 'one or two small verbal alterations,' and will also enable the reader to form some idea of the sense in which Sir Robert Peel understood the oath himself, and wished and intended the House of Commons to understand it.

"On Monday, March 23rd, 1829, when the House was in Committee on the oath, and *its several clauses were, each in succession, the immediate subject of debate*, Sir Robert Peel, in objecting to one of the amendments which were proposed, observed:—"I beg to refer my hon. friend to the oath framed by Dr. Duigenan in 1793; it runs thus: "And I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment *for the purpose of substituting a Roman Catholic Establishment in its stead*." The objection to that oath was, that a Roman Catholic might swear that he had no intention to substitute a Roman Catholic Establishment instead of the Protestant church, and yet that he might attempt to subvert the latter, if he had no intention of substitution. To meet this objection, I make the Roman Catholic swear positively that he has no intention to subvert or injure. However reluctantly,' &c.

"In a subsequent part of the debate, an amendment was moved by Mr. George Moore to insert in the clause, *And I do solemnly swear, &c.*, 'instead of the vague words which are now in it,' as he said, 'the language of his Majesty's recommendation to us, on the first day of the session. My clause will therefore,' he continued, 'run in this manner:—"And I do solemnly swear that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, *or any influence which I have or may possess* to disturb or weaken the *full and permanent security of the Protestant Establishment in Church and State, the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and the rights and privileges of the bishops and the churches committed to their charge*.'" And Sir Robert Peel, in reply, observed:—"I think that the declaration as I have framed it, is *stronger than the declaration as my honourable and learned friend has framed it*. I think that when I say to the Roman Catholic: "You shall not disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government," and call upon him to declare that he will not, *I make the declaration stronger than by enumerating the various objects which my honourable and learned friend has comprised in*

his amendment. . . . The clause, too, which the honourable and learned member proposes, is liable to the objection which was urged against the oath which was proposed by Dr. Duigenan, and which I have cured. The Doctor's oath ran in this form: "And I do solemnly swear that I will never exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom." Now, at the time that this oath was originally proposed, there was a paper published by Dr. Milner which made some noise, showing that a man would not violate this oath, unless he both disturbed and weakened the Protestant religion and Protestant government; that is, he might weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government provided that he did not disturb them, and he might disturb and weaken the Protestant religion provided he did not disturb and weaken the Protestant government. Now I strike out the conjunctive "and," and insert the disjunctive "or." I am also convinced that the words which I propose to retain give us a better security than the words proposed by my honourable and learned friend.'

"I am, &c. &c.,

"THOMAS GREEN."

"Mawley, June 19, 1849."

These letters are unanswerable. But the strangest part of the whole affair is this, that it does not appear to these parties, that there is anything wrong or dishonourable in their endeavouring to set themselves free from those obligations which their own friends had offered as securities to the Established Church, and on the faith of which they were relieved from their civil and political disabilities.

MR. ALLIES AND THE TABLET.

WE have expressed ourselves so distinctly with regard to the extraordinary proceedings of Mr. Allies, that we do not consider it necessary to make any further observations on the subject, at least for the present. But, meantime, we shall request our readers' attention to the following documents, which have appeared in several numbers of the *Tablet* newspaper, since our last publication:—

"MR. ALLIES AND THE 'TABLET.'

"*To the Editor of the Tablet.*

"Lanton, Bicester, Whit Tuesday, 1849.

"Sir,—An article has been pointed out to me in the *Tablet* of Saturday, May 19, in which you are pleased to make certain comments on my conduct abroad, and on statements in my book with regard to particular formularies of the Church of England. With these comments I have nothing to do, and shall not enter into them; but at the conclusion you bring a direct charge of dishonesty against

me, founded upon a supposed fact. You observe, 'Mr. Allies has at least half-a-dozen times in his life most solemnly declared that the Prayer-book "containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God:" that book says that the adoration of the Most Holy Sacrament is "idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians." Yet, notwithstanding these principles which he maintains at home, abroad he denies them, and performs more than once, without any misgivings, those actions which he had already pronounced to be idolatry.'

"Now, in these words I do not see either candour, or exactness, or charity, or truth, qualities which one writing on a most sacred subject, and bringing a charge of mortal sin against another, ought at least to show. It is utterly untrue that the Prayer-book says that 'the adoration of the Most Holy Sacrament is idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians.' What it does say is, that by kneeling at the Lord's Supper, 'no adoration is intended or ought to be done either unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored; (for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians;) and the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one.' Here are two assertions: first, that it were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians to adore the sacramental bread and wine remaining still in their very natural substances. What Roman Catholic must not fully agree with this? You deny that the bread and wine are any longer there: you adore the Lord's body and blood.

"The second assertion is, that 'no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, unto any *corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood.*' For—'the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here, it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one.'

"But here, you will observe, no charge of idolatry is brought; nor is this all, for the strict limitation of the words must be taken into account. 'No adoration is intended or ought to be done'—unto what? Unto any presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist? Far from it, but 'unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood.' St. Thomas has noted the objection, and given the answer. He says, *Summa, Pars Tert., quæst. 75, art. 1*, 'It is objected that no body can be at once in many places, since this is not compatible even to an angel; for so it might be everywhere. Now the body of Christ is a true body, and is in heaven: therefore it seems that it is not truly in the Sacrament of the Altar, but only as in a sign.' To which he answers, —'The body of Christ is not in such a manner in this sacrament, as is a body in place, which by its dimensions is commensurate with a place, but in a certain special manner, which is peculiar to this sacrament: whence we say, that the body of Christ is on different altars, not as if in different places, but as in a sacrament, by which we do not understand that Christ is there only as in a sign, although a sacra-

ment be of the nature of a sign, but we understand the body of Christ to be here in a manner peculiar to this sacrament.'

"Now, concerning *such a presence of Christ peculiar to this sacrament*, neither the Rubric in question, nor the Prayer-book throughout, nor the Articles of the English church forbid any one to pay it adoration. On the contrary, we may do what it would seem to be the instinct of the pious mind to do, and what accordingly good Christians have done from the beginning; as St. Augustine says, whom I quote to you in Bishop Jeremy Taylor's words, when translating him for the very purpose of inculcating the adoration of Christ in the Holy Sacrament (Worthy Communicant, c. 7, 10.) 'No man eats this flesh unless he first adores,' says St. Austin (Tom. iv., 1065, c.), 'for the wise men and barbarians did worship this body in the manger with very much fear and reverence; let us, therefore, who are citizens of heaven, at least not fall short of the barbarians. But thou seest Him now not in the manger, but on the altar; thou beholdest him not in the Virgin's arms, but represented by the priest, and brought to thee in sacrifice by the Holy Spirit of God.' So St. Chrysostom argues, (Tom. i. 498,) where Taylor seems to be paraphrasing him. St. Augustine also says, 'Not only we do not sin by adoring, but we sin by not adoring, the footstool of the Lord, i. e., His Humanity in the Holy Eucharist.'

"Accordingly, what I have done in the churches abroad, I am in the habit of doing, and trust to have the grace always to do, as often as I am present at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the English church—I adore, that is, with the adoration due only to God, the Lord Jesus Christ, truly, really, personally, and substantially, (*ὁμοῦδῶς*) present under the species of bread and wine.

"To do this it is not necessary to believe, and I do not believe, that the sacramental elements undergo a physical change, which sort of change the English article rejects, as does St. Thomas, under the term '*conversio formalis*,' one, that is, which '*continetur inter species motus naturalis*.' (Quæst. 75, art. 4.) It is enough to believe, which I do most fully believe and profess, that by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them they became in an inscrutable manner, and by the very greatest of miracles and mercies after the Incarnation itself, the body and blood of God, the Word Incarnate.

"Thus you have in your remarks wronged equally the English Prayer-book and me: you have made the Prayer-book to pronounce that to be idolatry which it does not pronounce to be idolatry, and then upon your own groundless assertion, you have based a charge of dishonesty against me.

"I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

"T. W. ALLIES.

"* * * We think Mr. Allies has not accurately represented his Prayer-book; which states clearly that 'the sacramental bread and wine *remain still* in their very natural substances, and *therefore* may not be adored.' He understands it to say, 'that it were idolatry . . . to adore the sacramental *bread and wine remaining, &c.*' The question is, does the bread remain in its natural substance or not? The

Prayer-book says it does, *and therefore* may not be adored. It is one thing to say 'you must not adore bread and wine remaining in their natural substances,' and another to say, 'you must not adore *because* they so remain.'"

" MR. ALLIES AND THE PRAYER BOOK.

" When persons have done wrong, and on discovering it, try to avoid the penalties incurred, they must plead that they did not know what they were doing, and that their ignorance was without fault on their own part. Such a plea in human affairs is of little value, because of the difficulty of proving it when it is true, and because the most abandoned may most successfully urge it. But in matters not of this world, the plea will hold good, for the Judge who hears it, knows whether it be truly made, and because before Him no possibility of injustice is conceivable.

" We are not going into a discussion of the question of invincible ignorance, nor to say where and in whom it may or may not have place; but only to suggest that under certain circumstances the reality of its existence is extremely doubtful. Invincible ignorance is the account given why heretics, apparently honest and good, continue without the Church; and when we have said that, we seem to have exhausted the subject, and so leave it; it being confessedly uncharitable to inquire whether in a given case invincible ignorance has a lawful place. Men, no doubt, may be ignorant of what most intimately concerns them, without their being blameable; but in most cases such ignorance is not so wholly innocent as to exempt the victim from blame. Trifling incidents are easily recalled, which should have excited suspicion, and in most instances men do not pass a light sentence even on themselves when their own ignorance of what they might have known has proved calamitous, and hurtful to their success.

" If a man bred in town becomes a farmer, and goes out to his fields to sow, but not taking the trouble to learn what, and when, he ought to sow, finds afterwards either that he has no crops to gather, or has an abundant crop of tares for wheat, he will derive no great satisfaction from his invincible ignorance. If, when called on for his rent, he pleads his inability to pay it, the landlord is not likely to remit his claim, and allow such ignorance to be a good excuse. The farmer would probably be told that he meddled with matters which he did not understand, and neglected to consult those whose information might have benefited him. He must, therefore, bear the penalty which he has brought upon himself, by intruding into matters for which he was not qualified, and for the conduct of which he did not try to make himself capable. He may have had theories on the subject of farming, and original views on subsoiling, but his crops will not grow unless he does as other men, with due regard to the nature of the soil and the seasons of the year.

" If a man undertakes the cure of his own soul, or that of another's without authority or experience, he must not be surprised when he

finds that he has lost his labour. What may be in this case the advantages of the plea of invincible ignorance, we shall not inquire into; but, admitting that it may be held to exist, pass on to the case of persons who have had some misgivings that they are not in the right. The suspicion of insecurity in so grave a matter as that of the soul demands imperatively the most rigid scrutiny, and probably vitiates the plea of invincible ignorance. When a man has begun to inquire and puts off the further prosecution of his purpose, he cannot be in the condition he was in before he began to doubt. He must now satisfy himself, and the issues of his investigation will be to him the grounds on which he must stand. He must abide by them whatever they may be. He has incurred a heavy responsibility which he cannot throw off. He can no longer plead invincible ignorance; his errors will be now errors of judgment, the result perhaps of defective intellect or of the corruption of his will. Can a man honestly say of himself that he is invincibly ignorant, when he takes no pains to learn? He is bound not to remain ignorant, and the mere suspicion that he may be in ignorance, cuts off from him the security of his plea. Those persons, therefore, who say they are invincibly ignorant, are in reality not so; they are bent on remaining where they are, and attribute to the intellect what belongs to the will. It is not the intellect which fails them, and ignorance is not the cause of their errors; that is apparent from the fact of their making such a defence when they are in a condition to make it impossible.

"We published last week a letter from Mr. Allies, which has grieved us not a little. We were not prepared to find so clear an illustration of the accusation we brought against him, but with some reluctance and with many apologies for our plain-speaking. He may be honest, but those who look at his acts and consider his words will have great difficulty in believing that he is not deceiving himself. He tells us, in his recently published book, that he adored the Most Holy Sacrament when on the Continent, and we charged him with teaching in this country that such adoration is idolatry. We repeat our charge in the most distinct manner possible. His Prayer Book says that 'no adoration . . . ought to be done . . . unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood,' and yet he tells us that in France such forbidden adoration was done by himself. In his letter he says—'I do not believe that the sacramental elements undergo a physical change, *which sort of change* the English Article rejects, as does St. Thomas under the term *conversio formalis*.' Let us see whether Mr. Allies understands his own Prayer Book. The 'English Article' has these words—'Transubstantiation, *or the change of the substance of bread and wine . . . overthroweth the nature of a sacrament.*' It is not a formal conversion, but a conversion of substance which the Article rejects and by which Mr. Allies is bound. The *sort of change* which the 'English Article rejects' is precisely that which the Catholic Church teaches.

"But what are we to say of that controversial daring which makes St. Thomas a heretic? St. Thomas holds what the Article rejects, for his words are, and they immediately follow and precede those which

Mr. Allies has so unhappily quoted—‘*Tota substantia panis convertitur in totam substantiam corporis Christi, et tota substantia vini in totam substantiam sanguinis Christi.*’ This is clearly contradictory of the ‘English Article.’

“Another part of this unhappy controversy is this. Mr. Allies knows that the Church of Rome out of England is the only true Church. He might perhaps claim something for the Greek schismatics, but in France and Italy he does not doubt the fact. His conduct abroad proves it, for he entered our churches and worshipped in them according to his ability. He did not pretend to worship among Lutherans or Calvinists, neither does he think that they are in any sense a part of the Catholic Church. How does he reconcile his conduct abroad with his conduct at home? He does not enter our churches here, neither does he adore our Lord. Can he say that the English Catholics are different from their foreign brethren? We believe as they do, and they as we. We go to their churches abroad as to our own, and they enter ours in the same spirit: but Mr. Allies remains without. The question now arises, will he be able to plead invincible ignorance as to his duty of recognising here what he recognised abroad? Supposing him to ‘adore’ the bread and wine which he and his friends pretend to consecrate, will he also ‘adore’ the bread and wine which Dr. Hampden, or Dr. Pepys, or Mr. Hugh Stowell, or Dr. Hugh M’Neile, or any evangelical clergyman uses who denies every opinion which Mr. Allies respects? This is one test to which he ought to bring his opinions, and we willingly abide the issue. The fact is, Mr. Allies does not hold the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, still less does he know what it is. He dares not contradict the words of his Prayer Book directly, but yet labours to put a meaning on them which shall better agree with what he prefers to believe. Surely this is trifling with sacred things. The Protestant Church is a heresy, or is not. There is no middle course in a question like this.”—*Tablet*.

“*To the Editor of the Tablet.*

“Dear Sir,—Mr. Allies complains that, in a recent article, you have misrepresented the Church of England, and wrongfully brought against himself a charge of dishonesty. If you should notice his complaint, you will have no difficulty in exposing its unreasonableness. The formularies of the Established church, however ambiguous and plastic, are not generally deficient in clearness and emphasis when they denounce, whether by article, rubric, or homily, the mysteries of the Catholic faith. Especially when they speak against the doctrine of the blessed sacrament of the altar, do their statements become definite and positive; and the calculated vagueness of indifference or unbelief is then exchanged for the deliberate plain-speaking of formal and malignant heresy.

“Allow me to add an example to the one which you have selected. The Thirty-First Article of the Church of England declares, without

pause or circumlocution, of one of the most sacred and adorable verities of the Christian faith, that it is '*a blasphemous fable.*' It is true that some few Protestants, of the school of Mr. Allies, have been unwilling to accept the responsibility of this horrible impiety. They have suggested that the article in question may be supposed to aim, not at any recognised doctrine of the Roman church, but at some popular and unauthorized misconception. But the '*misconception,*' unfortunately for this hypothesis, has been very accurately *defined*. Whosoever believes, says this Thirty-first Article, that, in the Sacrifice of the Mass, 'the priest offers Christ for the quick and dead, to have remission of pain or guilt,'—believes '*a blasphemous fable.*' There is at least no ambiguity here, no room for ingenious criticism. For the doctrine thus described is precisely what every Catholic in the world *does* believe; and the Holy Council of Trent thus propounds the very truth which the Church of England calls, and therefore Mr. Allies must call, '*a blasphemous fable,*' '*Quoniam in divino hoc sacrificio, quod in Missa peragitur, idem ille Christus continetur, et incruente immolatur, qui in ara Crucis semel seipsum cruento obtulit, docet sancta Synodus sacrificium istud vere propitiatorium esse;*' and presently, the Holy Sacrifice is said to be offered '*not only for the sins of the faithful living, sed et pro defunctis in Christo nondum ad plenum purgatis.*'—Sess. xx. cap. 2.

"On the other hand, Cranmer declares, in a formal controversial treatise, 'that the priests make their mass *a sacrifice propitiatory,*' is '*the greatest blasphemy and injury that can be against Christ.*' *Answer to Gardiner*, book v. p. 345. Now, it is open to Mr. Allies, in common with all his co-religionists, to subscribe the impious heresy of Cranmer and of the Thirty-first Article; but if Mr. Allies chooses to assist in France at the holy sacrifice of the mass, and on returning to England to hold a benefice in a church which calls that sacrifice '*a blasphemous fable,*' he must not complain if the whole world, both Catholic and Protestant, agree in calling him '*dishonest.*' Even *such* a condemnation, however severe, appears to be disproportioned to the magnitude of his offence.

"Yours faithfully,

"T. W. M."

"MR. ALLIES AND THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

"*To the Editor of the Tablet.*

"Sir—. . . . The main question which I here propose to comment upon is the adoration which Mr. Allies professedly pays to our Lord in the Sacrament of the blessed Eucharist, affirming that he does so under the sanction of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. I venture to demonstrate that Mr. Allies is completely wrong upon the subject. I will, in the first place, quote his own words: 'Accordingly, what I have done in the churches abroad, I am in the habit of doing, and trust to have the grace always to do, as often as I am present at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the

English church. I adore, that is, with the adoration due only to God, the Lord Jesus Christ, truly, really, personally, and substantially present under the species of bread and wine.'

"And in order to prove that the Prayer Book fully bears him out in practising what he does, Mr. Allies says, 'It is utterly untrue that the adoration of the most holy Sacrament is idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. What it does say is, that by kneeling at the Lord's Supper, no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine *there bodily received*, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians,) and the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here, it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one.'

"Now, let any impartial man compare the professed belief and practice of Mr. Allies with the declaration of his church, and decide whether or not Mr. Allies abides by her formularies; whether or not he is at complete variance with her, and whether or not it is clear and certain that the Prayer Book absolutely condemns the adoration of the most holy Sacrament as *idolatrous*!

"To show, however, that Mr. Allies really belongs to that school in which the very articles of faith are made secondary to certain conventional technicalities, and whose line of argument is made to consist in dividing that which cannot integrally be defended, it is sufficient to consider the conclusion which he puts forward in defence of his position. 'Here are,' says he, referring to the above quotation from the Prayer Book, 'two assertions; first, that it were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians, to adore the sacramental bread and wine remaining still in their very natural substances.' The second assertion is, that 'no adoration is intended or ought to be done unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ are in heaven and not here, it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one. Here, you will observe, no charge of idolatry is brought.'

"It is beyond my power to conceive how a man, possessed of so keen a perception of mind as Mr. Allies, can find here two assertions where there is evidently but one. What he says regarding his first assertion falls of its own weight to the ground. For who ever doubted 'that to adore bread and wine remaining still in their natural substances,' would be a very rank idolatry? Can Mr. Allies refer to any authority which maintains that bread and wine remaining in their natural substances are to be adored? Does he seriously suppose that the authors and compilers of the Prayer Book ever intended to make a distinct declaration upon it? Yet his first assertion appears to imply as much.

"The second assertion, which is undoubtedly the pith and substance of the whole question, is likewise the declaration of the Church

of England—viz., ‘that no adoration is intended or ought to be done unto any corporal presence of Christ’s flesh and blood.’ And to pay such an adoration she stigmatises as ‘idolatry, to be abhorred of all Christians.’

“Contrary, therefore, to the usually dark complexion of Protestant formularies, no one can doubt that in this matter the Church of England is perfectly explicit. She declares that ‘the sacramental bread and wine remain still (after consecration) in their very natural substances,’ and are therefore *not* to be adored. The construction which Mr. Allies seems to put on the words of the formulary is, that bread and wine are not to be adored before the consecration, but only afterwards, as he himself has everywhere done and trusts to have the grace of doing; but the Prayer Book makes the qualification *after* they are consecrated ‘there bodily received,’ that is, sacramentally taken.

“Mr. Allies does not, indeed, as you, Mr. Editor, truly say, accurately represent his Prayer Book. The wonder is, how a man in his senses, and of a cultivated mind like Mr. Allies, could ever attempt to put such a construction upon the words above quoted.

“If any further proofs were required to disabuse Mr. Allies that he has taken an erroneous view of this subject, we might enter into the examination of the ostensible object which the framers of the Prayer Book had in qualifying the belief of their church in that manner. And the illustration which follows from the twenty-eighth Article puts it beyond doubt or cavil. Transubstantiation once cast aside as ‘repugnant—to the plain words of Scripture,’ it remained to pay the same compliment to the idea of the real presence of our Lord in the most holy Sacrament, which for obvious reasons they meant to banish from Christendom. And that there should be no doubt of their doctrine thereon, they made a declaration that no adoration was to be paid to the consecrated elements under any sense or form whatever. The concluding words of the article confirm this supposition, for it says, ‘the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was not by Christ’s ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or *worshipped* ;’ thereby ostensibly signifying that to do such things as they are done in the Catholic church is forbidden by the Gospel.

“Contrary, therefore, to the doctrine of his church, Mr. Allies *worships* by his confession the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, and ‘trusts to have the grace always to do so as often as he is present at the celebration of the holy Eucharist in the English church!’

“To crown the climax of inconsistency, Mr. Allies makes a devout confession of his faith:—‘I adore with the adoration due only to God, the Lord Jesus Christ really, truly, personally, and substantially present under the species of bread and wine,’ without, however, believing ‘the corporal presence of Christ’s natural flesh and blood.’ And as if to base his belief on high authority, he gives a quotation from St. Augustin, which is in fact a most powerful testimony against the Church of England, and his greatest condemnation:—‘Not only we do not sin by adoring, but we sin by *not* adoring the footstool of the

Lord, that is, His humanity.' Will Mr. Allies be kind enough to give us a comprehensive explanation, and inform us whether the humanity of Christ is to be adored in the blessed Sacrament, and the corporal presence of our Lord is not to be adored? In other words, in what differs the presence of our Lord's humanity from his corporal presence? Or still, why, acknowledging that the humanity of our Lord in the Sacrament should be adored, he repudiates the idea of adoring His natural flesh and blood, which we believe, and Mr. Allies must also believe, to be the inseparable appendages of His sacred humanity? —I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"J. LECUONA,

"Hackney, June 5, 1849."

It does not seem very difficult to decide which of these two parties is more fairly representing the doctrine of the Church of England. It is a truly painful controversy. But what is to become of the congregations who are left to the teaching of persons holding such views as Mr. Allies avows?

ROSMINI ON THE ELECTION OF BISHOPS.

THE Roman-catholics, and their partisans in this country, are very fond of taunting the Church of England with its want of liberty in the selection of its bishops, and its subservience to the secular power in these appointments. And we have had the purity of episcopal appointments in the Church of Rome, again and again cast in our teeth, as a proof of the spirituality and efficiency of the Romish system, and the freedom and independence we have lost by the Reformation. Such declamation, we apprehend, has not imposed on many, except those who are contented to take assertions without proof or examination, and have never had any opportunity of forming an acquaintance with the internal machinery and working of the Romish system. However, in this, as on several other topics, the progress of revolution on the Continent is giving Romanists courage to express themselves with a freedom very unusual in that communion; and, by consequence, the real condition of their church is becoming more generally known, and the absurdity of the flattering pictures which the Anglo-Roman school love to draw, more apparent.

Very lately an Italian clergyman, the Abbate Rosmini, has published two most curious letters on the election of bishops. A translation of them has appeared in the *Tablet* newspaper. We have not this month space for them both, but we reprint the first, which, with the introductory observations of the correspondent of the *Tablet*, our readers will find well worthy of an attentive perusal.

“ ROSMINI ON THE ELECTION OF BISHOPS.”

“ *To the Editor of the Tablet.*”

“ Sir,—The writings of Lammennais, Gioberti, Ventura, and Rosmini are ‘ signs of the times ’ that should not be overlooked amidst the convulsions of France and Italy. When such men sympathise with the revolutionary spirit of the age, there is reason to apprehend that the social system which has prevailed in Europe for so many centuries, must undergo a radical change, and that the present discipline and social position of the church, will be materially modified so as to suit the altered circumstances of the times.

“ The *Abbate Rosmini*, whose philosophical writings are much esteemed in Italy, and who is deservedly honoured as the founder of a highly meritorious religious order—the Fathers of Charity, has lately published a work on the evils that afflict the church, and the measures necessary to be adopted for their removal. The book is respectfully dedicated to the Catholic clergy, and entitled, ‘ The Five Wounds of Holy Church,’* which are represented as afflicting Christ’s mystical body, in a manner to be compared to the five wounds inflicted on His natural body upon the cross. Doubtless, some of Rosmini’s disciples and admirers will present us, as soon as possible, with an English translation of the whole work for our edification, when it may be reviewed more fully. In the meantime, the readers of the *Tablet* will be gratified to learn something of its general character and contents, which may suffice to satisfy their pious curiosity for the present, though it will not enable them to form an opinion of its merits.

“ The book is divided into five chapters, besides the preface and appendix. Chapter I. ascribes the *first* wound to ‘ the division of the people from the clergy in public worship.’ Chapter II. treats of ‘ the insufficient education of the clergy,’ as the *second* wound of the church. Chapter III. describes ‘ the disunion of the bishops’ as the *third* wound. Chapter IV. complains of ‘ the nomination of bishops being abandoned to the secular power,’ which has inflicted the *fourth* wound. Chapter V. attributes the *fifth* wound to the feudal restrictions imposed on the acquisition, management, and employment of ecclesiastical property.

The author treats the various questions set forth under these five heads with a freedom and boldness that evince the depth and fervour of his mind ; and though some persons may question the expediency of this publication, or the feasibility of his plans of reform, nobody can doubt the sincerity of his zeal, or the purity of his intentions.

“ It appears from the concluding paragraph (§ 163,) that ‘ this work, commenced in the year 1832, and finished in the course of the year following, lay in his cabinet for several years, quite forgotten by the author, as the times did not seem favourable to the publication of what he had written, more for the alleviation of his mind, afflicted by the sad state in which he beheld the church of God, than from any

* *Delle Cinque Piaghe della Santa Chiesa.* Perugia. 1849, pp. 224, 8vo.

other motive. But now (he continues) that the invisible Head of the church has placed in the chair of Peter a pontiff who appears destined to renew our age, and give a new impulse to the church that shall urge it forward through new paths, to a career as unforeseen, as it is wonderful and glorious; the author recollects those neglected sheets, and no longer hesitates to consign them into the hands of those friends who sympathised in his past sorrows, and now share his joyful hopes.'—(P. 213.)

“The appendix contains two letters on the election of bishops, which will give the reader an idea of the spirit and views of the whole work. They recommend the agitation of a question involving many important consequences, with a view to re-establish the ancient discipline of the church, which recognised the right of the people to be consulted in the election of their pastors. In these revolutionary times when popular suffrage and constitutional rights are recognised in all Catholic countries as necessary elements of good government, if the clergy act upon the suggestion of our author and undertake to instruct the people on this subject, urging them to demand the restoration of the liberty of the church and the privileges of the laity in the election of bishops, the Catholic and Protestant sovereigns who have so long arrogated to themselves the right of nomination or *veto*, will have to surrender their usurped power into the hands of the clergy and the people. The evils of the present system of nomination are not at all exaggerated by our author, and its abrogation would be a blessing to the church, though the introduction of the popular element might be productive of other evils. A Protestant author remarks, that ‘during the three first centuries the clergy of each church were elected by the people, and the bishops by both. But specious as this system may appear, it was reprobated by experience: faction, cabal, intrigue, violence on the one part; a base condescension, a shameful degradation on the other, prevailed to such an extent that a good choice was seldom made. So little discernment had been exhibited by the people—(how, in fact, could illiterate men be judges of clerical qualification?)—that the bishops were compelled to interfere.’*

“The town and adjoining district of Galway in Ireland retained the system of pastoral elections by popular suffrage until very lately. But the right of voting was confined to a few families, called ‘the tribes,’ and gave occasion to such scandalous abuses that the holy see had to interfere to suppress the system. However, the election of bishops by the clergy of each diocese would not be liable to these objections; and if the people were permitted to select a certain number of candidates, from which the *dignus*, *dignior*, and *dignissimus*, would be elected by the clergy, the wishes and suffrages of the laity and clergy of the diocese might be combined with the due influence of the bishops of the province, in the appointment to be finally determined by the holy see. But it may be premature to discuss this question in its present stage. Let us hear the learned and pious Rosmini.

* Dunham's Hist. of the Middle Ages, vol. 1, p. 150.

"LETTER I.

"Stressa, June 8, 1849.

"Very Reverend Sir—I have to return you my thanks for the flattering notice you were pleased to take in the valuable journal under your direction, of the little work lately published by me in Milan, entitled, '*La Costituzione secondo la giustizia sociale*,' &c.

"Unwilling, however, to appear before you with a barren act of acknowledgment, permit me to avail myself of this occasion to explain more fully my views on the subject to which you allude, where you remark, that I would wish to 'bring back the democratic element even into the ecclesiastical polity.'

"I love union everywhere and discord nowhere; for union is charity, or, to speak more correctly, charity is true union, as it is the great commandment given by our Divine Master to individuals as well as to human societies. As the friend of the people, I desire above all things the union of the people with the clergy. I do not mean that the people should participate directly in the government of the church: I am well aware that *that* was entrusted by Jesus Christ to the hands of the Apostles and their successors, the bishops, who form among themselves a beautiful hierarchical union by means of the primacy which St. Peter bequeathed to the sovereign pontiffs. The intervention of the people can only be an intervention of charity, of counsel—a paternal and filial correspondence.

"It was of an intervention such as this I spoke, when in the above-mentioned work I proposed, as a salutary, and I venture to say, *necessary* remedy for our evils, to return to the election of bishops by the clergy and people, according to ancient usage, which simply accorded to the people *the right to express their desires respecting the candidates, adorn them with their favourable testimony, and accept the bishop-elect in whom they have confidence.* [La facoltà di esprimere il suo desiderio sui candidati, di decorarli della sua buona testimonianza di accettare l'eletto di sua confidenza.]

"I added that this form of election, confirmed by innumerable canons of councils, appertains to Divine right, as St. Cyprian says in his sixty-eighth Epistle, where the holy martyr writes: '*Quod et ipsum videmus de divina traditione descendere, ut sacerdos, plebe præsentē, sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur.*'

"In order that there may remain no doubt respecting my opinions on this point, I deem it advisable to add, that we speak not here of a *constitutive* divine right, but of a *moral* divine right—things quite different. For the violation of the latter does not involve any invalidity, and consequently the bishops that have been even nominated by secular governments, provided they have been confirmed and sent by the Sovereign Pontiff, are legitimate pastors, as has been defined by the Holy Council of Trent, Sess. xxiii. Can. 8. By this distinction between the *constitutive* divine right, and the *moral* divine right, we may reconcile the various opinions of authors on this question.

"Therefore, that which is of *constitutive* divine right in the institu-

tion of bishops, is the sacred ordination and the commission of the church; these two things are quite independent of the people and of every lay power, as the Holy Council of Trent teaches in these words: —‘*Docet insuper sacrosancta Synodus in ordinatione Episcoporum, sacerdotum, et cæterorum ordinum, nec populi, nec cujusvis sæcularis potestatis, et magistratus consensum, sive vocationem sive auctoritatem ita requiri, ut sine ea irrita sit ordinatio: quin potius discernit, eos qui tantummodo a populo aut sæculari potestate ac magistratu vocati et instituti, ad hæc ministeria exercenda ascendunt, et qui ea propria temeritate sibi sumunt, omnes non Ecclesiæ ministros, sed fures et latrones per ostium non ingressos, habendos esse.*’—(Sess. xxiii. cap. 4.)

“But we come to the *moral* divine right, and we see how it would be violated, at least at present, should the heteroclite elections (*elezioni eteroclite*) of bishops continue, now that there is no longer any necessity, and it is not to be feared that our religious monarchs, who have felt the justice of making so many concessions to their subjects, will be exasperated against the church, should she, too, reclaim the full possession of her rights.

“The *moral* divine right respecting the election of the pastors of the church, demands—

“(1.) That the elections should be held in perfect freedom by the church—that is, by the ecclesiastical power.

“Now, is not this liberty immensely restricted and diminished by the right of nomination granted to the secular power? How can the church be sure that the most worthy, and in whom the people have most confidence, will be elected? What guarantees does, or can the lay power give? Every diminution whatsoever of the liberty of the church in the choice of its pastors, wounds its divine right; for Jesus Christ made it completely free and independent. Hence it is proper that in our times when it may be done, the plenitude of church liberty should be reclaimed and restored without delay in this matter.

“(2.) That in the election of bishops the Christian populace (*la plebe Christiana*) should have a voice; that their testimony should be truly collected; and that they should not be forced, even morally, to receive a pastor in whom they have not confidence, and whom, perhaps, they know not by name, or features, or works, or reputation, whereas *the sheep know their shepherd*, as Jesus Christ declares. (John, x.) I do not pretend to say in what way this ought to be done—that is another question; the most convenient form would have to be sought out. It is, however, certain that a practicable plan cannot be wanting in times like these, when the people nominate their representatives to parliament, without grievous inconvenience. It is enough for me to establish the principle, that the intervention of the people in episcopal elections—when confined to its proper limits—is of divine and *natural* divine right; that is, proceeding from the nature of the pastoral institution. St. Athanasius referred to Apostolical tradition, when, to prove that Gregory had unjustly invaded

the Church of Alexandria, he observed, that the election was not held 'SECUNDUM VERBA PAULI congregatis populis et spiritu ordinantium cum virtute D. N. Jesu Christi' (*Epis. ad Ep. Orthodox. n. 2*); and, therefore, we cannot embrace the opinion of those writers who would maintain by negative arguments that the first Bishops of Alexandria were assigned the people without their previous knowledge. Their arguments are founded on a passage in St. Jerome, who, speaking of those elections, makes mention of the priests, and says nothing of the people: but it is to be presumed that St. Athanasius was better informed concerning the tradition of his own church than anybody else. Besides, the people are not the electors of bishops, and St. Jerome speaks exclusively and briefly of the *election*: it is sufficient that the people accept [the bishop elect] positively, and with satisfaction and previous knowledge. Hence Natalis Alexander writes: 'De traditione *divina* et apostolica observatione descendit, quod populus in electionibus sacris suffragetur suo testimonio, concedo; judicio, nego.' (*Diss. volt. in sent.*) But by the royal nomination the people in fact know nothing [of the candidate]; they cannot protest against his appointment without encountering despotic authority armed with the brute force of the secular government.

"True, it was the church that yielded the nomination of bishops to the sovereign; but she did so because constrained to it by the difficulties that encompassed her, in order to avoid a greater evil. To him who would otherwise take your life, you give up your purse; but it is not, therefore, the less certain that robbery and assault are prohibited by the divine law.

"For the rest, I have already explained in another work, lately published, the part that appertains to the people in the election of bishops, and how urgent is the necessity of putting an end to the objectionable form of such elections, and restoring that which is legitimate and canonical; wherefore, I shall confine myself to these remarks, which I have addressed to you in token of my gratitude and esteem.

"Your most humble servant,

"A. ROSMINI."

NOTICES AND REVIEWS.

The Apostle's School of Prophetic Interpretation, with its History down to the present time. By Charles Maitland, Author of "The Church in the Catacombs." London: Longmans. 8vo. Pp. 461.

THE author of this volume is a layman and a physician. We have formerly noticed his deeply-interesting work, "The Church in the Catacombs," and it is with no little gratification we have received this new performance, which we have no hesitation in recommending to the consideration of all students of the prophetic writings, as one of the most valuable works that has ever appeared on the subject.

Mr. Charles Maitland gives the following succinct account of his work in an Advertisement prefixed to the table of contents.

"In this work it has been attempted to collect together everything that the Apostles taught the church on the subject of unfulfilled prophecy: to ascertain all that the primitive believers might know as Jews, and all that they believed as Christians. This school of prophecy is next traced historically, through its fallings-off and its revivals, down to the present time. An Appendix contains a short notice of the principal counter-interpretations, from the sophistries of the infidel Porphyry to the recent speculations of the Futurist Lacunza."

The work is preceded by an introductory essay, from which we shall presently submit some extracts to our readers. The treatise itself is divided into six chapters: (1) "The interpretation of prophecy in the Jewish Church." (2) "The Christian interpretation in the primitive age." (3) "The interpretation of prophecy in the patristic age." (4.) "The interpretation of prophecy in the middle ages." (5) "Remains of the primitive interpretation in modern times." (6) "The times of Antichrist." In the appendix which follows is a sketch of the leading counter systems of interpretation, in which the author gives an account of the systems of Porphyry, Broughton, the Abbot Joachim, Luther, &c.—The Papal-Antichrist and the year-day scheme—The Præterists, the Futurists, and the Mystics.

It will not be understood that, in such a recommendation as we have given of this work, we commit ourselves to every one of the views it advocates. But the great principle on which the whole treatise is based—an unreserved submission to the grammatical sense of the letter of prophecy—is one so infinitely valuable at all times, and never more than at present, that we do not choose to qualify our approval of the work, by any attempt to weaken the conclusions at which the author has arrived on some points on which we do not see our way so clearly. The year-day system is one which we do not believe can be defended, still less the preposterous theory that round numbers are intended to express indefinite periods. On this great fundamental point, on the distinction between Babylon and Antichrist, on the pernicious and erroneous nature of the modern principle that "all prophecy is figurative, and that it must mean something different from what it says,"—on all these great points, and they are by far the most important questions involved in the controversy, we are thoroughly agreed with Mr. Charles Maitland in his views, and happy to avail ourselves of the opportunity of testifying to the great ability and research which he has brought to the elucidation of his subject. That, on which we feel that those who receive the letter of scripture with most reverence may hesitate, is the question—how far the visions of the Apocalypse are at all prophetic of what is *now* in the course of taking place? Is the book a revelation of what is wholly future, of the events immediately connected with the second coming of Christ? or is it prophetic of a long period embracing the times we live in? This question, we conceive, leaves undisputed the ancient application of the letting power to the Roman State, and the primitive belief that

Rome was designated in the Apocalypse, by Babylon. It is possible for one who accedes to these opinions, to believe that the events which are foretold of Babylon shall yet be fulfilled to the letter with regard to Rome. And therefore, in this sense of the word Futurists, we do not see why it should be said that the Futurists reject the Primitive interpretation. With regard to that writer who has done more than any other living man to expose the errors and absurdities of modern systems of interpretation, Dr. S. R. Maitland, we do not think that Mr. Charles Maitland has taken a perfectly correct or adequate view of his writings. In a passage which we shall presently quote, Mr. Charles Maitland has indeed done great and deserved honour to the writings of his namesake, and has cheerfully acknowledged the services he has rendered to the cause of truth. But we are not sure that he has paid sufficient attention to the fact, that Dr. S. R. Maitland has made it his object, not to give an exposition of the Apocalypse, but to rescue the study of prophecy from the injury done to it by the figurative and historical school of interpretation. Dr. Maitland has nowhere, as far as we can recollect—but he will correct us if we are mistaken—maintained that Rome is not the subject of prophecy. His object has been, as we have understood his writings, to prove that certain theories are untenable and unscriptural, rather than to determine what the prophecies do mean, and to whom and what they are intended to apply. The passage in which Mr. Charles Maitland expresses his opinion of the service Dr. Maitland has rendered to the school of prophecy, is contained in the fifth chapter of his work—the “Remains of the Primitive interpretation in modern times.” It is as follows:—

“The Futurist scheme, including a large portion of the primitive belief, now received the support of two clergymen of the English church, William Burgh and Samuel Maitland. To the latter belongs the honour of having effected a partial reformation in the manner of conducting prophetic investigations. For, before the appearance of this second Valla, it was the custom to quote authorities at second or third hand, or even to rend half a sentence from its context, with little regard to the intention of its original author. All this he would have reformed altogether, routing up traditional references, and printing in italics long-suppressed clauses. These ghost-like apparitions startled many, so that desertions from the year-day camp followed in quick succession. Under this iron dictatorship it fared hard with many who had unsuspectingly repeated the statements of their predecessors, who had copied lists of the fallen kings, or had made free with the names of Bernard and Fluentius. Still harder were the times for those who with easy confidence had talked of the prophetic style, and given out that the prophets were in the habit of saying days when they meant as many years. Not long before, Mede had challenged the world to find an exception to this rule: the inexorable critic now demanded, but demanded in vain, to be shown a single instance in support of it.”—pp. 394, 395.

We may misapprehend Mr. C. Maitland's meaning when we suppose him to include the subject of this just and eloquent panegyric among those who have rejected primitive and apostolic tradition; but if he means to include Dr. Maitland in any such description of the Futurists we cannot but think that he is mistaken. It is

not, indeed, at all to be wondered at that one whose work has consisted in the confutation of error, rather than in proposing a system of his own, should be mistaken, and, in such a case as this, be numbered with writers with whom he was no farther agreed than as he opposes certain systems and theories which they oppose.

There is no class of writers on the prophecies whom the public take less trouble to understand than that to which Dr. S. R. Maitland belongs; if it can be called a class in which he stands almost alone as a writer. There are few, indeed, whose chief desire is to be guarded against misinterpretation and misapplication of prophecy. Many desire to make use of prophecy chiefly as a weapon of controversy, and so that the theorist furnishes them with arguments and applications that can be used against their opponents, they are not very particular in examining their truth or justice. Many more regard prophecy as a sort of almanack of predictions. They want to know whereabouts they are in the course of events. And in truth these are the great majority of persons with whom the modern expositions find circulation and attention. It may be laid down almost as a certain rule that a book must pretend to be a sort of Sacred Calendar in order to obtain any great measure of popularity. The more absurd—the more purely imaginative the theory is, the greater sale the exposition is likely to have. People want to be told what they are to believe, and not to be guarded against errors. They want to know what these symbols and visions mean, and set but little store on the labours of those who are contented with showing what they do not mean.

For this deplorable state of things these writers have chiefly to thank themselves. Their reckless treatment of the letter of Holy Scripture, and the variety of their strange and contradictory and fanciful expositions of the sacred symbols, have disgusted sober-minded persons with the study of prophecy itself, so that those who would take a real and deep interest in such a work as the one which forms the subject of the present notice, if they could be induced to read it at all, are too apt to turn from the subject with disgust, as if a work on the prophecies must of necessity be silly and visionary, if not a perversion of the inspired writings to the purposes of strife and bitterness. The difficulty and obscurity which is generally thought to oppose a bar to the study of the prophetic writers, in reality lies for the most part in the expositors, who are not merely at variance where Scripture gives them no assistance, but even in cases where the Word of God itself furnishes its own explanation of its own symbols, “deliberately set aside most of these inspired explanations, and advance others directly opposed to them.” If expositors were only content to rest in these inspired explanations, to abstain from the manufacture of systems, and to confess their ignorance of what the Spirit of God has seen fit to leave unexplained, the prophetic portions of Scripture would receive more of the attention they deserve. But take any one of the favourite questions of the expositors—the number 666, for example—and can it be surprising that sensible men should turn with contempt from a study which seems to set sobriety and common sense at defiance. To say, that no one has ever yet discovered the meaning

of this number, is very far short of what we believe to be true. It seems perfectly plain to us, that the language is purposely obscure and mysterious, and that until the time of the fulfilment has actually arrived, we have no reason to expect that any one, without a special revelation, will ever understand either the explanation of the mystic number, or even the very terms in which St. John describes it, as "the number of a man." The wild and fantastical attempts which have been made to make this symbolical number serve as a support to the particular systems of the expositors, has done more to deter men from the reading of the Apocalypse than any difficulties of the book itself.

No less mischief has been done in cases where Scripture has explained the symbol and the primitive church received the inspired interpretation. For example: St. John was informed that the dead bodies of the two witnesses shall lie "in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified." To a plain man this would seem to be a description of Jerusalem—and so the whole primitive church understood it. But according to our modern expositors, the ancients knew nothing about prophecy, and so it must mean something else, as each man's system requires, or his fancy dictates—"Germany, Rome, France, Constance, and even Paris." Who can wonder that the study of the Apocalypse should be neglected?

But there are difficulties attending the literal system of interpretation. There are so. But are they greater or more numerous than those which seemed to forbid the literal interpretation of those prophecies which we know have received a literal fulfilment in the life and sufferings of Christ? Is there any sort of difficulty in the way of a literal exposition of the Apocalypse, which was not as great and as perplexing to those who expected a literal fulfilment of the prophecies of the incarnation—of the crucifixion—of the rejection and the triumph of the Messiah? Was there any difficulty *then*, to which the figurative system of exposition did not afford as facile and as plausible a solution as it can do now for the language of the Apocalypse? We gladly avail ourselves of the language of Mr. Charles Maitland.

"We transport ourselves to the temple during the last year of the Saviour's preaching. We will suppose a group of rabbis to be discussing this passage of Zechariah: 'Thy king cometh unto thee; he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and on a colt the foal of an ass.' The prophecy throws them into confusion. One, mystically inclined, is bent upon explaining it generally, in reference to God's spiritual guidance of man. For man is the wild ass's colt, and the Messiah, presiding over such a one, is just, and brings with Him salvation.

"The majority of our rabbis, we may suppose, are anxious to find some meaning more specific, and yet not so literal as to seem unworthy of the prophecy. With the help of our new methods of developing the sense, all would be easy. The riding upon an ass is the event of a single day; the fulfilment, therefore, may be expected to occupy a year. The ass must be magnified, in proportion, to a war horse, or even to a triumphal procession: so that, according to the modern rule of symbolic miniature, the Messiah may be expected to enter Jerusalem with chariots and horses, that He may sit upon the throne of His father David. By the rule of allusive contrast, the prophecy may be

explained in direct opposition to its natural sense ; or, it may describe allusively the coming of some false messiah, who will attempt to gain credit by assumed humility. And, on the Præterist principle, it may be applied to Israel's temporal saviours : ' Speak, ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit in judgment.' Therefore, as a judge, some future king of Judah will come, just, and bringing salvation from the Roman yoke.

"To these arguments one shall be made to object, that other prophecies have been fulfilled literally. He quotes instances from Daniel and Jeremiah ; but the general feeling is against him. If we take the ass literally, they reply, what shall we do with the thirty pieces of silver ? what with the stripes of the man of sorrows ?—the vinegar and the gall ?—the lots to be cast upon his vesture ? Allow the ass to be figurative, or you will be forced to apply all these degrading particulars to our glorious Messiah.

"Our literalist, though not convinced, is silenced. He is not prepared to carry out his system with the piercing of the hands and the feet. But not long after, while walking towards the Mount of Olives, he is met by a rustic procession. The daughter of Zion seems to be rejoicing ; yea, for once, the daughter of Jerusalem is shouting. And, as the crowd approaches, he discovers the cause of so much transport,—a man of humble condition, lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.

"Thus the methods now employed to evade the natural meaning of the prophecies about Antichrist, would have enabled the Jews to evade all that was predicted about the first coming of Christ. By such means they might have persuaded themselves that there would be no personal and literal Christ, working miracles, and finally ruling in Jerusalem ; but instead of this, a succession of anointed high priests, lasting through many centuries, destitute of supernatural power, and performing, in a low and far-fetched sense, some few of the things foretold of the true Messiah. And, were it objected to them that this supposed order of priests had never set foot in the holy city, we might supply them with the means of evading this difficulty also."—P. 20.

In truth the figurative system of exposition, by whomsoever it is advocated, undermines the evidences of our religion. For, if this be the true key to the explanation of prophetic language, nothing can be more certain than that this is not the key by which the Apostles explained the prophecies of the Messiah, or asserted the fulfilment of them in the life and sufferings of their Master. When Jesus declared that after three days he would rise again, St. Peter did not resort to the year-day theory to explain his meaning, or attempt to ride down an objection by the hypothesis that numbers in the prophetic style are put to denote periods of indefinite duration. These discoveries are the developments of a later age. In the time of the apostles, and among the primitive saints, *days* meant *days*, and *three* signified *three*.

With regard to the year-day system, Mr. Charles Maitland shows by an enumeration of passages from the Old and New Testament, that from Genesis to Revelation there is no instance in which a prediction containing a set time has been fulfilled in any other measure of time. He observes, also, that the translators of the Septuagint in supplying the word *years* in the prophecy of Daniel, were guided by their national custom of dividing time into periods of Sabbaths of years. But supposing this were not so—supposing there were no traditional exposition similar to those which applied the prophecies to the Messiah, still it seems inconceivable by what process of reasoning

any one can bring himself to believe that because the term *sevens*, or even weeks (admitting this to be the correct version of the word) signifies *sevens* or weeks of years in this passage, *therefore*, days signify years in another passage, or in the prophecies concerning another event. If the rule that a *day* means a *year* in prophecy be true, then why is it that no one thinks of interpreting other prophecies by the same canon? Mr. Charles Maitland most justly remarks:

"If true, the system of the 1260 years must be absolutely necessary to a right understanding of the prophecies. It completely changes the character of the great tribulation, of the man of sin, and of all the Apocalyptic visions. Yet it was never heard of till dreamed into the world by a wild Abbot in 1190. None of the inspired writers allude to it; and, which might be conclusive against its pretensions, our Lord Himself appears to have known of no such principle. For by it the time of the end could have been determined, by reckoning 2520 years from Nebuchadnezzar, and 2300 from Antiochus. 'Let him that readeth Daniel understand,' says the divine Expositor, doubtless Himself understanding whatever could be learnt from Daniel. Yet the time of the end was unknown even to Himself; for, as Augustine remarks, the 'day and hour' in Greek mean times and seasons generally, according to the saying of St. John, 'It is the last hour.'"—(p. 37.)

Having shown to what absurdities this system has reduced its followers, in their attempts to determine the time when the 1260 years are to be reckoned from, he adds:—

"History, by continually falsifying the calculations of this school, signally avenges the cause of divine prophecy. It suffers none to go off boasting that he has attained to knowledge not possessed by the Son: slowly but surely it teaches to all this lesson, that it is enough for the disciple to be as his Master, and the servant as his Lord. But the failure of all these speculations, far from discouraging the Bible-student of prophecy, ought to raise his hopes and his confidence to the highest. For, if any system could succeed when opposed to the rules laid down for his direction, he might well stand aghast at its triumph, and doubt whether it were wise to commit himself exclusively to the guidance of Scripture. But now the choice is easy: the one path indeed demands patience, but the other leads to confusion: and such confusion as is not to be met with in any other art, mystery, or science, taught throughout the world."—(p. 40.)

We have not space for the remarks which this passage would suggest, but proceed to extract another passage, in which Mr. C. Maitland animadverts on the Papal-Antichrist system.

"As if the doom denounced upon Babylon were not sufficient for the warning of Christendom, many modern writers have endeavoured to amalgamate Babylon and Antichrist, hoping to identify both with the Papacy. By this rash step they unsettle everything; in snatching at the shadow of a Papal Antichrist, they let go the substance of a Papal Babylon. For, if Antichrist is now reigning, and the ten horns [horns] can be made to mean those five Gothic kingdoms that Machiavel reckons up, and which some persons, by a process known to themselves only, expand into ten, Babylon must have long ceased to exist.

Yet some, not content with making Babylon and Antichrist coincide in time, reckon the 1260 days to have expired already, while Babylon is still standing unconsumed.

"Apparently indifferent to the way in which Scripture expounds its own symbols, these writers labour to throw at the head of the Pope nearly every denunciation contained in prophecy. He is made in turn the beast from the sea, the lamb-like beast, and the image of the first beast. Twelve centuries of popes, including the evangelizing Gregory and the gentle Ganganelli, are made, *ex officio*, sons of perdition: the man of sin becomes three hundred men of sin. At another time, the Pope is the red Dragon or the wild Boar, the star fallen from heaven, the angel from the bottomless pit, and even the beast from the bottomless pit. The great point seems to be that the type should be something infernal. Fleming styles the Pope 'Prince of incarnate devils;' Mr. Fysh, more moderate, makes him only vice-devil. Many have waded through enormous difficulties to prove that the Pope is the beast that 'was and is not;' probably attracted by the words, 'Goeth into perdition.' But at this point they leave us to struggle with the greatest difficulty of all, how the Pope *was* before the time of Domitian, ceased to be while the angel was speaking, and was again to come up out of the bottomless pit, in which at that moment he was kept shut up.

"The penetration of these writers baffles all disguise; a man lies concealed in the little horn, but his eyes are visible, and at once they recognise the Pope. Their line of proof is curious: eyes—see—seer—overseer—episcopus—bishop—Pope; and so they catch him. Sometimes, to complete their satisfaction, they accomplish a play upon a proper name: Brightman makes the martyr Antipas the Antipapal martyrs; in the black horse, Mede finds the severity of Severus. According to Mr. Elliott, the angel of Apoc. x. is Christ acting the part of Antichrist; the voice, 'as of a lion roaring,' being that of Leo the Tenth.* To Gualterus the wild boar out of the wood seemed a fit emblem of the Pope: but no Pope had yet been named Wild-boar. In this emergency he fastens upon Hog's-snout (*Bocca di Porco*) the name of Sergius the Second before his accession."†

"Of this rough usage the Pope cannot fairly complain. *He* first, in that indecent warfare, made free with the bolts of heaven, attempting to fix upon his sovereign the epithet of 'the Beast.' The emperor, as was natural, retorted: 'The Pope describes me,' he complains, 'as the beast coming up out of the sea, full of names of blasphemy, and marked with the spots of a pard. But I say that he is that beast of which we read, 'There went out another red horse from the sea,' (meaning the *seal*, for Frederick was not quite at home in the Apocalypse,) 'and he that sat upon him took peace from the earth.'‡

"This wild mode of interpreting produces a reaction: 'In the Apocalypse,' says Professor Lee, 'I have not been able to find any mention either of the Pope or of Popery.'‡ And that is not the only mischief: these interpretations, though little noticed at home, figure with great effect in Romish commentaries. They are found to tell well in Gath: the Jesuit or the Benedictine, dragging them in as a foil to some other speculations of his own a little less extravagant, expresses a modest gratitude that he himself is not like other commentators, or even as this Anglican. Thus Calmet, to keep himself in countenance with his 'Diocles Augustus,' repeats with satisfaction the scheme

* "Hornæ Apoc. p. 387 to 465. See especially the heading of the pages, 'Antichrist's face as the Sun: Antichrist's feet on land and sea: Antichrist's cry as a lion roaring.' The Protestant Daubuz had before made the same angel Luther. [Mr. C. Maitland's note.]

† "Gualterus, *Homilia in Manum* 110. (A.D. 1570.) 'By which omen,' says Walter, 'God declared that now the fatal period was at hand, when, as the Psalmist says, the wild boar out of the wood was to lay waste His vineyard.'" *Ibid.*

‡ "Petrus de Vineis, *Ep. lib. i. cap. 31.* (A.D. 1240.)" *Ibid.*

‡ "Professor Lee on the Study of Holy Scripture. Preface." *Ibid.*

of Potter, making the Beast's enigma an incorrect square of 25, a number supposed to be of frequent occurrence in the Roman Church.*

"When an interpretation of this sort is peculiarly weak, its supporters attempt to raise its credit by styling it 'the Protestant interpretation.' Now, it cannot be denied that the reformed churches, having suffered severely at the hands of their common assailants, have been sorely tempted to revenge themselves by controversial bitterness. Protestantism, it may safely be allowed, has been at times betrayed into rash assertions, and has been driven, by the violence of its enemies, to avail itself of some unsound arguments in its own defence. But Protestantism is not yet so besotted as this, to contradict Scripture out of spite to the Pope. It is not yet so blind as formally to maintain that denying the Father and the Son means supporting the doctrine of the Trinity, or that denying Christ's coming in the flesh, means parading the historical accompaniments of that coming beyond the bounds of sober decorum. The Pope denies neither the Father nor the Son; the Arians call him Antichrist because he honours the Son even as he honours the Father. Far from denying Christ's having come in the flesh, the Pope treasures up, with superstitious fondness, even the spurious relics of the cross on which He hung: the Pope sits up all night to worship a pretended fragment of the cradle in which He lay.†

"The inspired writers, when foretelling the doctrines of Antichrist, must have been capable of so describing the Papacy as to leave no doubt of its real character. They could, had they wished it, have foreshown an Antichrist idolatrous, seductive, spreading abominable delusions, and, above all, so given to unlawful intrigues with the kings of the earth, as precisely to correspond with what our church is thinking of when she exacts from her clergy this solemn oath: 'I swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.' For this spirit of blood-thirsty intrigue is literally foretold of Babylon; therefore we may be certain that had the Apostles meant to describe an Antichrist, they would have fixed upon points on which he is opposed to Scripture, not on those on which he is entirely in accordance with it.

"It is sometimes felt as a difficulty in the literal system, that nobody could be supposed mad enough to fulfil prophecies well known and plainly expressed. If the objector should be weary of being reminded of the Jews, who, with the prophets in their hands, still pierced and buffeted the Man of Sorrows, let him accept, by way of supplementary proof, the history of Babylon. Rome, swarming with readers and expositors of the Apocalypse, nevertheless, assumes the purple, claims queenship, massacres her thousands, and, as if she had never heard the story of the sorceress on the hills, spreads treachery and bloodshed wherever her agents succeed in obtaining power.

"The year-day expositors would make the prophets no better geographers than theologians. Antichrist is said to reign over the whole world: over all kindreds, tongues, and nations. St. John's whole world need not include America, or Russia, or perhaps Great Britain; but it must include his own continent: for, excepting in the episode of Babylon, every place mentioned in the Apocalypse is Asiatic. These are Patmos, where the book was written; the seven

* Calmet (in Apoc. xiii.) expresses his surprise at the praises which Protestant writers have bestowed upon this vagary. So late as 1814, Mr. Clarke writes thus: 'Dr. Potter's most ingenious interpretation of the number 666, upon which Mr. Mede has passed a very high and deserved encomium.'—Clarke's *Dragon and Beast*, p. 76.—*Ibid.*

† On Christmas eve, when the supposed relic of the Bethlehem manger is exhibited at the midnight mass.—*Ibid.*

churches to which it was sent; also Armageddon, the holy city, and the river Euphrates. A European may think Europe the world; but to an Asiatic, the rest of the world is an appendage to his own continent: he would say with Demetrius and Ephesus, 'All Asia and the world.' To St. John and his readers Asia was, to say the least, an essential part of the 'whole world;' therefore, until the Pope begins to have some power or dominion in Asia, he has not fulfilled the prophecies about Antichrist.

"Let it not be objected to this rigid adherence to the language of Scripture, that better and more learned men have not thought it needful, and that we may safely trust a little to their good sense and piety. For, in conflict with anti-scriptural powers, this scrupulous adherence will be found our only safety. The Church of Rome may possibly dispense with the Bible, having her Trent for her doctrine, her anathemas for reproof, her inquisition for correction, and her infallible pontiff for instruction in righteousness. But with us, all these purposes must be served by Scripture. We must part with all else, if the price of that feast should require it. As the Reformers triumphed, so must we; consigning to oblivion all that opposes the word of inspiration, and setting up over its sepulchre this epitaph—'A fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but, rather, repugnant to the Word of God.'"—P. 43.

If in any part of Scripture it be our duty to adhere to the literal and grammatical sense of the words, above all is it necessary in the interpretation of prophecy. For not only is the fulfilment of the grammatical sense of the prophecies the great proof that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ, but it is impossible to introduce a figurative and spiritualizing system, without weakening men's belief in the predictions of his second coming. And that by some methods men will at last be taught to explain away these prophecies, seems highly probable, if not absolutely certain.

But we must hasten to conclude this notice with the following extract, in which Mr. C. Maitland exposes the absurdities of the historical school of interpretation.

"This system professes to find in history the fulfilment of nearly all the Apocalypse. As time advances, the events have to be moved farther back in the book—an operation easily performed, as there appears to be no fixed point in the system; but, as nothing has yet happened like the opening of the sixth seal, or the resurrection of the witnesses, the plan has its difficulties. Here the more prudent make a stand; these things, they say, must be still future; the great day of the Lamb's wrath cannot have passed away unnoticed, since the universal terror is an essential part of the event. But they all profess to have found the locusts, which the ancients expected as part of the great tribulation. Here, then, we may expect a decisive explanation: if the locusts have come at all, there can be no question *when* they came.

"The locusts, says Joachim, are the Waldenses, Cathari, and Paulikians. The locusts, says De Lyra, are the Arian Vandals. The locusts, thunders Luther, are the schoolmen; and their King Apollyon is Aristotle. The locusts, says Brute, are the friars: but the friar Ubertinus hopes that they are only monks. Here Broughton steps in as moderator: the locusts, he says, are both monks and friars: their women's hair shows that they live in cloisters. The swarm now threatened to settle finally upon the monks; but, beyond all hope, a strong west wind took away the locusts. Their sudden migration may be thus explained:—

"These fiery visitants, though in other respects well fitted for controversial use, possessed the disadvantage of being certain to sting those that employed them. Long after every one else had discovered this propensity, the Romanist

Walsley was incautious enough to give out that the locusts were Protestants. Be it so, answered his opponents; allow, therefore, that the Church of Rome being tormented by them, has not the seal of God upon her forehead. Upon this the stern features of Controversy relaxed into a smile.

"Since that time the locusts have been banished to the East. They are now usually explained to be the Saracens, sent to torment those who worshipped idols of gold, and silver, and brass; that is, the Greek church. But history says something about the Greeks having split off from the Latins on the question of image-worship; adding, that, because they refused to worship the idols of gold and silver, the Latins abandoned them to their fate, and to the ravages of the Mahometan arms.

"The strangest part of this system is the length of time sometimes required to elapse before the event can be sufficiently forgotten to allow of its being mistaken for a fulfilment. Hyrcanus, who lived through the persecution of Antiochus, could describe it in no language more suitable than the words of the prophecy of Daniel. Polycarp, having received, as angel of Smyrna, the promise of a crown, delays the fire by thanking God for the fulfilment. But the reign of Diocletian had to be steeped in a thousand years of forgetfulness, before any one could take it for the opening of the sixth seal; the peaceful reign of Constantine required fourteen centuries, before it could be taken for that great day of the wrath of the Lamb. Others, indeed, find fulfilments in the events of their own lifetime: but these fulfilments seldom survive their discoverers. Luther thought it safe enough that the little horn was the Turks: Melancthon was equally confident. Suddenly Calvin decides that all are wrong, and the little horn must be Julius Cæsar. Then, as the papacy declines, and people form a confused idea of what it was at its worst, they make the little horn the Pope.

"De Lyra finds the witnesses in Sylvanus and Menna. The other characters of the vision he distributes among their contemporaries; as for the beast from the bottomless pit, that obolus he bestows upon Belisarius. Soon their cloudy chariot has to ascend with Huss and Jerome; at another time with Luther and Zwingle, or with the Old and New Testaments. And, to crown all, it has to return for half the Antichristian rabble of the middle ages: for the arrogant Sergius, who boasts himself the Good Shepherd; and for the Orleanists, who refuse to believe in the Incarnation, because they were not present when it took place. None of these can be said, even figuratively, to have shut heaven, except the Paulikians and Orleanists, who suppressed the greater part of the Bible.

"At the basis of the historical method, there seems to lie an assumption that the events foretold cannot possibly happen as they are described. Daniel's King of Græcia may indeed have been a King of Græcia; but that St. John's witnesses should turn out to be two individual men, working miracles and breathing out fire,—this seems impossible. It appears more prudent, and less likely to compromise the honour of the prophecy, to style any Antichristian sectaries 'the witnesses,' than to suppose that the prophet means literally what he says. But should we once hear that two men are at this moment preaching in Judea, turning water to blood, and shutting heaven by the year together, no doubt thousands would at once begin to believe literally the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse. Show us—now that we intend to walk by sight—show us the thing in a newspaper; otherwise we cannot believe it; the most noble Festus would think us mad.

"Who will venture to talk of improbability in matters of prophecy, after reading the promises fulfilled in Mary the Virgin, in Sarah the barren, and in Elizabeth so well stricken in years? Let none think to mend matters by starting difficulties, seeing how little Zacharias profited by that method. Whereby shall I know this? he asks. 'Thou shalt be dumb,' answers the angel; thou shalt ask no more unbelieving questions.

"The ancients look through one end of the telescope, we the other. Where they magnify, we love to diminish; where they strive to let no word of the

prophecy fall to the ground, we consign whole predictions to the history of events, which, if the prophets thought worth foretelling, the Church has not found worth remembering. 'On Sunday,' says Mr. Fysh, 'July the 13th, 1788, the first angel poured out his vial upon France. That is, four years before the revolution; but who now has the faintest recollection of what happened in France upon that Sunday? What, then, means that prelude to the vials which John heard sung in heaven: 'Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, for thy judgments are made manifest?' not 'made manifest' to one single person, but 'to all nations.' Therefore, though expositors continue to cry out, century after century, We are now in the sixth vial; or, We are now in the first droppings of the seventh;—no one is called upon to believe them, till they can show in history the preceding five, as agreed upon among themselves,—or rather, as proclaimed, without their help, by the voice of those nations whose wailing and dismay will constitute a large portion of the fulfilment.

"The historical system, when it takes possession of a man, sends him forth to wander through the history of Europe, in search of the seals and the trumpets, the vials and the angels, of the Apocalypse. Like a hard master, it would reap where none has sown; its votary is not suffered to complain that no suitable events can be discovered, or that the Church cannot be brought to recognise his scheme of fulfilment. No such agreement is now required. Long ago, indeed, it was thought needful to be like-minded, to walk by the same rule, and to speak the same thing; but now, if he is to have any success, he must aim at being original; he must learn not to covet his neighbour's interpretation. For, as he quickly discovers, there is room for many to differ, even when applying the same prophecy to the same event; if one has made the sun-like angel to be Luther, another made try Leo; and, for the sixth seal, if Diocletian be already engaged, Constantine is still to let.

"His labours will not be unrewarded. Having fixed upon a new and original date of the end, he will enjoy the honours of a prophet. If prudent, he will, by deferring the time, provide against a speedy refutation; if of warmer temperament, he will stake his credit upon an alarming proximity of the end. But he knows not, for he neglects to profit by the experience of his predecessors, that with this honour comes anxiety. The lapse of time, that brings the literalist so much nearer to the object of his expectation, to the disciple of the historical school brings misgivings: each year sounds the knell of some rival system, suggesting gloomy forebodings of the fate of his own. And when the sad hour has arrived, and his own 'year of the end' has passed away, in all things like other years (save that to him its December sets in darker) let him expect no pity, attempt by no second calculation to retrieve his credit. Enough that he is not worse off than his neighbours; nor shall they that follow him flourish longer: time, that has consigned his system to oblivion, is even now at the door, and will soon carry theirs out also."—(P. 60.)

We shall be glad to think that these extracts may induce all who read them to study Mr. C. Maitland's volume for themselves. We may doubt of one or two points in his system of interpretation. But with the greater part, and above all, with that great principle on which it rests,—reverence for the letter and text of the sacred volume,—we entirely and heartily concur.

We know that there are some wise and excellent persons who are afraid to receive the prophecies in their literal sense, because they sometimes observe, as they think, that this mode of interpretation is connected with wildness and fanaticism. But whenever such results appear to follow, we are persuaded that a more careful inquiry will prove, that it is to a departure from the literal meaning of the text that error and fanaticism may invariably be traced. This argument, however, will prove too much. If the literal interpretation of the

prophecies be made answerable for extravagance and fanaticism, the opposite system may be connected with unsoundness in the faith: for Socinus wrote a book against the doctrine of the Millennium. If the belief in the prophecy of the Millennium be connected with unsoundness touching the sacrament of baptism, what becomes of the primitive church in which—as Chillingworth has demonstrated—the doctrine was universally held and taught, as the Christian tradition, and the true and catholic doctrine of the church? These are not the sorts of arguments by which the meaning of the divine promises is to be determined. Those who interpret the promises literally and grammatically, do not only follow the example which has been set by Christ and his Apostles in their interpretation of the prophecies of the Old Testament, but they preserve that interpretation and catholic tradition which was held in the earliest and purest period of the church, before the church had begun to rationalize and explain away the Holy Scriptures by the licentiousness of a spiritual and figurative system of exposition.

Mr. Macaulay's Character of the Clergy in the latter part of the Seventeenth Century considered; with an Appendix on his Character of the Gentry, as given in his History of England. By Churchill Babington, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College. Cambridge: Deighton. London: Rivington. 8vo, pp. 116.

MR. MACAULAY'S history has provoked a considerable number of persons to look into his references and authorities, and with no little service to the cause of truth, whatever may have been the effect on the historian's reputation. The little volume before us, written with a temper and moderation which does credit to the author, professes to examine Mr. Macaulay's account of the social condition of the clergy about the time of the accession of James II., and Mr. Babington's design is not merely to vindicate the English clergy from Mr. Macaulay's absurd misrepresentations, but by laying before the public a detailed examination of one portion of his history, "to enable any person to form some kind of notion as to his general accuracy and merits as an historian." He has fully redeemed his promise. A more complete exposure of mistakes and exaggerations cannot well be imagined.

There are two points connected with this inquiry, on which we would add a word or two. With regard to the learning and attainments of the clergy, it may not be fair to take the average from the universities or the city. But any one who is acquainted with the manner in which the Roman-catholic controversy was carried on in the reign of Charles II. and James II., and has any idea of the number and the merits of the volumes of sermons published during that period, will be inclined to think that the theological character of the English clergy never stood higher than at that time.

With regard to the marriage of the clergy, any one who will consider how long it must have been before the minds of men could have become reconciled to the notion of a married clergyman, will not feel very much surprised, if even a longer interval than that between the Reformation and the Revolution, had been required to bring about

such a change of opinion as would place the matter on its present footing. So far from the difficulty which the clergy may have experienced being a proof of the low estimation in which their order was held, it is far more likely to have arisen from a contrary feeling: the most religious persons, and those who had the highest veneration for the priesthood, and the most exalted idea of its sacredness and dignity, being the parties who would find it hardest to make their old-fashioned notions give way, and their prejudices against a married clergyman yield even to their judgment and their convictions. But that the clergy were in the habit of marrying such a class of persons as those who now fill the place of domestic servants we do not believe. Mr. Macaulay relies on the picture given in the *Scornful Lady*. We shall venture to extract the opinion of another layman, one who lived at the time, and had opportunities of knowing how far the portrait is a correct one or not.

“ I must confess I was moved with the utmost indignation at the trivial, senseless, and unnatural representation of the chaplain. It is possible there may be a pedant in holy orders, and we have seen one or two of them in the world ; but such a driveller as Sir Roger, so bereft of all manner of pride, which is the characteristic of a pedant, is what one would not believe could come into the head of the same man who drew the rest of the play. The meeting between Walford and him shows a wretch without any notion of the dignity of his function ; and it is out of all common sense that he should give an account of himself *as one sent four or five miles in a morning on foot for eggs*. It is not to be denied, but his part, and that of the maid whom he makes love to, are excellently well performed ; but a thing which is blameable in itself, grows still more so by the success in the execution of it. It is so mean a thing to gratify a loose age with a scandalous representation of what is reputable among men, not to say what is sacred, that no beauty, no excellence in an author ought to atone for it—nay, such excellence is an aggravation of his guilt, and an argument that he errs against the conviction of his own understanding and conscience. Wit should be tried by this rule, and an audience should rise against such a scene, as throws down the reputation of anything which the consideration of religion or decency should preserve from contempt. But all this evil arises from this one corruption of mind that makes men resent offences against their virtue, less than those against their understanding. An author shall write as if he thought there was not one man of honour or woman of chastity in the house, and come off with applause. For an insult upon all the ten commandments, with the little critics, is not so bad as the breach of an unity of time or place. Half wits do not apprehend the miseries that must necessarily flow from degeneracy of manners ; nor do they know that order is the support of society. Sir Roger and his mistress are monsters of the poet’s own forming ; the sentiments in both of them are such as do not arise in fools of their education. We all know that a silly scholar, instead of being below every one he meets with, is apt to be exalted above the rank of such as are really his superiors. His arrogance is always founded upon particular notions of distinction in his own heart, accompanied with a pedantic scorn of all fortune and pre-eminence, when compared with knowledge and learning. This very one character of Sir Roger as silly as it really is, has done more towards the disparagement of holy orders, and consequently of virtue itself, than all the wit that author or any other could make up for in the conduct of the longest life after it. I do not pretend in saying this, to give myself airs of more virtue than my neighbours, but assert it from the principles by which mankind must always be governed. Sallies of imagination are to be overlooked, when they are committed out of warmth in the recommendation of what is praiseworthy ; but a deliberate advancing of vice, with all the wit in the world, is as ill an

action as any that comes before the magistrate, and ought to be received as such by the people."—*The Spectator*, No. 270.

We apprehend Steele's authority is better than Mr. Macaulay's, and his testimony as little likely to be suspected of partiality.

We should wish to give a more detailed notice of Mr. Babington's work, but it is impossible. Our readers, we trust, will make themselves acquainted with it. We cannot, however, avoid extracting the concluding chapter, which ought to satisfy the most sceptical of the degree of weight which should be attached to Mr. Macaulay's statements.

"Persons unaccustomed to research, but possessed of a competent knowledge of letters, naturally take pleasure in tracing in the descriptions of a well-read writer some touches of that literature with which they are themselves familiar. Many persons accordingly thought that Fielding's characters had been ushered into the world half a century before they were due; and that his parsons were, above all others, the real (or at least the really described) clergymen whom Mr. Macaulay had in his eye. Others bethought themselves of the dramatists: others, perhaps, had different opinions of their own. But from henceforth there may probably be but one opinion. Many of Mr. Macaulay's readers had doubtless observed that his description of the clergy opens in these words:—

"The rural clergy were **EVEN MORE VEHEMENT IN TORYISM THAN THE RURAL GENTRY.**"

"Now it so falls out that there is a portrait of a clergyman which agrees in some very important particulars with Mr. Macaulay's description, though, indeed, this clergyman is not wholly unacquainted with Homer, the study of whose language was 'by no means necessary' for an Oxford or 'a Cambridge divine.' His books, too, it may be supposed, were sufficiently numerous, if not to place him among 'the *unusually* lucky' ones, yet at least in the class of those who might be considered lucky. Abating these advantages which he possessed over Mr. Macaulay's tory clergymen, the resemblance is wellnigh complete. His wife's character, too, 'had been blown upon,' and was suspected. Yet this man was so far from exceeding the standard of the gentry's toryism, that he was actually a **WHIG**: his description is given as follows, in a pamphlet entitled, *The Character of a Whig under several Denominations; to which is added, The Reverse, or the Character of a True Englishman in opposition to the former*; and published without name of author or printer, at London, in the year 1700. The tract is so rare, that its possessor is not aware of the existence of a copy in the public library at Cambridge. The writer had (it need scarcely be said) read Eachard, and almost copies him, except that he applies his knowledge to his own purposes. Apology is due for printing such language as one sentence contains, and it would not have been done but for the absolute necessity of the case. The account is wound up with little else but a history of the sermon, which it would be little to our purpose to introduce, even were it less indecent. Mr. Macaulay, too, winds up with an account of his parson's violent tory sermon. Eachard's arrangement is different, and he has nothing to do with politics.

"THE CHURCH WHIG, OR THE ECCLESIASTICAL BIFARIUS.

"Is the offspring of ignorance and nonconformity, who being dieted a while in a country school, upon rules, exceptions, and tedious repetitions of *Amo's* and *τύπτω's* till he had learned how Phaeton broke his neck; how many apples Tityrus had for his supper; and understood Homer's commendations of Achilles' toes and the Grecian's boots; knew a hexameter from a pentameter, a spondee from a dactyl, and could fit them in that sense to his finger's end; though his parts were contemptible, and the purses of his friends at too low an ebb to maintain him like a scholar, to the University he must go for a

little logic and ethics, and is predestinated by his relations to be a clergyman, in hopes that a benefice where Henry the Eighth had not been too busy with his toll-dish, but that yet there remained some good land, that afforded milk and honey, might be the portion of our juvenile levité. Now that success might answer the desires of his parents, and that the babe of grace might not surfeit on human learning, the tutor employs him in bed-making, chamber-sweeping, and water-fetching, that the sizar's brains might not be overheated with too much vain philosophy. Having sucked in about six or seven mouthfuls of University air, exactly learned to respond to *Quid est logica?* and *Quot sunt virtutes morales?* with Burgusdicius, Eustachius, and such excellent helpmeets in divinity in his coat-pocket; down he goes by the first carrier on the top of a pack into the country to propagate the gospel, and by that time he can say his predicaments and his creed, you may find him in a pulpit; for now he has the choice of preaching or starving: though it had been ten times better for the lad and the Church that he had been made a tooth-drawer or a porter. Some poor starved vicar, that ne'er could keep a curate in his life, gives him a title to ordination, and then a neighbouring knight takes him into his family at the price of ten pounds a year, and a Sunday pudding, to perform holy offices, and spoil his children by making him their tutor. Being a stranger to the house and a decent behaviour, my cousin Abigail, out of charity and in hope of the benefit of her clergy, instructs him in the knowledge of a chaplain's duty—viz., that he must never speak in the parlour but at grace and prayer-time, and be sure with a low bow to rise in time from the table, take away his plate, and march off with his hat under his arm, and cleave a log into billets for the parlour fire, whilst the knight, my lady, and her children eat up the chickens, tarts, and custards, and then calls in the chipling to dismiss them. This obligation upon the young levite gives him a liking to Mrs. Abigail, which she cherishes with the remains of her ladies' caudles and the pills of her China oranges, and lays the foundation of his ruin. To please his mistress, and gain the vicarage that is entailed upon her office by the custom of the manor, he is sometimes found cracking nuts and reading in his study, and having luckily discovered a vacuum in his upper room, he fills it with learned jargon, materia prima, occult qualities and atoms, which the lady of the house observing, she breaks out in his commendation, *Truly the young man is much improved since he came into our family.* The lady's good word, the knight's good nature, and Mrs. Abigail's apron-strings growing too short, prefer him at once to a benefice and a belly-piece, where the all-wise patron, and the all-understanding adjoining justice being both severe and sour whigs, the chipling, to gain their favours and re-assume what he was bred to, sets up for a *Church Whig* also, and leaves nothing unattempted that may show his respects to the dissenting party. Now he sets up for a conforming dissenter, and carries the fair outside of a man, and is an arrant knave in his heart; one that indifferently divides his body and his soul betwixt right and wrong: the government has his head and purtenances, and the schism his affections.'—*The Character of a Whig under several Denominations; to which is added the Reverse, or the Character of a true Englishman in opposition to the former,* pp. 72—75, Lond. 1700.

" So it seems,

" 'Quem quærimus, hic est.'

" Even so:

" 'Here our solemn search hath end.'

" It was a bold and perhaps not very politic stroke of Mr. Macaulay to take the above description, reproduce it *mutatis mutandis*, and apply it to the Tory clergy. And all this, not in an avowed work of fiction, but in a professed History of England. Some may consider the fraud pious; all must confess its conception facetious; but his joke, once discovered, is at the expense of the author and his history."—(pp. 107—110.)

This is a revelation indeed.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

LAUD AND BASTWICK.

JOHN BASTWICK was born at Writtle, in Essex, in the year 1593.* Little is known of his early life, except that he resided for a time in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, having entered in May, 1614. His stay in Cambridge was short, but the cause for quitting the University cannot be ascertained. He "then travelled nine years beyond the seas," and was "made Dr. of Physick at Padua."† In a copy of the *Elenchus Religionis Papisticae* in my possession, in the hand writing of Thomas Baker, is the following entry: "Jo. Bastwick ortu Essex; Institutus Cantabrigiæ, in Aula, (ni Fallor,) Pembrochi; vel Eman, M. D. Patavii." There is, however, no doubt that he resided in Emmanuel College.

We have his own account of his early life, in reply to a slander from the Independents, that he was an apostate. "And now that I may say something of my education, which many at this instant in the city, and them men of eminency, are witnesses for me, that have knowne me from my childhood. At sixteen years of age, after I had, following the customes of youth, spent my tender dayes in the pleasures of hawking and hunting, I was sent by my Christian kindred to a village in Essex, called *Weatherfield*, under the ministry of that learned reverend preacher, *Mr. Richard Rogers*, who writ that divine book called *The Seven Treatises*; by whose means, under God, I came to the knowledge

* The date of his birth is ascertained from his portrait in 1640, as he is stated to be forty-seven years of age. See *Flagellum Pontificis*.

† Fuller, xi. 151. Biog. Brit.

of the truth, and to that learning that God hath given me; for he out of his tender love unto me, took me into his family, and in a short time for the rare dexterity he had in educating of youth, being a brave scholar, and one of the best Latinists of the kingdome (through the blessing of God upon his endeavours) made me fit for the University, in which place he had an especial care to season me well in all the principles of the true Protestant religion." "And from under this reverend man's ministry and preaching I went to Cambridge, where by his means Dr. Chadderton, the master of Emanuel College (in which I was a student) a man of fame for piety, in his generation, took me into his own tutoring, and pleased to make me his companion (an honour that many of my betters enjoyed not.) And from him I went into the *Low Countries*, where I lived four years and a halfe in the Universities of *Leiden* and *Franeker*; and halfe that time in the house of reverend Doctor *Amise*. And from thence I went to *Geneva*, where there were as learned and orthodox ministers as any in the world."*

On returning to England, Bastwick appears to have fixed his abode at Colchester, in which place he practised as a physician; but the precise time of his settlement in that town is not known. It is, however, clear, that his notoriety arose from his erratic course in theological and political matters, and not from his profession. Had he confined himself to his practice, his name probably would not have descended to posterity. The works, for which he was first brought into trouble, were composed at Colchester, though, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring a licence, they were printed on the Continent. These will be mentioned in their order. Meanwhile, we may subjoin a passage from a publication of a later period, as casting some light on his earlier days. Alluding to Lilburne's assertion, that he had rendered him assistance in his distresses, Bastwick says: "As for my friends generally, they were like the rivers of Arabia, when I was in the greatest heat of affliction, and had most need of them to refresh mee, they were all dried up, and as Job's and David's friends, either out of base feare of the beast they stood afarre off and so declined me, or else proved miserable comforters, and added affliction to my bonds. They seldom came to mee except it were to rate mee and revile mee, and joyne with my enemies, yet though they fayled mee, I had got some acquaintance by these my sufferings, who now and then came to visit mee, and were kind unto mee, and these excepted no citizens did ever accost me, or come nigh mee in all London for eightene months. And that which also made me not regarded, nor looked after, some

* Independency not God's Ordinance. Second Part. *The Preface.*

black-mouthed physitians that made religion their stalking-horse to get into practise, one of them which also stood really obliged unto mee, in as many obligations of respect and friendship, as Lieutenant Colonell Lilburne falsely affirms I stood bound to him, and yet this man also forgetting all courtesies and humanity, for no other reason, but because I could not applaud all his distempers, joyned with the other men unknowne to mee, and they all as it were in a confedracy combined together to defame mee, and spake all manner of evill of mee (and continue the same trade to this day) so that in the judgment of all the citizens that heard of me and through their calumnies, I was thought worthy of no pitty, and esteemed of as a man no way to be regarded: yea I was condemned by the most of them that heard of me, as an evill doer, and my punishment thought too little for mee, and they spake generally of me as a debauched fellow and a madman: and all these aspersions were laid upon mee partly out of malice, and partly for feare, least any should make use of mee for their physician, for they were sure they should ever find me at home when others perhaps would be in the country when they had greatest need of them, and therefore for feare (as I say) lest I should hinder grists from coming to their mill, and out of envy, they often traduced mee and vilified me everywhere, an ordinary practice, especially of the Independent physitians.”*

He denies receiving any assistance in his early imprisonment from Lilburne: but this point will come again under our notice; and the above extract is introduced here because it reflects some light on Bastwick's earlier history. He was now enduring imprisonment for some of his works, which will be presently noticed; and from the preceding extract it is evident, whether the charges were true or false, that rumours of an unfavourable kind had been circulated respecting him, and also that they were to a considerable extent believed. We have no reason for concluding that they were true, or that his own method of accounting for their origin is not the right one; but his own words prove the existence of the reports, which, as will be seen hereafter, were revived with much bitterness by the Independents after Bastwick had appeared as a champion for Presbytery.

In the same work there is another passage which affords a view of his circumstances. Thus, in allusion to Lilburne's assertion of pecuniary aid, he says: “What a base lye it was in them, to affirme that they kept me from hanging: whereas I never was

* A Just Defence of John Bastwick, Doctor in Physicke, against the Calumnies of John Lilburne, Lieutenant-Colonell, and his false accusations, written in way of reply to a Letter of Master Vicars; in which he desired to be satisfied concerning that reproach. In which reply there is not onely the vindication of the honour of the Parliament, but also that which is of publike concernment, & behooves all well-affected subjects to looke unto. 4to. London: 1645. pp. 9, 10.

(as all men know) so much as questioned at any Barre, or in any court for my life, and therefore had no need of the Psalme of mercy, much lesse of their help in that kind: and I blesse God, I was never brought so low, that I could not have subsisted without starving, with the stumps of that estate my father left me, after all the vast expences I was causlesly put unto, by my malicious enemies in all their courts, although my children would have fared the worse for it, and I should not so comfortably perhaps have undergone my imprisonment, had not my Christian friends been some help unto me: and I can truly say this and make it appeare that all that ever I received by way of curtisie, doth not amount by a thousand pounds and more, to that meanes my father left me, besides my wives portion: so that I am above two thousand pounds worse, in reall money and estate at this day, besides the losse of my time, for twelve years, since which my troubles began, above eight of which I was kept a close prisoner, and three of them in banishment: and they that know what I am now worth can witness the same for me, men of reputation.”*

Bastwick, therefore, possessed some property; and with his practice it is probable that he was able to maintain a considerable position in the town of Colchester. Still his practice could not have been very extensive, or he would not have found time for writing controversial works: unless, indeed, his love of controversy led him to neglect the duties of his profession. Be this as it may, we find him in the field of controversy as early as 1624. In that year was published at Leyden his *Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ*. It was printed in London in 1627; at Amsterdam in 1634; at London in 1637; and again at Amsterdam in 1638.†

In 1634 the third edition of the *Elenchus* was published at Amsterdam. But in the meantime Bastwick had become more hostile to the bishops and the church; and, therefore, with the preceding work was published another, which, though ostensibly directed against the bishops of Rome, was supposed to contain reflections on the English hierarchy. This was entitled *Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latialium*. It formed a part only of the volume, the whole consisting of this and the preceding work.‡

* Bastwick's Defence, &c., 18.

† *Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ in quo Probatur: neque Apostolicam, neque Catholicam, suis neque Romanam esse. Editio secunda multis argumentis aucta et emendata. Authore Joh: Bastwick, Anglo M.D., Londini, excusum per Gulielmum Jones. 1627. 12mo.* This copy in my possession was a presentation copy from the author. In the handwriting, probably, of Bastwick, is the following: “*Liber Samuelis Charteri ex Dono Authoris.*” I have also the edition of 1634.

‡ *Elenchus, &c. &c. editio tertia, noviter non tantum a scoli cujusdam calumniis, sed et a doctorum aliquot argumentis vindicata. Accedit ad calcem, ejusdem authoris exercitatio quædam Theologica, adversus Episcoporum Papalium usurpationem. Item epistola ad quendam, qui a reformatâ Relig. ad Papismum defecerat. Amstelodami apud Joannem Janssonium, 1634.* It will be seen that this edition is

It was for this publication that Bastwick was called before the court. His own account, perhaps, may be taken as correct, and it is at all events interesting. It was written after his return from exile, in the form of a petition to Parliament. "The humble petition of John Bastwicke, Doctor in Physicke, lately retained close prisoner and exile in the Island of Sylly; most humbly sheweth, that your petitioner having about six years since set out a Booke in latine, called *Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ*, with an addition thereunto called *Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latialium*, being thereunto provoked by one Richard Short, a Papist that maintained the Pope's supremacy, the masse, and Papal religion: in which book your petitioner (for preventing all misinterpretations of his pious and good intentions therein) in his Epistle to the Reader, fully declared himself, that your petitioner meant nothing against such bishops as acknowledged their authority from kings and emperors, &c. Thereupon a pursevant by authority from the High Commission Court, came into your petitioner's house at Colchester in Essex, in his absence; and the said pursevant with the then bayliffes and constables of Colchester aforesaid, ransacked his said house, together with his chests and trunks, and with great violence brake open your petitioners study, which was in his apothecaries house, and tooke and carried away bookes, writings, letters, and what else the pursevant pleased. And then your petitioner was prosecuted in the High Commission Court, principally for his said booke, where after a long and chargeable prosecution, he was the 12 of February 1634, fined 1000*l.* to the king, excommunicated, debarred to practice physicke, (the chiefest meanes of his lively-hood) his said books being ordered to be burnt: that he should pay costs of suit and be imprisoned till he should make a recantation; the which heavy censure was only for the said booke, wherein your petitioner maintained the prerogative of a king against the papacy."*

Bastwick pleaded that his sentence was inflicted for maintain-

considerably enlarged. It contains a long preface. Then, as a part of the same volume, the pagination being continued, *Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latialium*. Autore Johanne Bastwick, M.D. This latter was reprinted in 1635, and again in 1641 in London, after the author's return from banishment. To this last edition was added three Letters: "Prima ad quendam, qui a reformatâ religione ad Papismum defecerat. Secunda de Papisticæ Religionis futilitate. Tertia de Romanæ Ecclesiæ falsitate." It will be seen that the first of the three was printed in 1634 with the *Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ*. Under the author's portrait, prefixed to this work, are the following lines:—

Man's dayes are vaine, and as a flower they fade,
Heere's one proclames, whereon man's life is stay'd,
His sufferings, changes, comforts in strict thrall,
Shews God alone, preserves, and governes all.

* Prynne's New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny, 131, 132.

ing the royal prerogative against the papacy. This, however, was his own version of the matter. "In the censure," says Whitelock, "all the bishops then present denied openly that they held their jurisdiction as bishops from the king. But they affirmed that they had their jurisdiction from God only." Whitelock, after mentioning several particulars of the debate, concludes his remarks thus: "I cannot precisely aver all this, though I heard most of it, as it is here set down; and heard the rest of it, to this purpose, from those who were present at the debating of these matters in the High Commission Court."*

Our author being unable to pay the costs, and also not being ready to make a recantation, was continued in prison. The punishment was undoubtedly excessive. At this time Bastwick was much less violent than at a subsequent period, when he produced his Litany. Still it must not be forgotten that, in those times, a man like Bastwick, who was seeking after notoriety, and courting martyrdom, would have been spurred on, by the forbearance of the ruling powers, to greater excesses. This cannot be pleaded in justification of an improper sentence, but it may be taken into the account in considering the times in question. It may serve to point out the reasons by which the authorities were influenced in their judgment, though it affords no justification. The court knew the character of the men who were brought before them: they felt certain that a lenient censure would be regarded by the accused as an indication of weakness on the part of their judges; and besides, the times were such, that no party was disposed to adopt very gentle measures.

It is observable that Bastwick does not mention Laud in his petition referring to this imprisonment. The facts merely are stated. Still the archbishop bore the odium.

Fuller notices Bastwick's argument, that he only referred to certain bishops, and not to such as acknowledged their authority from kings. "Returning home, he set forth a book in Latine, entituled *Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latialium*. But it seems he confined not his character so to the Latian bishops beyond the Alpes, but that our English prelates counted themselves touched therein."†

During his imprisonment he found time to compose two works, which were of such a character that it was utterly impossible, as the times then were, that they should be uncensored. For the previous works he was proceeded against in the High Commission: but for the two books of which some account is now to be given, he was brought into the Star Chamber. "Hereupon he was accused in the High Commission, committed to the Gate

* Whitelock's Memorials, 22.

† Fuller, book xi. 152.

House, where he wrote a second book, taxing the injustice of the proceedings of the High Commission, for which he was indicted in the Star Chamber.* In this work we have some curious particulars concerning the proceedings before the High Commission. Its tone is most insulting, but as it was written in Latin, the common people could not have been affected. On this ground alone could it have been permitted to remain unnoticed. The policy of the times, however, would not permit such a course; and, moreover, it was evident that Bastwick would not desist from attacking the bishops, whom he regarded as the chief authors of his sufferings. He tells his judges that they had ruined his fortune, rendered his wife and family beggars, and prevented him from following his profession. The charges adduced in the High Commission Court, according to Bastwick's own statement, were chiefly these:—*That he denied the lawfulness of bowing at the name of Jesus—the lawfulness of kneeling in the act of receiving the elements in the Lord's Supper—that he had circulated Leighton's book—that he had expressed a desire to kiss the wounds of Leighton after the loss of his ears—and lastly, for his book Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ.*† He tells us that Newcomen, Danet, and Daniel, who were the informers against him, pretended great affection for him, and assumed the garb of piety, deploring the calamities of the times through the sloth or wickedness of the bishops. After some intercourse Danet asked him if he had seen Leighton's book? This was during Leighton's imprisonment, but before his sentence. He then asked Bastwick whether he possessed the book; and he was induced to lend it: but he declares that the volume was not otherwise circulated. To the charge of wishing to kiss Leighton's wounds he puts forth a positive denial. He even admits that he disapproved of Leighton's manner of speaking of the king; and since his condemnation he had neither seen nor heard from the prisoner.

The arguments of the *Flagellum* are repeated in this second work, and with many reflections on the bishops. But there was besides another work in English, which Bastwick was pleased to call a Litany. This was of so furious a character that few persons can fail of coming to the conclusion that the censure of the court was brought upon him by his own rashness. Prynne alludes to these two works, mentioning that they were written in prison: “Where he writ a latine booke, stiled *Apologeticus ad Præsules Anglicanos*, dedicated to the Lords of Councill, declaring the injustice of the proceedings and censure against him in the High

* Ibid. 152.

† ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΝ sive *Apologeticus ad Præsules Anglicanos Criminum Ecclesiasticorum in curia celsæ Commissionis.* Autore Johanne Bastwick, M.D. London: 1636. pp. 5, 6.

Commission, which was printed, and a litany in English.”* The information submitted to the court had the five books annexed, the first being the *Apologeticus Ad Præsules*, &c., and the last Bastwick’s Litany.† Passages were selected by counsel from each of these books. When the Lord Keeper asked, “Doctor Bastwick, doe you not acknowledge the *Apologie Ad Præsules Anglicanos*, and the sentences read in it to bee your owne,” he replied, “My Lord, I acknowledge but part of it to be mine : for after it was out of my hands, and gone beyond the seas, some man addeed something of his, which I will not father, amongst the which is one of the sentences alledged against me.” The Earl of Dorset asked, “Doctor Bastwick, did you not send that book with a letter unto a nobleman? My Lord, I denie it not, but withall it was with a caution, distinguishing betweene mine owne writing, and that which was added.”‡

When the Lord Keeper told Bastwick that his answer was not needed, he replied, “If your honours shall refuse it, then I protest before men and angells this day, that I will put this answere of mine in Romane Buffe, and send it through the whole Christian world, that all men may see my innocency, and your illegall proceedings, and this I will doe if I die for it : and then casting it into the court, my Lord Keeper said, Doctor Bastwicke, it seems wee must have your answere.”§ Bastwick asks, whether it would not be base and cowardly to challenge a man to fight a duel, and deprive him of his weapons of defence? He then adds, “In the very same manner the prelates deale with us : they have dared us heere into the field of this honourable High Court of Star Chamber, making the nobilitie and peeres of the kingdome spectators, and wee are no sooner entred into the place of combat, but the prelates by order of the court hath taken away all our weapons of defence, and now they fall upon us to cut off our eares.”|| Addressing the court, he asks, “Will you cut off a Doctor of Physicks eares able to cure lords, peeres, kings, and emperors? Will you cut off a soldiers eares, able to lead an army into the field? Will you cut off a Christian’s eares? Will you make curs of Christians, my Lord? Will you cut off a Catholicke, Apostolicke, a Romanes eares?”¶

* New Discovery, &c., 13, 14.

† Ibid. 5.

‡ Ibid. 19. In his *Answer*, Bastwick states, that the *Apologeticus ad Præsules*, &c. contained “the state of the questions in his *Flagello*, for which he suffered, with the sum of the arguments he produced for the confirmation of the trueth.” *The Answer of John Bastwick*, &c. 1637. P. 7. He says further, “Whether the Book that is annexed unto the Bill bee the same, that the defendent knoweth not, but a Booke with that title he confesseth he writ wherein he set downe the proceedings of the prelates against himself, and their dealings towards others of their brethren.” Ibid.

§ Ibid. 20, 21.

|| New Discovery, &c., 23.

¶ Ibid. 24.

Before we proceed to notice the execution of the sentence it will be desirable to give some account of the Litany, for which, with the Apology, he was convened before the Court of Star Chamber: and, as the history of its publication is very curious, the particulars may first be detailed. Mr. Hanbury remarks, that the first part "has the appearance of having been printed abroad."* It is certain that it was printed abroad: and, moreover, Bastwick has himself left a record of all the particulars. These are recorded in his *Defence* of himself against Lilburne.

When Bastwick was known to be using his pen against the Independents, he was attacked on all sides by the members of that body, and especially by Lilburne; who, among other charges, alleges that he had afforded him pecuniary assistance during his imprisonment previous to his banishment. This charge leads Bastwick to detail many particulars respecting his intercourse with Lilburne, among which are some relative to his circumstances and the printing of his Litany. In reply to Lilburne's charge of assistance from the friends of the Independents, he declares that he knew scarcely any person, until Mr. Wharton was sent to him by a clergyman, "as prelatiical a man as any in England, with the sum of twenty shillings, and a promise of more when it should be required." He adds, "I was as well contented with water gruell in prison as ever I was with the greatest plenty at liberty, God blessing it to mee and mine, it sustained us, and if my poore wife could purchase one rost joynt of meate in the weeke, we thought ourselves happy, and our little children would skippe as much to see a peece of rostmeat on the spit, as others would do at any thing of greatest delight and wonder, and would cry out one to another, rostmeat, rostmeat, that it would draw teares from my wifes eyes to heare them."

Mr. Wharton, who was sent by the clergyman with pecuniary relief, it seems, suggested the Litany: or rather suggesting something in English, Bastwick hit upon his Litany. He says, "Mr. Wharton intreated me I would write something in English, for the people (saith hee) understands not Latine, and therefore can make no benefit by your labours, neither will you ever be knowne unto them, and so hee extremely urged mee that I would write something in English; whereupon I demanded what theame hee would put me upon, by any meanes (saith hee) write against the bishops, for he could not endure them. Whereupon I told him that in few days I would do something, and perceiving that he was a good, cheerful, merry old man, I began with my Letany, which, when he had heard, it made him laugh as if he had been tickled, so that I never saw a man more pleasant at a piece of

* Hanbury's Memorials, I. 574.

grillery. And that very day he brought some citizens, who bestowed a dinner on mee, and after they had heard my Letany once, they were so highly pleased at it, that they intreated to heare it read again, and desired each of them a copy, and at their departure they showed themselves very Xtianly, noble, and kind, and gave me ten pieces, which set me up, and this was the first curtisie that ever I received from any citizens that were strangers to me." In due time others were attracted to hear, and laugh at, the Litany, and thus Bastwick became known to many "godly citizens;" but he assures us that all of them were old Puritans, and at that time Presbyterians, "not one of them Independent." Mr. Wharton at length introduced Lilburne, then a young man, who occasionally resorted to the prison. Lilburne begged Bastwick to give him a copy of the Litany, and of his answer to the Bill of Information in the Star Chamber, in the hope, as Bastwick relates, of procuring some money to enable him to start in business. As the copies of the Litany were dispersed, Bastwick sent him to Vicars, from whom he procured one. Lilburne then informed Bastwick, that he was about to go into the Low Countries to get the Litany printed, "and brought with him a young man, whom hee said he would employ for dispersing of his bookes, that he should send over before his returne: but I diswaded him for confiding in that man, (though I had never seen him before,) for I tould him I liked not his lookes, and I was afraid that he would betray him." According to Bastwick's account, the young man betrayed Lilburne to the bishops, though he succeeded in concealing his treachery to his friend. "But now a word of John Lilburne's successe in the Low Countries, when he came thither, he made all speed to print the Litany, with my answer to the Bill of Information, and it was no sooner published but he got threescore pounds cleerely by it in a few days. But as soone as the bookes were landed in England, and that that Judas had intelligence of it by John Lilburnes letters, he immediately informed the Prelate of Canterbury of it, who could not endure the very name of my Litany, and forthwith he sent downe a pursevant with plenary authority, to the place where they landed, and surprised all the books and hurnt them; and as soon as John Lilburne was arrived, he caused him to be apprehended and cast into prison, and after to be censured in the Star Chamber."*

All these particulars are detailed by Bastwick, in consequence of Lilburne's charge of having given pecuniary aid to the writer in his imprisonment. The history of the composition of the Litany is very curious; and the question relative to the place of publica-

* Bastwick's Defence against the Calumnies of John Lilburne, &c. pp. 9, 10, 11, 12. The *Answer* to the Bill in the Star Chamber was printed at the same time. Thus Bastwick's threat of publishing was fulfilled.

tion is settled. The town indeed is not mentioned : but it was printed in the Low Countries.

Lilburne had attacked Bastwick on account of his opposition to Independency. Bastwick, in meeting the charge of pecuniary aid, enters upon these personal matters, besides many curious particulars respecting Lilburne. The latter had become a leader among the Independents : but Bastwick avers, that any skill which he might have displayed, was owing to his instructions ; and says he, “ I would have him to know that I am yet able to teach him, and a better scholar than any Independent in England, who are yet to learn their primer in politickes, and their catechisme in divinity.” He further assures us, that all Lilburne’s honours had arisen from his sufferings about the Litany : “ whereas otherwise he might have lived and dyed in obscurity, and been knowne no further than a man can shoot a pellet with a trunk. Besides, I taught him some courtship, and made him fit for all gentlemens and noblemens society : whereas when he came first to be my scholler, though he were honest and religious, yet he was but a meere country courtier, and very rough hewen, so that he could neither make a legge with grace, nor put off his hat seemly, till I had polished him, and taught him all his postures of courtship, and now he is become a very gallant fellow, and hath commenced Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburne : and who but John among the controlleresses of dripping-pannes, the Independent sisters.”*

Having ascertained some particulars respecting the publication of the Litany, we may now examine the work itself. The first part only may have been published by Lilburne, or perhaps the first and second parts. At all events, it is clear, that the first part was put forth in the Low Countries by that individual. A few passages from the first and second parts will sufficiently display the character of the work, as well as that of the man, with whom the bishops and the court had to deal.

His attack on the bishops was most unmerciful. “ For the prelates to say, no bishop no king, is as great impiety as to say, no devill no king, which were damnable to thinke. Yea, a man may better say it then no bishop no king. For of all creatures, bishops, priests, and deacons are most wicked, ungratefull, disobedient, and rebellious. If slaughter to a kingdom be the preservation of it, then the prelates are the mayntayners and preservers of it : for of all creatures they are most rebellious and impious. They are like the dog in a manger, they will neither feed themselves, nor let others feed. Nay, I most peremptorily affirm, that the prelates are worse than the devill, for he hath onely a simple suggestion in his bringing men to sin ; they have also power of

* Bastwick’s Defence, 14, 15.

co-action to constraine them to execute wickednesse, and whereas the devill doth but dallingly perswade, they inforce and compell: and where he doth easily move they by rigorous authority constraine, when he hath propounded an error, they by their power establish it for an infallible truth. When he hath once made a lie, they authorise it for an unwritten verity.”*

Bastwick does not spare Laud in this remarkable production. A story is related of some colliers, who were committed, as he avers, to the same prison, and placed in a room beneath his own chamber. “They told mee that the Lords Grace of Canterbury had sent them to prison for setting their coale-barges at Westminster Staires, which they had ever done before without molestation from generation to generation, till now, and onely, because his holynesse lands there, when he goeth to preach in the Star Chamber. In which pulpit he is wonderfully busy and diligent, and in his sermons so zealous he is, that he preacheth off his auditors eares many times. He hath a long time been nibbling at my eares. I marvell what he will say or do to them now, for this worke. But if hee should by his might and power advance mee to that deske, I doubt not by the grace of God I shall make there the funeral sermons for all the prelates in England. Calves you know in old time were good sacrifices. Now I am an Essex calfe, and the prelates have made me one, and pent me up in a coop a fatting. If they shall in fine, and after all this, sacrifice me upon the altar of the pillory, I will so bleat out their Episcopal knaveries, as the odour and sweet-smelling savour of that oblation, I hope, shall make such a propitiation, as the king and all loyal subjects shall fare the better for it.”† The bishops’ mode of living is not forgotten. “Consider their magnificent and stately palaces, their great revenues; their retinue, the delicacy, variety, and deliciousnesse of their fare: and take notice of the sumptuosity of their service at their meales, their dishes being ushered in with no lesse reverence then the king, their sewer and servants going before, and crying out, gentlemen be uncovered, my Lords meate is coming up: so that all are forced to stand bare to his platters.

* The Letany of John Bastwick, Doctor of Physicke, being now full of Devotion as well in respect of the common calamities of Plague and Pestilence: as also of his owne particular miserie: lying at this instant in Limbo Patrum. Set downe in two Letters to Mr. Aquila Wykes, keeper of the Gatehouse his good Angell. In which there is an universall challenge to the whole world, to prove the parity of ministers to be *jure Divino*. Also, a full Demonstration, that the Bishops are neether Christ’s nor the Apostles successors, but enemies of Christ and his kingdome, and of the King’s most excellent Magesties prerogative royall. All which hee undertaketh to make good before King and Counsell, with the hazard of otherwise being made a prey to their insatiable indignation. A Booke very usefull and profitable for all good Christians to read, for the stirring of devotion in them likewise. Printed by the speciall procurement, and for the speciall use of our English Prelats in the yeare of remembrance, Anno 1637. 4to. 2, 3.

† Ibid. 4, 5.

Yea nobody without penalty may . . . within the compasse of their yards and courts, and if any chance to do, he is constrayned either to pay for it, or else he is hailed and drawne into the porter's lodge as a prisoner."

Alluding to Laud's state, Bastwick proceeds: "See the Prelat of Canterbury in his ordinary garbe, riding from Croydon to Bagshot, with forty or fifty gentlemen attending upon him, two or three coaches, with foure and six horses apeece in them, all empty wayting on him, two or three dainty steeds of pleasure, most rich in trappings and furniture, likewise led by him, and wherever he comes his gentlemen ushers, crying out roome for my Lords Grace. Gentlemen be uncovered, my Lords Grace is coming. Behold him not only in his journey, but in his houely passing from Lambeth to the court, and looke upon his attendance: and listen to the crying out of his waiters to the people, to be uncovered, and you would think it were the king himselfe if you saw not the preist. Againe, if you should meet him coming from the Star Chamber, the whole multitude standing bare, having a great number of gentlemen and other servants waiting on him, some of them carrying up his tayle, for the better breaking and venting of his wind and easing of his holy body, (for it is full of holes,) others going before, tumbling downe and thrusting aside the little children playing there: flinging and tossing the poore costermongers and souce-wives fruit and puddings, baskets and all, into the Thames, to show the greatness of his state. You would thinke, seeing all this, that it were some mighty proud Nimrod rather than a meek, humble, and grave preist; which spectacle, though in itselfe mercillesse, yet one can scarce keepe from laughter, to see the grollery of it, hearing on the one side the noyse of the gentlemen, and on the other side seeing the wayling, mourning, and lamentation the women make crying out save my puddings, save my codlings, for the Lords sake, the poore tripes and apples in the meane tyme swimming like frogs about the Thames, making way for his Grace to go home againe."*

Referring to the Visitations of the bishops, he says that the king required less homage. "Looke on them in their ordinary visitations, and one would deeme that some mighty prince were coming, seeing the greate preparations that are made for them: and beholding all the corporations, everywhere expecting them, and going out with all their bravery and artillery to meet them, and to bring them and wait upon them into their cities and townes, making speeches unto them, entertaining them with mighty feasts and bankets, &c." "When he shall see their pursuivants going before, knocking the poore country courtiers hornes about their heads, and crying, you lackey there, you pesant, give roome

* Letany, &c., 5, 6.

to the church and clergy. You common people, you laymen, stand backe there, give roome for my Lord. Bang-whore, stand back I say, you women there, a plague of God on you, what make you here among the clergy? what come yee to take orders or be shriven? Get you home to spin and learn obedience to the church.”*

A vast quantity of this species of abuse is scattered through this strange work: and towards the close of the address to “The Elect Lady, the Lady Walgrave, at her house in Worm-infield, in Essex,” he adds: “From all which I do conclude, that of all creatures, bishops, preists, and deacons are the worst, most dangerous, and most to be prayed against: for they are not onely evill in themselves, but they corrupt all others like a contagion: so that if men have but once licked a prelats trencher, they are like rats that, though they eat not the poyson that lies upon the tile, yet if they but once lick the tile, where the bane lay, they immediately dwindle away and purify the whole commonwealth of rats, and are never good again: even so if any men once in favour have but lickt a prelats trencher, though they never feed of his bounty, they crumble and moulder away and fall from all goodness.”†

Bishops, priests, and deacons are called the “little toes of Antichrist:” and Bastwick expresses his resolution to pray that such “buyers and sellers” may be driven from the Temple: “and that we may, with one conjoynt harmony, uncessantly in one daily Letany, pray, *from plague, pestilence, and famine, from BISHOPS, PREISTS, and DEACONS, good Lord deliver us.*” Alluding to his imprisonment, and pretending a difficulty, in consequence of procuring sponsors, our author says: “If you see Father WILLIAM of CANTERBURY *his holinesse*, and WILLIAM LONDON, MAGNIFICUS RECTOR of the TREASURY, my wife entreateth you to make them both acquainted with her miserable condition, and how she is with child, *and ready to lie downe*: and in what desolation she is now in by reason that they have driven away all our friends.” On this account he proceeds: “She desires that they would be GODFATHERS to her child. And I am most confident I shall procure the WHORE OF BABYLON, their old mistress, to be GODMOTHER, with whom they have so long committed fornication, and then we will have such a christening, as hath not been in Europe this many a blessed day.”‡

Bastwick proposes, in addressing the keeper, that Laud should entertain him at Lambeth, that he may be sure of his safety, by ever having him in his sight; and “by this meanes, the prophecy of Isaiah will be fulfilled, *the wolfe and the lamb shall dwell together.*”

* Ibid. 6, 7.

† Ibid. 8, 9.

‡ Ibid. 11.

Bellarmino sayes this prophecy is not yet accomplyshed. I pray the next time you see *his reverend highnes of Croydon*, aske him if he will doe any good in his old dayes, for I never heard of any he did in his young; *ask him, I pray, if his holinesse will accomplish any prophecyes or obey Apostolicall canons*: and if he be so minded, let me heare of it, it will be very joyfull newes to mee, and then you shall at one and the same time be freed also, both of trouble and fear, whiche I thinke will be some comfort unto you.* Some passages are so indecent, and others so blasphemous, that they cannot be quoted. Bad, therefore, as are the extracts which we give, they are not the worst passages in the book. "If we look," says our author, "upon the lives, actions, and manners of the *priests and prelates*, one would thinke, that *hell were broke loose, and that the devils in surplices, in hoods, in capes, in rochets, and in four square COW TURDS upon their heads were come among us, and had . . . us all. Pho, how they stinke.*"†

Wren is called "Saint Ren now Pope of Norwice." At the close of the first part, he declares, that if not liberated by a certain day, "I will, with a pen of iron correspondent to the *iron age* of PRELATS, so plague the metropolicality of YORKE and CANTERBURY, and the *hyperocality* of all the other prelates, as I will never leave them, till I have sent them to the place where the two *fulmina Belli*, *Alexander the great cryes mustard and green sauce*: and where *Julius Cesar playes Plutoes rat catcher.*"‡

In the second part of the Litany, the same charges against the bishops are repeated, though with some variety of expression. He institutes a comparison between the Pope and the bishops, and the difference is given in favour of the former. "I cannot but say, the prelates are the most wicked, prophane, and unconscionable men that live upon the earth, and inferior to the Pope in no impiety, but rather transcending him, in regard of their knowledge, which the Pope wanteth, and also in that he never yet hired any man to prophane the Lords Day which they doe."§ "So little honour they deserve for their service towards God or the king, and for the good to the church and state, of all which they are the cursed enemies, who thinke nothing that Christ did or spake, reverent, timely, or orderly, but it must be either altered, or neglected, or absolutely rejected by them and abjured. And

* Ibid. 13.

† Ibid. 14.

‡ Ibid. 21.

§ The Answer of John Bastwick, Doctor of Physicke, to the exceptions made against his Letany by a Learned Gentleman, which is annexed to the Letany itselfe, as Articles superadditionall against the Prelats. In the which there is a full demonstration and proof of the reall absense of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, with the Vanity and Impiety of the Consecration of Temples, Churches, and Chapels. Also the necessity of the perpetuall motion & circulation of worship if men be bound to bow the knees at the name of Jesus. This is to follow the Letany as a second part thereof. Printed in the yeare of Remembrance anno 1637. 4to. P. 9.

so farre am I from thinking myself in an error in desiring deliverance from them, that I desire that all would joine with me in the same LETANY fervently and uncessantly praying *from plague, pestilence, and famine, from BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS, GOOD LORD DELIVER US: by the agony and bloody sweat, by the crosse and passion, FROM BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS, GOOD LORD deliver us. By the precious death and buryall, by the glorious resurrection and ascension, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost, FROM BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS, good Lord deliver us. We sinners do beseech thee to heare us good Lord.*"*

Bastwick charges the clergy with incontinency: yet no proof is even pretended; but he affirms, that the bishops "will sit in the court and a whole afternoon attentively heare those bawdy businesses, when to be one houre in the pulpit to teach the people their duty in half a yeare, it is a thing very tedious unto them."†

Enough has been given to show the character of the book, which was subjected to the censure of the court. It will also be seen from the preceding extracts, that the bishops could not permit such a production to pass without censure. Severe as was Bastwick's punishment, we cannot feel any surprise, when we consider the character of the work, and remember the state of those times.

For the two books, the one in Latin the other in English, was Bastwick censured in the Star Chamber. At the place of the execution of the sentence, Bastwick declared, "I am not conscious wherein I have committed the least trespasse either against my God or my king. And I doe the rather speak it, that you that are now beholders, may take notice, how farre innocencie will preserve you in such a day as this is: for we come here in the strength of our God, who hath mightily supported us, and filled our hearts with greater comfort than our shame or contempt can be."‡ Notwithstanding this avowal, he must have been conscious that his book merited a strong censure. Nay, he even courted punishment: and some of the passages already quoted prove that he knew that he should not escape. It would indeed almost appear that he had no wish to escape.

* Ibid. 23.

† Ibid. Heylin's account of the two books is curious but accurate: "Bastwick, a Doctor of Physick (the second part of Leighton) first leads the dance, beginning with a pestilent Pamphlet called *Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium*, maliciously venomous against the Bishops, their function, actions, and proceedings. But this not being likely to do much hurt among the people, because writ in *Latine*, he seconds it with another, which he calls his *Litany*, in the *English* tongue: a piece so silly & contemptible, that nothing but the sin & malice which appeared in every line thereof, could possibly have preserved it from being ridiculous."—Life of Laud, 309.

‡ New Discovery, 34.

The three sufferers complained of the cowardice of counsel in refusing to sign their answers to the information in the Star Chamber, without which they could not be received. Bastwick made much of this point. Yet it is clear, that the counsel refused to sign the document, not from fear, but on account of its obnoxious character. On such a subject their own account must be received with due caution. Both Rushworth and Whitelock favour the view already given, namely, that the answers were too scurrilous to be admitted. "To this information the defendants prepared their answers, but their counsel were backward to sign them, for fear of offending the court of Star Chamber, but it was said on the other side, that their answers were of that nature as their counsel thought not fit to sign them."* The following passage is given by Rushworth and Whitelock from Bastwick's *Answer*: "That the Prelates are invaders of the King's prerogative, contemners and despisers of the Holy Scriptures, advancers of popery, superstition, idolatry, and profaneness: also they abuse the King's authority, to the oppression of his loyal subjects, and therein exercise great cruelty, tyranny, and injustice: and in execution of those impious performances, they show neither wit, honesty, nor temperance. Nor are they either servants of God, or of the King, but of the Devil, being enemies of God and the King, and of every living thing that is good. All which the said Dr. Bastwick is ready to maintain."† Whitelock adds: "None of the Doctor's friends could prevail with him to expunge this, and other the like passages out of his answer." It is, therefore, evident that he was not a meek or an innocent sufferer. He gloried in his offences, and could not expect to escape punishment.

Bastwick's *Answer* to the information in the Star Chamber was printed on the Continent. He mentions it in connexion with his Litany, as printed by the procurement of Lilburne: but it is clear from internal evidence, that the book could not have appeared until after the first part of the Litany had been submitted to the Star Chamber, since it contains a defence of some of the passages which were selected for the consideration of the court. It may, however, have been printed at the same time with the second part of the Litany. Alluding to the Star Chamber, and his Litany, he enters upon a defence of some of the passages, which had been selected by Sir John Banks. Thus, "hearing that this decree was gone out before September last, it put him upon his devotions and made him write a *Letany*, wherein he prayeth for deliverance from them. But whether that which

* Rushworth, part ii. 380.

† Ibid. 381, 382. Whitelock, 26.

is annexed to the information be the same he knoweth not, for the informers say that that is a prophane Letany. *As for the Letany the defendent made, it was a good and godly Letany.* And concerning the christening hee doth confesse he did invite CANTERBURY AND LONDON IN HIS WIVES NAME, AND THE WHORE OF BABYLON TO BE WITNESSES." He tells us that he was compelled to adopt this course because the bishops had driven away all his friends. He proceeds: "and withall he thought he did the prelats a great deale of honour, that he should vouchsafe to have such men to his christening, and that he did joine so *honourable a gossip* as the *Matrone of Rome* with them, whom they so much honoured and adored." "In this the defendent thinks he did very much grace them inviting such a Catholicke companie to the baptizing of his child. And wonders that the prelats should be so peevish as to misinterpret his zeal to them all, especiallie, when he did give them their titles, as, FATHER WILLIAM of CANTERBURIE HIS HOLINESSE, &c." After much more of the same description, the author repeats his prayer "From bishops, priests, and deacons, good Lord deliver us." It is evident from this passage that the *Answer* was not printed until the Litany had been submitted to the Court of Star Chamber. The *Answer* consists of *twenty-nine* closely printed pages in quarto: it repeats all the obnoxious portions of the two books for which he was summoned to appear before the court: and, moreover, it is interspersed with the most virulent abuse of the bishops. "They deale," says he, "with these poore men as they doe with beares and bulls at Paris Garden: they first by violence hale them into their courts, and then with bands of two or three hundred pounds they tie them to their stakes and bait them three or four yeares together."* His account of the first censure for the *Flagellum* is curious, for he mentions the part taken by particular bishops. White, Bishop of Ely, he says, called him "base fellow, brazen-faced fellow, base dunce, and sayd, that if he could not mayntayne his episcopal authority to be *jure divino*, he would fling away his rotchet." The Bishop of York, he asserts, stated "that the defendent ought to be knockt downe with club-law for his ignorance, assenting with the rest in their censure he fell asleep. Last of all came forth the Prelat of Canterbury, who with a frontlesse boldnes avouched his episcopal authority to be onely from God."†

Can we be surprised that the counsel declined to sign such an answer? Yet Bastwick complains of their refusal as an act of oppression. There are many other passages in which the bishops are abused; so that the reader will perceive that the counsel were

* The Answer of John Bastwick, Doctor of Physicke, to the Information of Sir John Bancks, Attorney Universall. Printed in the yeare 1637. 4to. P. 28, 29.

† Answer, &c. P. 10.

not deterred by the fear of the court's displeasure, but were prevented by the obnoxious character of the Answer. The extracts already given, therefore, (and many others of a similar description might be quoted) settle this question, which was left in doubt by Rushworth and Whitelock.* It would seem that this book was not seen by Rushworth or Whitelock, or they would have alluded to it distinctly in their respective works. This is evident from the manner in which the extract already quoted from these writers, is given in their pages. It would be inferred that the passage was taken from the body of the work: whereas, it is in fact the title-page of Bastwick's book, following that portion which we have already given. This circumstance makes it clear that these writers had not examined the printed Answer. Their information was probably derived from persons who were present in the Court of Star Chamber, and heard the reports relative to the nature of the Answer, which the council refused to sign. It may be observed that the *Answer* is printed in the same form and with the same type as the Litany.

On being brought out to undergo the sentence of the court, he said, in his address to the people, "I know there be many here who have set many days apart for our behalfe (let the prelates take notice of it) and they have sent up strong prayers to heaven for us, we feele the strength and benefit of them at this time: I would have you to take notice of it; we have felt the strength and benefit of your prayers all along this cause." Vast crowds were assembled in Palace Yard, and their way was "strawed with sweet herbs from the house out of which they came to the pillory, with all the honour that could be done unto them."† The personal abuse of Laud and other bishops has been previously noticed; yet Bastwick could say, at the time of the execution of the sentence, "For our parts, we owe no malice to the persons of any of the prelates, but would lay our necks under their feet to doe them good as they are men; but against the usurpation of their power, as they are bishops, we doe professe ourselves enemies till Dooms Day."‡ This humble strain does not at all

* This view is confirmed by Sir John Bramston. "They drew their answers themselves, and they would have had their councell to have signed them, which they refused to doe, and gave for reason that the answers were as scandalous and libellous as their books." The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston. Published by the Camden Society. P. 69.

† New Discovery, &c. 33, 35.

‡ Ibid. 35, 36. Bastwick should have acted on his own principle a few years later. Alluding to the Independents and their zeal in favour of their cause, he remarks: "They should call to minde it is not the punishment but the cause that makes the martyr. Such as rush themselves upon needlesse danger, under pretence of religion, are commonly called the Devil's martyrs: but snre I am they are none of God's martyrs that suffer for a religion of their own making: and such are all the Independent novelties." *Independency not God's Ordinance*, second part. Preface. The writer unwittingly describes his own case.

correspond with the passages which we have quoted from his writings. When the severe part of the sentence was executed, Bastwick blessed God for enabling him to suffer, adding: "And as I have now lost some of my blood, so am I ready and willing to spill every drop that is in my veins in this cause, for which I now have suffered; which is for maintaining the truth of God and the honour of my king against Popish usurpations."* The preceding extracts will stand out in strange contrast with this avowal on the pillory.

One of the first acts of the Long Parliament was to bring back Bastwick and his fellow sufferers from their exile; and so far from learning a lesson of mercy by their own trials, these three persons became prominent instruments in the persecution of others. Laud was worried by them until he was brought to the block: and at his death a shout of triumph was raised by these professing Christians, quite worthy of a North American Indian in the act of slaughtering his enemy.

The writings, from which we have already quoted, show that gentle and lenient measures could not have been adopted towards such a man as Bastwick. Had not he and his fellows been put down by the arm of power, they would have trampled down all authority and all order. They were not content with holding their opinions privately and quietly; they must compel others to receive them, and force a whole nation to submit to their strange fancies.

But subsequent to their return from exile, their quarrels with each other, and the abuse heaped on one another, prove, (even were there any doubt from the perusal of their writings,) that they could never live as peaceable subjects under any form of government, whether civil or religious. Bastwick was not more violent against the bishops in 1637, than he was against the Independents subsequent to the rise of that body into importance. Nor can a stronger proof be required, that the bishops could not act with leniency towards such men as Bastwick, than is furnished by their

* Ibid. 63. Fuller says of the sentence: "This *censure* fell out scarce *adequate* to any *Judgment*, as conceiving it either too *low*, or too *high* for their offence. *High conformists* counted it too *low*, and that it had been better if the *pillorie* had been changed into a *gallows*. They esteemed it improvident (but by their leaves more of *Machiavill* than of *Christ* in such *counsel*) to *kindle revenge* and not to *quench life* in such *turbulent spirits*. The only way with them had been to rid them out of the way. Most moderate men thought the *censure* too *sharp*, too *base* and *ignominious* for *gentlemen* of their *ingenuous vocation*." Bastwick expressed his readiness to shed as much blood "as would swell the Thames:" and Fuller remarks, ("Then visible unto him, his face respecting the south.") He adds, "his friends much admired and highly commended the erection of his minde triumphing over *paine* and *shame*, making the one *easy*, the other *honourable*, and imputed the same to an immediate *spiritual support*. Others conceived that *anger* in him acted the part of *patience*, as to the stout undergoing of his *sufferings*, and that in a *Christian* there lyeth a *reall distinction* betwixt *spirit* and *stomach*, *valour* and *stubbornnesse*." Fuller states that Prynne was "commended for more *kindly patience* than either of his *predecessours* in that place."—Book xi. 154, 155.

conduct towards each other, when Episcopacy was put down, and the rival sects were engaged in a struggle for the ascendancy. Leaving Bastwick, therefore, as the opponent of Laud and the prelates, we now proceed to view him as the antagonist of the Independents, and of his fellow-sufferer Burton.

The history of Independency forms a very curious chapter in the narrative of those strange times. Hostile as were the Presbyterians to Episcopacy, they were even more so to the new sect, which sprang from their own body. We have already mentioned John Lilburne's charge against Bastwick, which amounted to this, that the latter had received pecuniary aid from the Independents during his early troubles. This was indignantly denied by Bastwick in his *Defence*, in which the author enters into details no less curious than illustrative of the principles of those remarkable times. To this work we may direct attention, as an evidence in favour of our position, that the sufferers under the bishops were more inclined to persecute than Laud and the judges in the Star Chamber.

Bastwick accounts for Lilburne's previous kindness in the following manner: "All this time my brother John Lilburne shewed me so much kindnesse and was so solicitous for my liberty he not onely conceived me to be an Independent, but reported it that I was of their way. So that it was not pure charity and unfeigned love, but all under the notion that I was of his judgment, that he shewed me so much favour: for since that I declared myselfe that I was of a contrary opinion, it is well knowne that he hath not onely relinquished and abandoned me, but in words most reproachfully abused me, with all manner of calumnies behind my backe, calling me base fellow, knave, apostate, an enemy of the generation of the just. And for his complices, all that rabble rout, tagragge and bobtaill, as Worley by name, and others, they told me that I was very high, but they had knowne me low enough, and affirmed that they had kept me from hanging, but now I was turned an apostate, a persecutor, and an enemy of the godly party, and joyned with the wicked against the saints, (it seems they are all saints) insomuch that they could not entertaine me in their hearts, nor so much as pray for me." He observes that they were all Lilburne's followers. His description is not a little curious, and not very charitable. "Neither did I ever amongst Christians behold such odde complexions and strange looks: if ever you had seen the picture of Hel, *Mr. Vicars*, in York-house, where all the posture of the damned creatures, with their grisly lookes are described, and had also taken notice what ghastly, ugly, sower and musteds faces, out of dolour pain and anguish they made, and had been amongst this company, and had seen what grisley lookes they out of malice, rancor and envy to the Presbyterian party, and especially to myselfe had made, you

would have thought yourselfe in the very suburbs of Hell, and that these had been the sonnes of *Pluto* or *Finus* ascended out of *Orco*: the complexion also of many of them being like the bellie of a toad." Worley's appearance is described. "He went in a great white and browne basket-hilted beard, and with a set of teeth much like a potfish, all staring and standing at some distance one from another, as if they had not been good friends. Without doubt the Independents will make him a member: and I am confident he will prove a rotten one, for he looks as if he had gotten a blow with a French colt-staffe, and it is notorious he is a bankrupt of all goodnesse, and whatsoever shew he makes now of Independency, Anabaptisme, or any of the new wayes, both he and Saint *Sprat* their soliciter have been knaves from their mothers womb."*

An individual of the name of Goose appears to have taken a part against Bastwick, who is dismissed in the following contemptuous manner: "Thus did *Saint Gander* hisse at me." He declares that if the Independents "get the day and prevaill, they have a purpose to put downe all the nobility and gentry in the kingdome."† This prediction was nearly verified.

Among the Independents, as is well known, any man might become a preacher. Alluding to some of the soldiers who preached, Bastwick says, they "snip and dose out their sermons by weight and measure to the infecting, misleading, and seducing of the poor people: and these seducers notwithstanding would persuade the world they are sent from heaven, when as it is most apparent they are meere jugglers and impostors, and onely make a pray of the people: so that a man may truly say of such teachers and ministers *Diabolus caccavit illos*."‡

His description of their character is exceedingly curious. "*Soloman* sayth, *he that contends with a fool, whether he rage or laugh there is no peace*: so he that hath to doe with the Independents can have no peace with them, if in the least they differ from them: for if ye be merry in telling them of their grolleries, then they say ye jeere them; if ye be serious, then they say ye raile, so that no man can tell how to please or humour them. Neither the Parliament, nor Synod, nor Presbytery, or any government can please them, for if the Parliament will have them fast then they will feast, and if they would have them feast and be merry, then they will mourn and set dayes apart for humiliations, and say, they are sad times, nothing can please the gentlemen, as their practises can witnesse: and truly if ever there were a contra-

* Bastwick's Defence, 24, 25, an error for 16, 17. Bastwick assures us that all his reproachful terms were used by the Independents against Strafford, and that he had intentionally selected them that he might meet them in their own way.

† Ibid. 29.

‡ Ibid. 35.

dicting people, and an ungratefull generation to all sorts of benefactors, these are : if a man consider things in generall or in speciall.* The ministers fare no better than the people. "And howsoever their ministers enjoy all our pulpits, yet they cry out of persecution and ill usage, whiles they themselves abuse the whole world, and persecute in tongue and print every thing that doth not please their humour." After charging some of them with ingratitude to such as had previously rendered them assistance, Bastwick adds, "This was two yeares since, and they are yet in England, and have got very fat congregations, and of chief women not a few." Their covetousness also is assailed. "It may be proved that some of the Independent ministers have got more in a yeere here in London, than ten Presbyterian ministers, and yet they are as covetous as ever they were ; and as much as ever complaining of want, and of the hardnesse of the times, and for their Pharisaicall pride, it is incomparable, and commonly they insinuate themselves into rich acquaintance, and love ever to be where good cheere is stirring, onely in this they differ from the Pharisees, for they fasted often, twice or thrice a weeke, and these feast and fare deliciously every day : and if they spare a dinner under pretence of an humiliation, they will be sure to sup exceeding well and of the best. There is no childe shall leape so at the sight of a baby, as they will skip at the fruition of a custard : they will smell a feast to the remotest parts of Ireland, and the gravy of a chine of beefe into the midst of Wales, so sensible they are of good cheere : I dare boldly say that let a venison pasty be the text, foure Independent ministers shall open and devide it better, and more accurately handle it then any eight Presbyters in the city of London : so that if yee behold them sometimes at a feast, you would take them to be the nephews of Helliogabalus. There is not any man that shall seriously thinke of them but will say they have very acute senses, that can out of the Americans, and out of the Low Countries, smell the good cheere and plum-pottage into England, which was indeed one of the chiefest causes that made these men leave their flocks there, and choose rather to live among wolves, beares, lyons, and tygars (so they terme us) for certainly if it were not good cheere and their belly that made them dwell amongst us, they would never have lived here, but as long as that last we shall have their company, but when that ceases their zeale will grow cold." Alluding to our Lord's simile of the eagles and the carcase, he adds, "When they have picked the bones of it well, then they will take their flight and be gone."†

Bastwick here alludes to the return of some Independent

* Ibid. 36.

† Ibid. 38, 39.

ministers, from America and Holland, subsequent to the meeting of the Long Parliament. Nor does he stand alone in his abuse of them. Edwards and Walker were fully his equals. Nor did the Independents fall short in the work of retaliation. Moreover, they are described as "terrible dissemblers, and notorious lyars."^{*} He further predicts the downfall of the Parliament by their means. "I doe verily believe that the Greeks did never so pollute the temple, as they will defile the Honourable House, and then downe also goes the gentry and nobility and all churches: for they begin already to . . . in them, and to scummer in the pews of gentlemen, out of a hatred they bear to that name, disdainning that any should be thought greater than themselves: telling them when they forcibly crowd into their seats, that the saints have more right to those places then they, and therefore partly for the stinking them out of their seats, as baggars doe foxes out of their holes, by defiling them, these Independent country courtiers scummer and . . . in their pews: and partly also they doe it out of hatred to the very structure of the poore churches, which say they, having been consecrated to idolatry, ought to be demolished, or else made a Tophet of, and a place of easement, and therefore it is now growne an ordinary thing with the Independents thus to pollute churches."[†]

We have seen how Bastwick describes the prelates as being worse than the Pope, or even than Satan. And in this work, the same argument is employed against the Independents. "They will give a greater toleration than the Devil himselfe, for he will not tolerate all religions, for you know he persecuted the woman, the true religion, but these would tolerate all, and therefore in that point they are worse than Satan."[‡]

The *Defence* of his conduct against the charges of Lilburne is a most singular performance; but our space will not admit of further extracts. In the same year was published "*Independency not God's Ordinance*," a defence of Presbyterian principles against those of his opponents. It is curious to notice his arguments against the Independent notion that each congregation was a church. "I am most assured that there were such multitudes of believers in Jerusalem, that five such buildings as *Pauls* could not have contained their very bodies within their walls, much less receive them or entertain them for edification." Again: "What twenty or thirty places in the city of London can contain all the Parliamentiers to partake in all acts of worship? Or what ten places can hold all those of the prelatical faction, that contend for their bishops and services, and all their other trumpery and accoutrements? And yet although they be in divers and sundry assemblies, they are still the prelaticall party, and all of them of

^{*} Ibid. 39.

[†] Ibid. 40.

[‡] Ibid. 2

the malignant church.” “As under the roof of *Pauls* there are diverse meeting places where men may partake in all ordinances, and they are called several churches, and they that meet there several congregations, though under one roof: for the distinction of the place under one covert makes always a distinct assembly, as it is daily seen in the several committees at Westminster: where every committee of both houses have their several rooms and equal authority, and are yet all but one Parliament, though distributed into so many several assemblies.”*

The separations in families and among brethren, in consequence of these disputes, are not forgotten by our author. They could endure such treatment from the prelatists, “but *Tu Brute*, that brethren, that fellow-sufferers in affliction, that had gone up to the house of God together, and had taken sweet counsel together: that they should now proclaim us the enemies of Jesus Christ, and deny communion with us: Oh let not this be spoken in *Gath* and *Ashkelon*.” These things, he says, expose both to the “scorn of the malignants, who ordinarily jeere and say, see these holy brethren that lost their eares together, are now together by the eares, and count one of another as a company of infidels, and disclaime all holy communion one with another, and will not so much as admit of their children to baptisme, or suffer them to receive the sacraments with them.”† “One of the Independent ministers,” says Bastwick, “not long since, denouncing God’s judgments against all those that would not light their candles at their new lights, nor embrace their new-borne truths, told them, that by their standing out against the wayes of God (for so they suppose these are) and by their unkind usage of the saints, they would at last drive from among them the praying people (meaning themselves as if no other prayed but they only) and then they might look that the judgments of God would speedily come downe upon them.”‡

Our author’s opinion of their learning is somewhat low. “I have heard many magnifie our Independent brethren for their great learning, some affirming that they were schollers from their mothers womb, and I for my part believe it, for ignorance of God and of his holy word came with all men from their mothers wombe, and if such interpretations of Scripture and such illations

* *Independency not God’s Ordinance: or a Treatise concerning Church Government, occasioned by the distractions of these times. Wherein is evidently proved, that the Presbyterian Government Dependent is God’s Ordinance, and not the Presbyterian Government Independent. To which is annexed a Postscript, discovering the uncharitable dealing of the Independents towards their Christian brethren, and the fraud and jugglings of many of their Pastors and Ministers, to the misleading of the poor people, not only to their own detriment, but the hurt of Church and State: with the danger of all novelties in religion. By John Bastwick, Dr. in Physick. London: 1645. 4to. 35, 39, 65.*

† *Ibid.* 122, 123.

‡ *Ibid.* 136, 137.

from them, as these be, proceed not from the ignorance of God and of the Scriptures never any did.”* Though he himself was a great proficient in railing, yet he charges the Independents with being “more verst and better acquainted with the doctrine of *Billingsgate* than with the language of *Canaan*.”† It would seem that the term *Billingsgate* had ever been used in the same sense as at present. Much as the Independents pleaded for a toleration, they did not practise their own lessons when they possessed power. Bastwick reminds them of this inconsistency between their principles and their practice. “They plead for a toleration of all religions here in *England*, and yet in *New England* banish men into islands from amongst them for dissenting from them in their new modell of church government.”‡ The very names of reproach cited by Bastwick, as used by the Independents, are very similar to those which he himself used in speaking of the bishops, “calling them,” he says, “Baal’s priests, the profest enemies of Jesus Christ, the limms of Antichrist, false prophets, the brood of Babylon, terming some particular men *Rabshekes*, others bauds, others black mouthes. Yet these men plead for a toleration of all religions, when both by their words and deeds they manifest if it were in their power, the first work they would do should be to root us all out of the kingdome: so that all men may see they say one thing and meane another, that they would tolerate all religions, but only that which is the true religion, and so by that means have no religion at all but one of their own making, which by their new lights they have of late found out.”§ It is certain that the Independents were taught to rail in the Presbyterian school. The example was set them by Bastwick and his brethren in their attacks upon the bishops. Moreover, it is worthy of observation, that Independency is charged with novelty, whereas, if Presbytery be somewhat older, it has no better claims to antiquity.

According to Bastwick’s statement, he was called by the Independents, “the greatest incendiary of the kingdome,” because of his book.|| It will be remembered that some of the leading Inde-

* Ibid. 150, 151.

† Ibid. 174, an error for 165.

‡ Ibid. He frequently alludes to their conduct in New England, and declares his belief that “they would be as severe towards the Presbyterians, as ever the Prelates were against the Puritans.” He further states, that they said that all who opposed them “ought to be hanged: and had they the power, they would trusse them up.” Ibid. Second Part. 30.

§ Ibid. 166.

|| The Second Part of that Book call’d Independency not God’s Ordinance: or the Postscript, discovering the uncharitable dealing of the Independents towards their Christian brethren, with the juggling of many of their Pastors and Ministers, to the misleading of the poor people to the detriment of their own souls, and the hurt both of Church and State, with the danger of novelties in religion: proving that Independency is one of the most dangerous Sects that ever appeared in the world since mortality inhabited the earth. London: 1845. *Preface*.

pendents had returned from New England after the assembling of the Long Parliament. Bastwick does not fail to make use of this fact. They had traduced Prynne. Bastwick says, that he was still the same man, "one that would dare to suffer more than many that now traduce him dare thinke. And if any fiery trial should come he would undauntedly stand in the defence of the truth, when they would flye and take their heels as formerly they have done; or squelke in holes, or temporize. Yet of this very man whom they idolized before, they now speak of as one inspired with the devil; and wish that when he had lost his eares, he had lost his head."* If the Independents used strong language, Bastwick, who had been an example to them in the art of railing, fully kept pace with his scholars. While they called the Presbyterians "enemies of Christ," Bastwick says, "I look upon all the sticklers against the Parliament and Presbytery as on a company of jugglers."† The number of sects at this time, according to Bastwick, who quotes Lilburne, was more than forty, and all sprang from the Independents.‡

A most amusing contrast is drawn between the old Puritans and the Independents. "They (the Puritans) were of such austere lives, and men so alienated from the world, that you might know them by the hair of their heads and faces, and by their habits from all other men, wheresoever you meet them, for commonly they were ever out of fashion, when others were in it, and they had all their hairs clipt as close to their heads as a company of fighting cocks have their feathers, and they usually went in a great Patriarchicall beards, and for silks, and velvets, and plush, and sattin, and brave apparrell, they thought they were for kings houses." Such is the picture of the Puritan. Let us now examine that of the Independent. "But our Independent ministers, as they say, have learned the lesson of their Christian liberty, and tell their disciples, that the saints are the right owners of all things beneath, and that it is for the honour of religion to go brave and gallant: whereas the Puritan ministers went with their hair as close clipt as cocks of the game, and their wives went in plain and modest attire, and both they and their wives very humble, and never came in a rich coach; the Independent ministers are very finicall, and go in their hair and in their habits, out of town like cavaliers, so that none that meets them would take them for ministers, but rather thinke them a company of ruffians: and for their wives they ordinarily go as brave as the daintiest dames in the kingdome, and both they and their consorts are commonly as proud and

* Ibid. 5. He says again, "I believe they have found out some new light of direction how to runne away againe, as they did before, if the times change."—Ibid. 41. He adds, that the Independents told him to his face, "that neither he (Prynne) nor I suffered for the cause of God, but for our own ends."—Ibid. 51.

† Ibid. 12.

‡ Ibid. 37.

supercilious as any of the secular race. And if at any time these Independent ministers meet but with a poor aged Presbyter, riding to the Assembly but on a horse worth *six shillings*, they will salute him with, *Good morrow, my Lord Bishop*: whereas they can ride thither mounted upon stately geldings; and we shall frequently see them and their brave wives carried about in coaches with four horses: whereas a wheele-barrow, such as they trundle white-wine vinegar on, were a great deal fitter for them.* He asserts that they preached liberty of conscience, and liberty of the creature: insomuch, that all the gallant ladies are all or most of them Independents: never were there any ministers that pleased ladies better.†

In the assembly they were so successful in their opposition, though so few in number, that they prevented the establishment of Presbytery, which, notwithstanding the praises of Bastwick, would have been an iron yoke upon the necks of the people, that would have proved insupportable. Bastwick says, that one of the fraternity, in 1645, gloried, in his presence, in having obstructed the work of Reformation, as the Presbyterians called it, so long: “*Ye see (saith he) that a little handfull of Independent ministers in the synod have given three kingdoms employment these two years, so that they can do nothing*, and boasted of this wicked act as a matter of vantation and triumph. And then they spread it abroad, that they have not liberty to speak, when it is most notorious, that one of them speaks more than half a dozen of the other ministers.”‡

Burton, Knollys, and Saltmarsh appeared in print against our author, who, notwithstanding his charge of railing, outstripped his antagonists in the language of vituperation. The book, from which we have been quoting, was published in 1645: but in the following year, it appeared in a new and a greatly enlarged form. The very title is a curiosity.§ In addition to the old matter, Bast-

* Ibid. 57, 58. In his enlarged work, presently to be noticed, he tells us that they travelled on the Lord's Day, “in their coaches with four horses. A Tumbrell or a Dung Cart were fitter for these proud and profane fellows to be carried about in.” See *Preface* to the *Utter Routing*, &c. Again, he says: “One that should meet them would take them for Roarers and Ruffians rather than saints: yea you shall find them with cuffs, and those great ones, at their heels, with more silver and gold upon their clothes, than many great and honourable persons have in their houses.”—Ibid. Further, after alluding to their former poverty, he says: “Ye shall see more plate in their dwellings, than in the pallaces of the grandees of the earth.” Some gentlemen, he tells us, who knew them well, vowed that they were, “the onely *Heliogabalists* in the world, and the greatest *sensualists*.”

† Ibid. 59.

‡ Ibid. 70, 71.

§ The *Utter Routing* of the whole Army of all the Independents and Sectarics, with the total overthrow of their Hierarchy that New Babel, more groundless than that of the Prelates; or Independency not God's Ordinance, in which all the Frontiers of the Presbytery with al the quarters of the same are defended against all enemies; and all the forces of the three Generals and Commanders of the Sectarics,

wick introduced replies to his antagonists. Were there space, we might quote largely from this most extraordinary production; but as the present article is already somewhat lengthy, our extracts must be limited.

According to Bastwick's own report, the Independents stood in great fear of his pen. His book was expected with considerable anxiety by his opponents. "When it was noysed abroad that I was writing against Independency, it would exceed belief if I should relate the indignation of all the party." Some asserted that he would never be quiet until he was hanged. "I could scarce passe by any of them (as I cannot at this day) without some contumely or other. And amongst others, I could never meet my Brother Burton, but he would always, after his salutation, in a deriding and scornfull manner, aske me, *when my booke came forth*, telling me, *that he expected some monster*." On sending the book "*Independency not God's Ordinance*" to Burton, he replied, that Bastwick was crased in his brain, and "had need of some hellebore." Some very curious particulars are recorded by Bastwick of the sermons and prayers of the Independents, though, as we may hereafter show in some papers on the pulpit during the civil wars, they were fully equalled by the Presbyterians. One man, says Bastwick, prayed "with many tears, Lord, they (meaning the Presbyterians) hate us because we know more of thee than they do: but we beseech thee, Lord, give us still to know more of thee, and let them hate us more if they will." Our author assures us, moreover, that they called "their most blasphemous opinions and practices, *the infirmities of the saints*." Another minister thus addressed God in prayer: "Now, Lord, we should come to pray for the parliament and assembly, but they are not worthy the prayers of the saints."*

Bastwick, like his friend Prynne, was a great master in the use of epithets of reproach. Whatever may have been the errors of the Independents in this respect, they could not have exceeded those of Bastwick. It is, therefore, very curious to find him giving such a horrible picture of the Independents. He says they deal "with us as cats usually doe one with another, who, when they

Hanserdo Knollys, J. S., and Henry Burton, are all dissipated, with all their whibling reserves and the Field of Truth still kept, &c. Unto which is annexed an Appendix, in way of answer to Henry Burton, clerk, one of his *quondam* fellow-sufferers, in the which all his cavills are wiped away by the sponge of innocency, and the *Postscript* vindicated, &c. By John Bastwick, Captain in the Presbyterian Army, Dr. in Physick and Phisitian in Ordinary to all the Ill-dependents and Sectaries to sweat them with arguments twice a year, gratis, Spring and Fall, who discovering their distempers and maladies finds by the severall symptomes of their diseases that they are very unsound, root and branch, and therefore ought (with their venomous and intolerable toleration of all religions) to be shunned and avoyded as a company of infected persons by all such as are sound in the Faith. 4to. London: 1646.

* Ibid. Preface.

have spent all their strength with fighting, and when they can neither scratch nor bite any longer, then they spit one at another, and make ugly faces : even so doe these men with us, when they have tormented themselves and spent their forces in wrangling, having never an argument left, then they stand staring on us, and as a last refuge, come out with their *homothumadon epi to auto*, and thus spit a little Greeke in our faces, which the deluded people not understanding, beleeeve that it is an absolute conquest gotten on the Independents side.”*

In the Appendix, certain epithets are culled from Burton’s work, which form a very singular catalogue. Bastwick is called “an adversary to Christ’s kingdom—a scandalous walker—worse than a heathen—one of the greatest incendiaries—a dishonest man—a hollow-hearted man of a shallow brain.” Bastwick exclaims, “Oh that ever such a soul-condemning, heart-accusing charge should be drawn up and published by a quondam fellow-sufferer.”† The story of being “a scandalous walker,” he tells us, “did first arise from one of the most infamous and notorious creatures, though an Independent, that now lives upon the earth, known to be one of the most prodigious impudent whores that is this day in the world, except the whore of *Babylon*.”‡ Burton took fire at Bastwick’s wit. The latter says, “it is exceedingly admired by many, that you having beene some yeares in captivity under the prelates tyrannie, should continue such a Trewant in the schoole of affliction, as not yet to have learned a lesson of patience, so that you cannot digest a merry word, or but a conceived jest.”§

Some passages in this book seem to indicate a feeling of compunction for the course, which the author had formerly pursued, in traducing Laud and Strafford. At all events, they are very curious as exhibiting the conduct of the enemies of those two great men. “Howsoever, it was thought a thing worthy of death in Strafford and the Prelate of Canterbury, that they but laboured to alter the lawes of the land, and the religion that was established, and for the which they both suffered, the very sectaries and Independents themselves being the principall agents to bring them both to their end, who by their tumultous and disorderly running up daily to *Westminster*, were never satisfied in craving justice at

* Ibid. *The Antiloquie*.

† Ibid. 615.

‡ Ibid. 641. Bastwick gives Burton the credit or discredit of leading the Independents in their attacks on the Presbyterians. “I shall only take a note of some of the unbrotherly reproaches, false accusations, and bitter invectives, poured out from yourselfe, (whose schollars it may be thought the others are.) But first give me leave to say, that from you of all men I least expected, much lesse deserved such hard speeches, I having beene not only a sufferer with you, but always ready and forward in the worst and most dangerous times, to appeare in your defence to my own great detriment.” Ibid. 612.

§ Ibid. 643.

the Parliament against them, and would never be contented till they had obtained their desires against them : and many of our fugitives were as eager in that business as any of the rest, some of them standing upon the scaffold to see the execution, and rejoicing at the justice done upon them : and yet behold the very same men are all of them guilty of the very same crime that they died for : yea, of farre greater : for the Prelate and the Earle were adjudged for but endeavouring to alter the religion and laws established : but all sectaries and Independents they have really altered religion, and have set up many new religions.* Of their insolency he thus speaks : “ It is well known that in insolency they have exceeded all delinquents : so that it may be spoke to the honour both of Strafford and the Prelate of Canterbury, that they both of them behaved themselves with far greater modesty and reverence towards both houses than these sectaries have done.” “ Truly if I should make but a repetition of the very contents of their prayers, sermons, and diabolically practises, and set downe but the very heads of them, it would fill a mightie volume, by all which it would evidently appeare that they are greater delinquents than ever Strafford and the Prelates were, and greater malignants to the state than ever the cavaliers were, yea, greater enemies to religion than ever appeared in the world before they were hatcht, and which is not the least thing of admiration and wonder in all these creatures, they are fledge in wickedness as soone as they are disclosed.”†

In Strafford's case, our author charges the Independents with being the chief agents “ of all those tumults at Westminster, who made it their imployment dayly to run thither to cry for justice against the Earle, abusing him with all the reproachfull words that with the tongues of men could be uttered, as all the standers by can witnesse, describing him from all the parts of his body, and from every one gathering some presage of evil.” He mentions, among other reproaches, that they said “ he looked like the belly of a toad, and that he was so rotten with the ——, that if they could not by their clamours procure justice, yet they comforted themselves in this, that he could not continue long ; for, said they, he will fall apeece he is so rotten with that noysome disease.” Bastwick was induced, as he says, by their clamours, to wait one day to see the Earl pass. “ On beholding him I heard their reviling speeches, but observed nothing in his looks and person, but had his actions been as serviceable as they were destructive, there was nothing wanting in the man. I may truly say this, that he had more generosity in his look than halfe the Il-dependents that ever I saw. And in the same manner they spake of those cavaliers that accompanied the King, when

* Ibid. *The Epistle.*

† Ibid.

he came to demand the five members, of all the which they said they looked like so many devills, furies, and fiends from Orco and Hell itselfe: and of all the ministers of the Church of England they say they are belly gods.”*

Our author informs us, that he had adopted, in his previous publications, his peculiar style, in consequence of the conduct pursued by the Independents against Laud, Strafford, and the clergy of the Church of England. “I thought it not amisse to make choyse of some of their owne Rhetorick, which I did purposely to find out the humour of the cattle. The consideration of these things, and how they grinned at me with their teeth, made me in the description of them use the same expressions that they had formerly done of Strafford, and the Cavaliers, and the Presbyters of the Church of England.”† When rogues quarrel among themselves, their mutual wickedness is frequently revealed by their mutual recriminations. This testimony from Bastwick, respecting the conduct of the mob, cannot be doubted; but then we must not suppose, that the Presbyterians did not perform a willing part in the same disgraceful scenes.

He appears to have been ashamed of the conduct of the mob, and anxious to relieve the Presbyterians from the odium. Whether his assertion be correct, or whether the Presbyterians must bear their share in the disgrace of those transactions, we need not determine. But there is a curious fact connected with this matter, which it seems desirable to notice. At the commencement of the trial there was no disturbance on the part of the mob. Of this fact we are assured by an eye-witness, who wrote an account of the whole proceedings. “The crowd of people was neither great nor troublesome, all of them saluted him, and hee them, with great humility and courtesie, both at his entrance and at his returne, therefore let fame pretend what it please about the malice and discontent of the multitude, *that if he passe the stroke of justice they will teare him in pieces*, yet I see there is more in rumour than in sight and appearance, and in this report, as in all others of this nature, more is thrust upon the vulgar than they doe justly deserve.”‡ The same person writing on the 29th of April, says: “I cannot expresse how much the voice of the multitude is now altered from what it was lately, nothing now talked of what should be done, but only of what must be done: so that if the Lord Strafford dies, his very enemies will confesse that it is done more for necessity then for justice, and rather for the satisfaction of rancorous apprehensions,

* Ibid. 349, 350.

† Ibid. 352, 353.

‡ A Briefe and Perfect Relation of the Answers and Replies of Thomas, Earll of Strafford; to the Articles exhibited against him by the House of Commons on the 13th of April. 1641. 4to. London. Printed 1647. P. 3.

then for any guiltinesse in the cause.”* Within a few days the crowd, from being respectful in their conduct to Strafford, became clamorous for his death. As the peers came down to Westminster, “at the entering of every coach, some cried justice, others execution, a third man told his fellows that both were to be conjoynd, and that justice and execution was the noble word: upon which (*quasi dato signo*) all the rabble cryed aloud with one voice, justice and execution, with a wonderfull strange noise, some went to the coach side and told the lords that they must and would have justice done upon the deputy. Above 1000 of them beset the Lord Steward’s coach, and demanded justice and execution of him, justice, said they, wee have gotten already, and we only desire (and must have it) execution.” “Let a man,” says the writer, “cast his eyes back now, but for some few moneths past, and hee shall see what trust may bee reposed in the favour of the giddy multitude.” It is said that one of the mob cried, “If wee get not satisfaction of the Lieutenant, wee will have it of the King.” “They have further threatened that after Wednesday they will shut up their shopps, and never rest from petitioning, till not only the Lieutenants matter, but also all things else that concerne a reformation bee fully perfected.” Some time after we again read: “This day the people mett againe but in smaller number. They have threatened to come to-morrow with all their maine forces, and not to desist till the Lieutenant bee executed.”† Bastwick assures us that the ringleaders were Independents, both in the case of Strafford and of Laud: but at the period of the former’s trial, that party was scarcely known: so that the Presbyterians must share in the disgrace. The facts are indisputable: and the question as to the leaders of the mob, whether they were Independents or Presbyterians, must be settled by the adherents of the two parties.

The conduct of the ruling party, as well as that of the mob, was most disgraceful, both towards Strafford and the archbishop. It was reported that Strafford attributed his misfortunes to the advice of Laud: and yet these two friends were not permitted to meet before Strafford’s execution, though both were most desirous of a parting interview—a sufficient evidence of the falsehood of the story.‡

* Ibid. 78.

† Ibid. 85-89.

‡ Ibid. 98, 99. Burton, in his *Grand Impostor*, alludes to the archbishop’s reference to the petitions for his death, and instead of denying the fact, he equivocates in the following manner: “How? What a disparagement doth he finely cast upon that great and wise court, as if any such clamour should extort from them any act of injustice, as thereby to condemne the innocent?” Yet he admits the fact: “Therefore certainly in calling for justice, not only of God, but of man, who sits upon God’s throne for that end, is the peoples dutie, who ought to obey God rather than a prelate, who is so unreasonably partiall in his owne cause.” P. 8, 9. “Had not both Par-

During the war, Bastwick was taken prisoner by the royal forces, remaining a long time in the King's camp. His detention appears to have given him a more favourable impression of the Cavaliers; for, in these works against the Independents, he contrasts the conduct of the two parties, and the King's friends are spoken of in most respectful terms. "I could prove," says he, "by the testimony of many of the brave gentlemen in the King's army, who in great assemblies did acknowledge, when I was a prisoner amongst them, that I had great injury done me."* Alluding to such as had changed sides, he remarks again, "I told them, that I had learned something of the brave gentlemen in the King's armie (whilst I was a prisoner amongst them) who were wont ordinarily to say, that of all men in the world, they hated those that plaid the knave on both sides."† It appears, that Bastwick was exchanged in 1644. The following entry is in Whitelock

liament and people bestirred themselves in the discoverie, he had been too nimble for us all. But God (I say) was pleased to use the industry of his people to find out this foxes holes." Having carefully perused this monstrous production of Burton's, I cannot refrain from giving a few extracts which may be regarded as supplementary to the article in the preceding number. In the *Preface* he has the effrontery to say, "I shall speak nothing but truth of this man's falshood. And let me deprecate the least suspicion of malice in me towards the man or his memory: the which I was so far and free from in his life time, that a little before his death, myselfe with two other godly reverend brethren, went to his lodging in the Tower to tender our christian duty of charity to him for counsell and comfort." His aid was declined: for Laud knew well that Burton would have embraced the opportunity for reproaches and abuse. Yet the writer says: "For this task I was first earnestly importuned by two reverend godly ministers to undertake it, which I took as a call from God." Burton was wicked enough to put forth the following gross insinuation. "It seems that not only his long habituated wickednesse had scared, and brought his conscience into a deep lethargy, or dead sleep, but surely some compounded cordiall by the apothecaries art, had so wrought with him, that not only it caused him to have a ruddy fresh countenance, but also did so prop up his spirits, that he might seem, as *Agag*, to have already swallowed down the bitter cup of death." Severe as were Burton's sufferings, can it be pretended that they came up to the cruelty of this base insinuation? He afterwards adds; "blessed be God, our sadnessse is atlength somewhat refreshed with the broken head of this *Leviathan* in our desolate land, almost turned into a wilderness by this Romish *wilde bore*." P. 1. "Though our God hath served himself of this *prelate*, as he doth of *Satan*, and other wicked men, using them as his rods to scourge his own deare children: surely in no other sense could he be said to *serve God truly*." "But his glory was seen in delivering those *three innocent children*: not so, that he should have delivered such a traitor from the *blocke*: when as his glory called for execution of justice upon such a malefactor, yea such a notorious hypocrite, such a desperate, obdurate, impenitent, remorselesse, shamelesse, monster of men." P. 4. He further says, there was "no apprehension of divine justice. Nothing but a dead slumber or deep hipocrisie, or damnable atheisme." P. 7. This man, who charges Laud with such crimes, could even jest in the archbishop's death. "He complains for want of room to dye, which he needed not: for he had too much of *Room*, that brought him to dye." P. 18. "This wretch never knew Jesus Christ in the power of his resurrection. He never had Christ's spirit, and therefore was none of Christ's." P. 19. It is scarcely possible to conceive of anything more slanderous or more unchristian than these attacks of Henry Burton.

* Second Part of Independency, &c. *Preface*.

† Ibid. 53.

under that year : “ Dr. Bastwick was exchanged for Colonel Huddleston.”* His friend Vicars lauds him in the following singular strain, in alluding to his liberation : “ A petition was presented to the Parliament, by that virtuous and religious gentlewoman, Mistress Bastwick (wife to that heroick-hearted gentleman and famously suffering servant of the Lord Jesus, Dr. John Bastwick) for some allowance for herself and children, and towards the present maintenance of her said husband, then a prisoner in the Castle of *Knareborough*, in *Yorkshire*, for the *Parliaments* cause, as hee had formerly lyen prisoner in the Island of *Silly* for pieties and religions cause.” It seems that the sum of 100*l.* was ordered to be paid. “ Shortly after this,” says Vicars, “ it pleased the good hand of God’s providence so to order it, that by the indefatigable pains and care of Mrs. Bastwick, and of Colonell Huddlestons wife, (hee being then a prisoner in the Towre of London,) the said noble doctor was, upon exchange for the said Huddlestons, released out of prison from *Knareborough* Castle, as aforesaid : where and also in the Castle in *York*, hee had indured much wrong and great affliction, but now was, I say, returned home to London.” Vicars, as a Presbyterian, alludes to Bastwick’s principles as evinced by his conduct against the Independents. “ Having (like an impregnable rock) held fast his pious principles, and withstood and outstood all the assaults and snares of Papists, disloyal Royalists, Separatists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, and novell Independents.”† Vicars says, that he endured much wrong : but, from Bastwick’s own allusions to his imprisonment, it is evident that he was treated with the utmost courtesy and kindness.

There is a curious circumstance connected with Bastwick’s imprisonment, which, had it occurred on the other side, would have been magnified into a judgment from God against a reviler and a persecutor of his saints. In one of the news writers of the day is the following singular passage. “ Monday the 21st October, 1644. I may (without offence, I hope) begin this weeke with the exchange of one that was the first man that was taken prisoner of the Parliament, and one that hath beene all this while not the least sufferer, I mean Doctor *Bastwick*, who is come to town on his parole, to procure the releasement of Colonel *Huddleston*, a *Westmoreland* gentleman of ancient family, which was immediately granted by the House.”‡ Bastwick, therefore, must have remained in prison a considerable time : yet he utters no complaint of severe treatment. On the contrary, he contrasts the conduct of the cavaliers with that of the Independents, and the

* Whitelock, 107.

† The Burning Bush not Consumed, 45.

‡ A Perfect Diurnall. 1644. No. 65, p. 513.

former are lauded, while the latter are pointedly censured. Had a leading man on the royal side been the first prisoner under the Parliament, not only would the individual have been insulted, but the pulpits would have rung with the circumstance as a judgment from heaven on an enemy of the truth. As it was, Bastwick's exchange was regarded as a providential interposition. "And witnesse God's speciall providence and particular love and regard of the good, not only of this church and state in generall, but also of his peculiar treasure, and holy hidden ones in speciall, viz., in the redemption and deliverance from a long and tedious captivity in the *North*, of one of his most faithful servants and sufferers, for his truth and gospel, namely, Dr. *John Bastwick*, lately, then, a prisoner in *Knaresborough Castle*, in *Yorkshire*."^{*} The same strain might have been adopted by Huddleston's friends: yet it is questionable, whether the charge of blasphemy and impiety would not have been raised against the royal party, had such a course been pursued. What would the Presbyterian party have said, if the line, adopted in the following extract, had been pursued by the friends of the archbishop? "Munday the 3 of March, 1644. An order was made by the Commons that Mr. Pryn should print and publish all the proceedings of the tryal of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and to send for all the records and papers in relation to that businesse, it were well it were printed in all languages and sent abroad, for the sermon he made when he lost his head is translated into several languages, and published in all Christendome, such is the diligence of the enemy to get advantages."[†] Even to publish Laud's address was deemed an advantage. Not only did they cut off the archbishop's head, but they wished to suppress all publications in defence of his conduct. Such were the tender mercies of his enemies.

How far he was successful in his practice, subsequent to the year 1640, we cannot ascertain; but from certain allusions scattered through his various publications, it is probable that he failed to obtain employment as a physician. Indeed, his writings must have occupied the greater portion of his time. However, he ascribes his failure to his enemies, the Independents. Some of them, according to his own averment, wished to bribe him by offering him practice on the condition of not writing against Independency; and not being successful in their object, they laboured to prevent him from obtaining any employment. He thanked them for their intentions, "telling them for practising of physick, I had little hopes of doing any good that way in the city: for some Independent doctors of physick and others had so villified me amongst

* The Burning Bush not Consumed. 65.

† A Perfect Diurnal, 663.

all good people, and had made such a peece of ignorance or nothing of me, in that faculty, as they had taken away my reputation, in as much as in them lay: so that were my skill or knowledge in that art never so great, yet I might not in this place ever expect again to regain any esteem in it: so powerfull all black-mouths are to darken any man's credit; though, I blesse God, I had known as well what belonged unto that faculty as they that maligned me; and had, through his assistance, done as great cures as ever they did." It seems that, from some cause or other, he did not succeed; and he alludes to some persons as labouring to effect his ruin. "Their calumnies were one of the chiefe causes of the ruin of me and my poor family."*

The time of Bastwick's death is not known; but he was living in 1648, as the following notice proves. "Debate about Ordinances for Dr. Bastwick, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Pryn, to have reparations for the illegal sentences against them in the Star Chamber."† This appears under the year 1648. It is said, also, by the editors of the *Biographia Britannica*, that a niece of Bastwick's was living in St. Botolph's parish within the memory of man.

These particulars respecting Bastwick, and his conflicts with the Independents, are exceedingly curious; and, moreover, they reflect much light on the history of those singular times. The men who had suffered together, were as bitter against one another after their change of opinion, as any of them had ever been against the bishops. In short, the same language was used by Burton and Bastwick against each other, as both had used against Laud and the Church of England. If, then, these men could so bespatter each other with abuse: if they could manifest such rabid hostility towards each other: it cannot be doubted, that they were not men to be won over by gentle treatment, or that the bishops were provoked to treat them with severity. It is the fashion to form an estimate of Laud's character and conduct from the abusive descriptions of these men, who had suffered in the Star Chamber. Yet the same individuals subsequently spoke of each other in the same strain. Can their evidence be admitted against the archbishop, when we find that every little difference of opinion led them to speak of each other as criminals of the worst character?‡

THOMAS LATHBURY.

* Independency not God's Ordinance, 48.

† Whitelock, 345.

‡ I should be obliged to the correspondent of the *British Magazine*, who uses the signature "M.," if he would mention the grounds on which, as he intimates in his letter, he is led to believe that Leighton died in 1644. That year is mentioned by some writers: but Mr. Brook says, that he was not able to ascertain the period of his death. Mr. Brook was very diligent in his researches, but it seems that he could not satisfy himself on this point. I do not wish to provoke a controversy, but I am

ANCIENT CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF A CITY PARISH.

(Continued from vol. XXXV. p. 642.)

anno domini 1574.

This is the accompte of vs William Atcheley grocer and Thomas Borneley Draper Church wardens of the Parrishe church of Sainte Andrew Hubberd in Little Estchep within the Cytty of London ffrom the ffeaste of the Birthe of owre Lorde god one thowsand five hundreth thre skore and fourtene vntill the saide ffeaste of oure lorde god, one thowsand five hundreth thre skore and sixtene as followeth viz. Anno Reg. Elizabetha xvij^o

Receiptes	Inprimis Reseved the seaventene daye of January 1574 of the olde churchwardens . . .	xj ^{li} vij ^d
	Reseved the nyntene daie of January 1574 for the pytt and knell of Mres Brascy . . .	x ^s
	Reseved the sixte daie of Marche 1574 for the pitt and knell of Clypsam his wief . . .	x ^s
Rentes	Reseved of henry Wells for two yeares rente ending at Mighelmas last 1576 . . .	ij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
Reseved	Reseved of John Lewes for two yeares rente ending at Mighellmas last 1576 . . .	liij ^s iiij ^d
Receiptes	Reseved for the knell of Richard Adames butcher in anno domini 1574 . . .	ij ^s iiij ^d
	Reseved the xxxj ^{ty} daie of Maie 1575 for the pitt and knell of Mres Parkyns widdowe . . .	x ^s
Rentes	Reseved the sixte of August 1574 of Christofer Johnson Basketmaker for two yeares rente ending at Mighelmas 1576 . . .	xl ^s
Reseved	Reseved of Christopher Holmes for a guifte given by John Willson Draper to the use of owre parrishe for the tearme of two yeares ended at Mighelmas 1576 . . .	xx ^s

anxious for information on this particular question. I may, however, state, that my impression is very strong, that the "Epitome" was not written by Leighton. If it can be proved that he died in 1644, we should have strong evidence in favour of my opinion: for that no other edition than that of 1646 exists, is, I think, certain. Lowndes mentions one only. Watt says, that Leighton only published two works. If he was aware, therefore, of the existence of the "Epitome," he must have regarded it as the production of another person, and not of Leighton. Mr. Hanbury evidently does not imagine that any other edition exists. The custom of putting forth works in the names of individuals was very common in those strange times. In Burton's *Grand Impostor*, Leighton is mentioned in such a manner, as to make it almost certain, that he was living at the period of that publication, which appeared some time after the archbishop's death. He was executed on the 10th of January, 1644, or, according to our present reckoning, 1645, as it was then customary to begin the year with the 25th of March. As Burton mentions Leighton in this work, he would scarcely have avoided the story of the cap, if such a circumstance had occurred in the court of Star Chamber.

Reseved of Mr. flynche for a legacy given by
mr Thompson for two yeares endinge at
Christmas 1576 xiijs iij^d
22^{li} 7^s 3^d

Receiptes anno 1575 et 1576.

Rentes	Reseved of the good wief ffan widdowe for two	
Reseved	yeares rente of the shedd ending at Michal-	
	mas anno 1576	vij ^s
Receiptes	Reseved for the knell of John Lyon anno 1576	iijs iij ^d
	Reseved the Eighte and twenty daie of July	
	anno 1576 for the knell of John Ellis his	
	wief	iijs iij ^d
	Reseved the xxvij th daie of September anno	
	1576 for the pitt and knell of Mres Mar-	
	chaunte	x ^s
	Reseved of Mr ffox in December 1576 for the	
	pitt and knell of his wife	x ^s
	Reseved of gyllam varmadin for dyschargyne	
	hym of beyng constable so longe as he dwel-	
	lythe in this paryshe the som of	iijs ^{li}
	gatheryd by vs by the pryke Roolle for ij yeares	
	the som of 18 ^{li} 8 ^s ij ^d	xiijs ^{li} xiijs vj ^d

The holl som Resettes amowntes to xl powndes fyvtyne shyllynges v^d
40^{li} 15^s 5^d

The holl som of our paymentes amowntes to xxiijs^{li} xvjs ix^d

So Rest and deliveryd vp to the newe chyrgewardens xvjs^{li} xvij^s viij^d

Paymentes paide by vs William Atcheley grocer and Thomas Borne-
ley Draper Church wardens of the Parrishe church of Sainte
Andrewe hubberd in Little Estchepe within the Cytty of London
from the ffeaste of the Birthe of oure lorde god one thowsand fyve
hundreth thre skore and ffowrtene vntill the saide ffeaste of oure
lorde god one thowsand fyve hundreth thre skore and Sixtene as
followeth viz.

Paymentes	Inprimis paide vnto Robert Carter the Clarke of	
	oure church for his wadges for two yeares .	x ^{li}
	Item, paide vnto Robert Carter his wief for her	
	wadges for two yeares	xiijs iij ^d
	Item, paide to the man that kepeth the clock for	
	his wadges for two yeares	iijs ^s
	Item, paide to the Skavenger for his wadges for	
	two yeares	ij ^s viij ^d

Item, paide for divers chardges at the accompte daye	iiij ^{li} viij ^s ix ^d
Item, paide for the knell of mres Brascy . . .	vj ^d
Item, paide to a Sumner for warninge vs to Saincte Magnus church	iiij ^d
Item, paide the tenthe daye of ffebruary anno domini 1574 for the bill of articles . . .	iiij ^d
Item, paide the same daie for our dynners . .	ij ^s j ^d
Item, paide for writing of the Prick rowle . .	xij ^d
Item, paide to the good wief Brady	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Item, paide for paving of mres Brascys grave .	xiiij ^d

Summa of this side of the leefte is xv^{li} vvij^s vj^d

Payementes

Payementes	Item, paide for mending of an Iron rodd for the clocke	viiij ^d
	Item, payde for the knell of Clypsams wife . .	vj ^d
	Item, paide for prolonging of the daye for the Articles	iiij ^d
	Item, payde for the knell of Richard Addames .	vj ^d
	Item, paide for pavyng of Clypsams wifes grave	xiiij ^d
	Item, paide vnto Babhams Clarke for the put- ting in of the articles	iiij ^d
	Item, paide for the knell of Mres Parkyns widowe	vj ^d
	Item, paide the twenty daye of June anno do- mini 1574 for the paving of Mres Parkyns Grave	xiiij ^d
	Item, paide for certeyne Iniunctions given by the Lorde of London	iiij ^d
	Item, paide for carryadge of Rubbishe owte of owre church	iiij ^d
	Item, paide for mending of the rodd in the hande of the dyall	vj ^d
	Item, payde for mending of the Clocke . . .	xij ^d
	Item, paide for two pownd of candels for two yeares ringing for the Queenes maiesty . .	vj ^d
	Item, paide for oyle for the clock	j ^d

Rentes payde

Item, paide to Mr Wheler for two yeares rente of the sheddes due at Mighelmas 1576 the Summa	vij ^s
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Payementes	Item, paide for breade and drinke at the recepte of John Johnsons money for the poore . . .	iiij ^d ob.
	Item, paide more for oyle	iiij ^d
	Item, paide to the Sumner the ix th daye of January anno domini 1575 for warninge of vs to Saincte magnus	iiij ^d

Item, paide vnto Robert Carter for bromes for
theise two yeares xvj^d
Summa of this side of the leafe is xvij^s j^d ob.

Paymentes

Paymentes Item, paide vnto Robert Carter ower Clarke for
the overplus of breade and wine for the Com-
vnyon iiij^s ij^d ob.
Item, paide the seaventene daye of January
anno 1575 for a bill of articles iiij^d
Item, paide for oure dynners the same daye at
the Kinges hedd vj^s vj^d
Chardges Item, paide the fourthe daye of february anno
for 1575 for foure skore and ten yarde of pave-
pavyage ment at two pence halpeny the yarde xiiij^s
Item, payde for fyve loade of gravell v^s
Item, paide for two Lode of stones vj^s
Item, paide for delyvering the bill of articles to
mr Babhams clarke iiij^d
Item, paide for carryadge of Robishe of the
Pavyors iij^d

Summa of this side of this leafe heatherto is xxxv^s vij^d ob.

Chardges and Expenses spent in the lawe abowtes the sute of the
howses

Chardges Item, paide at Sainte Johans the Eighte daye
in Lawe of Marche when we wente to talke with two
men which do make clayme to Mighel Milles
howsses ij^s iij^d
Item, paide the xixth daie of the same moneth
vnto a cownseller abowtes Mighell Myles his
howsses vj^s viij^d
Item, paide more for other chardges viij^d
Item, paide the second daye of Aprell anno
domini 1576 for divers chardges when we did
talke with Maester Wilkortes iij^s viij^d

13^s 3^d

Summa of this side of the leafe is xlvij^s x^d ob.

Payementes

Chardges Item, paide to Maister Wilcockes the third daye
in the lawe of Aprell for his paynes and for drawing of
abowtes writinges vj^s viij^d
Mighell Item, paide to the Skryvner for makeng an ob-
Mills ligacon from the parson to vs xij^d
howses Item, paide for a dynner for vs and the same
Parson v^s ij^d
Item, paide for chardges of Wells when they
weare arrested ij^s iij^d

Item, paide to Mr. Gunby the notary for makeng of an obligacon from the Parson	xviij ^d
Item, paide to the Parson for his chardges hether	ij ^s
Item, paide to Mr Eve of the Kynges benche owre attorney for his fee and taykynge baylle	vj ^s viij ^d
Item, paide to Mr Mosleys Clarke for the searche of the writt	iiij ^d
Item, paide for my boate hier thither and home again	iiij ^d
Item, paide for two pottes of beere	ij ^d
Item, paide the xxvj th daie of Maye anno 1576 in Easter tearme to mr Eve our attorney for the coppy of Thomas Martens answere	xij ^d
Item, paide for a supper	xvj ^d
Item, paide for putting in of our answere	ij ^s vj ^d
Item, spent vppon Wilcokes	vj ^d
Item, paide to Mr fletypasse our counseller	x ^s
Item, paide for my bote hier	iiij ^d

Summa of the whole chardges in the lowe amounteth to lv^s

Summa of this side of the leafe is xlj^s ix^d

Paymentes

Paymentes Item, paide for mending of thre Pewes	xij ^d
Item, paide for an Iron bowlte for a pewe	ij ^d
Item, paide for a staple for the churche dore	ij ^d
Item, paide for Ringing of the knell for John Lyon	vj ^d
Item, paide for a showting supper for the pa- rishe to which Supper hemmynges gave twenty shillinges and the reste laide owte by vs	xxxiiij ^s iiij ^d
Item, paide for Ringing of the knell of John Olliffes wief	vj ^d
Item, paide the xxvj th daie of September anno 1576 when we wente to fether milles	xij ^d
Item, paide the xxvij th daye of the same moneth for ringing of the knell for Elior Marchaunte his wief	vj ^d
Item, paide the nyntene daie of October anno 1576 for paving of mres marchauntes grave	xiiij ^d
Item, paide for layeng of a stone and certeyne bricks at the corner of the churche yarde over againste goodman madens	xiiij ^d
Item, paide for a poste and setting it vpp in that place to holde vp the wall	ij ^s
Item, paide more for a spike to naile the same poste to the wall	ij ^d

Item, paide for the knill of ffoxes wief	vj ^d
Item, paide for pavyng of her grave	xiiij ^d
Item, paide for paving tyles to pave her grave withall	viiij ^d
Item, paide to Robert Carter the Clarke for so- moche by him laide owte for breade and wyne for the comunyon more then he receyved as appereth by a bill	ij ^s iiij ^d
Summa of this side of the leafe is xlvj ^s iiij ^d	

Payementes

Payementes Item, paide to goodman Wheatley the Paynter
for drawing and writing of sentences owte of
the scripture vppon the church wall in the
quier for a remembrance v^s

The holl som of the paymentes amontythe to xxiij^{li} xvj^s ix^d

So Rest and dilliveryd vpe to ellys merchante and ellys chylderlye
newe chyrche wardens the som of xvj^{li} xvij^s viij^d in the pressens
of vs Audyttors apoyntyd for this accompte as herafter apperythe
and also a cheste what evedenssys and sertayne wryttynges be-
longynge to the chyrche with all the chyrche goodes as apperythe
by a Invetorye indentyd whytche is deleverd to the newe
chyrche wardens

By me James Taylor parson there
androe banborys + merke
by me Jerram + burtan
thomas wevers + marke
John clypeans + marke
gorge fryseng felde
be me Adryan Adryansonne
Rychard Robynsons + marke
wyllm Redmar

Memorandum that franssys crathorne and John Johnsone beynge
collectors for the power of this paryshe for xiiij monthes endyd the 13
daye of september anno domini 1575 haythe gatheryd the som of
xij^{li} xiiij^s whereof theye payd to the clarke of the ospytalle vj^{li} iiij^s
and to the power of this paryshe vj^{li} x^s as by theyr quytanssys dothe
apper

Memorandum that John turner and John olyffe beynge collectors
for the power for 13 monthes endyd the 13 daye of september 1576
haythe gatheryd the som of xiiij^{li} and payd to the clarke of the hos-
pytall vj^{li} x^s and to the power in ovr paryshe the other vj^{li} x^s as by
ther quytanssys dothe appere

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

BURNET'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

(Continued from p. 73.)

MY DEAR SIR,—Before I proceed with Baker's Notes, I wish to clear up one or two points which may be obscure to some readers, and then to give a few notices of More and Cranmer, which will relieve what some may consider the dryness of the notes themselves. The points I speak of are these: Figures such as Cl. 19, 6, 44, (note on p. 35,) denote of course the class mark of the books spoken of, as they stood in Baker's time, generally in the University Library, sometimes in his own. N. H. L. D. are the initials of Nic. Harpsfield L (egum) D (octor.) (Baker, note in Hearne's Roper, ed. 1716, p. 279, Libr. Coll. Jo.) Some may remark an occasional variance between the beginning and end of the same note, the truth being that the note was written at different times. Baker denoted this by a stroke nearly perpendicular to the writing, but I shall henceforth use a — for that purpose; and, that the reader may understand these notes without consulting the edition of 1681, shall insert in brackets the substance of the statements commented upon.

The notices of More which follow are written by Baker in Lewis's Roper, (London, 1729, in Libr. Coll. Jo.)

"An. 10. Hen. 8. Jun. 21.] Rex concedit Thomæ More Armigero Annuitatem 100^l ad vitam, &c. Privata Sigilla, page 326. Ibid. An. xi. Jun. 1.] Rex conc. Thomæ More Arm. Corrodium sive sustentat. infra Monasterium Glaston. qu. Edwardus Poxwell defunctus nuper habuit, page 326. Ibid. An. 14. Maii 8.] Rex concedit Thomæ More Militi Manerium de South. cum pertinen. in Com. Kanc., quod nuper fuit Edwardi nuper Ducis Buk. &c., page 326. [*The manor spoken of is South or Southborough. See Hasted's Kent. II. p. 336-7. So that Edw. Jones in his 'Index to Records' Lond. 1795, vol. 1. v. More, is mistaken, as it seems, in saying, Southampton, co. Lancashire.*] Ibid. An. 14. Mar. 18.] Rex conc. Thomæ More Militi custodiam omnium Dnorum (sic) Maneriorum &c., quæ fuerunt Johis Heron Militis, necnon custodiam et Maritagium Egidii Fil. et Hered. prædicti Johis &c., page 326. Ibid. An. 16. Hen. 8.] Rex concedit Thomæ More Militi, custodiam omnium Maneriorum, terr. &c., quæ fuerunt Edwardi Cresacre ac custod. ac Maritag. Annæ Filæ et Hæred. prædicti Edwardi. page 327. An. 16. Hen. 8.] Rex concedit eidem Maneria de Doglyngton & Frynford, &c. cum pertinen. in com. Oxford &c., page 327. An. 16. Hen. 8.] Rex conc. Tho. More custodiam, &c., Johis Moreton, qui quidem [satis]* Idiota est.

* The paper is here blotted and torn, so that I am not sure that this word is "satis," nor have I access to the original.

The MS. Life of S^r Tho. More, from w^{ch} this copy is printed, belong'd to one of the name of More, (as the Editor assur'd me) probably related to or descended from S^r Tho. More.

Of S^r Tho. More, see Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. i. lib. 1. chap. 25, 28.

Sir Thomas More's Life. It begins, *S^r Thomas More was the only son of S^r John More, Knight, one of the Justices of the King's Bench.* Paper. See M^r Casley's Catalogue of MSS at St James's.

See Stow's Survey, by M^r Strype, vol. 2^d. Appendix, page 71, & Weever's Funeral Monuments, page 522, there referr'd to.

See the English Bayle, Article, *More Thomas*.

See a Pedigree of the Family of Ropers, in Tho. Sprotti Chronic. publish'd by M^r Hearne, p. 330, 331, &c.

See the Epitaphs of John & William Roper, Esq^r in S^c Dunstan's Church Cant. Somner Append., page 71, Edit. 1703, Fol.

Anno 10. Hen. 8. Jul. 9.] Rex concedit Johi Roper custodiam Maneriorum &c. quæ fuerunt Thomæ Morton Armigeri, ac Margaretæ uxoris ejus defuncti et quæ fuerunt ejusdem Margaretæ, ac custod. et Maritag. Johis Morton filii et hered. dict. Margaretæ &c. Privata Sigilla, page 337.

13 Maii, 1520.] D. Hugo Crumpton [admissus] ad Cantariam nuncupat. Roper's Chantry, infra Ecclesiam S^u Dunstani, extra muros civitat. Cant. ad Altare Sti Nichi Epi., ex Pres. Johis Roper Armig. Regr. Cant. [See too Philipott's Villare Cant. p. 93.]

See two or three Letters to S^r Tho. More from the University of Cambridge, upon the Orator's Book. Fol. 39. dat. 1530 & Fol. 49, dat. 1529.

See the Appendix to Sprot's Chronicle by M^r Hearne, page 330, 331, 2, 3, &c."

[For a notice of W^m Roper, More's son-in-law, Baker refers (on Pref. p. 4) to Philipott Villare Cant, page 95.]

The following Extract from Ralph Morice's Life of Cranmer needs no apology, especially as it here and there confirms some of Baker's remarks.

(Baker MSS. vol. xxxi. pp. 1-3.)

"Particulars taken from the MSS. of Corp. Chr. Coll. Cambr. carefully copied out from the Originals by M^r Cory, sometime Fellow of that College.

N. B. These Collections were made, & copies taken, in King James's time, by direction of D^r Tenison [afterwards ArchBp] when, the Master (D^r Spencer) being an old man, they were affraid least the College & MSS might come into the hands of Papists.

A Declaration concerning the Progeny, with the manner & trade of y^e Life & bringing up of that Most Rev^d Father in God Thomas Cranmer late ArchBp of Canterbury, & by what order & meanes he came to his Preferment & Dignity.

First it is to be considered, that the s^d Thomas Cranmer was borne

in a village called Arselecton, in the county of Nottingham, & the Sonn of one Tho. Cranmer Gent., descending of an antient & famous Family & Progeny; Insomuch as there yet remaineth an antient Mansion House of Antiquity, called Cranmer Hall, in Lincolnshire, whose Arms at this present remaine there in the Glass windowes of the same House to be seen. And, as it is thought by some Men, the first of that Family & name was one of the Gentlemen, that came into this Realm with W^m the Conqueror, w^{ch} seemeth something true, in that a Gent. being a Norman born, & in K. Henry the 8th time associated in commission with a certein Ambassador of France gave the self-same Arms in p^t, that the Cranmers doe here in England, who was of the same name, w^{ch} occasioned the same ArchBp. to invite that noble Gent. unto his house at Lambeth, where he did banquet him, so that after dinner there was conference of both y^r Arms together, in divers points nothing at all discrepant.

Secondly, as touching his education & bringing up in his youth, I have heard himself report, that his Father did sett him to school with a marvellous severe & cruell Schoolmaster, whose Tyranny towards youth was such, that as he thought, the s^d Schoolm^r so appal'd dulled & daunted the tender & fine Witts of his Schollers, that they commonly hated & abhorred good Literature, then favoured or embraced the same: whose Memories were also thereby so mutilated & wounded, that for his part he lost much of that benefit of Memory & audacity in his youth, that by nature was given unto him, w^{ch} he could never recover, as he diverse times reported. And albeit his Father was very desirous to have him learned, yet would he not that he should be ignorant in civil & Gentlemanlike Exercises; Insomuch that he used him to shoot & many times permitted him to hunt & hawke, & to exercise & to ride rough Horses; so that now being ArchBp, he feared not to ride the roughest Horse, that came into his Stable, w^{ch} he would doe very comely, as otherwise at all times; there was none in his House that would become his Horse better. And when time served for Recreation after Study, he would both hawke & hunt, the game being prepared for him beforehand, & would sometimes shoot in the long Bow, but many times kill his Deer with the Cross-Bow, & yet his sight was not perfect, for he was purblind.

Item, after his bringing up at Grammer School, he was sent to the University of Cambridge, where for the most part he remained within Jesus Colledge, being first Fellow of y^e same House, where he proceeded in the Degrees of the School untill he was D^r of Divinity. But first being Master of Art, It chanced him to marry a wife, by means whereof he was constrained to leave his Fellowship in the same Colledge, & became the Common Reader at Buckingham College in Cambridge.* And within one year after he was married, his wife travelling with child both she & the child died; so that incontinently after her decease, he continuing in favour with the Master & Fellows

* See Burnet, vol. i. p. 79, who says he was a *Reader of Divinity* at Buckingham College. Morice, it will be observed, says below that he was admitted reader of the *Divinity Lecture in Jesus Coll.*

of Jesus College, they choose him again Fellow of y^e same House, where he remained. And then after, when Cardinall Wolsey had begun his College at Oxford, the s^d Cardinall among other of that University of Cambridge, wth he there procured to be of his new Foundation, would have had M^r Cranmer to be one of his Fellows in his s^d new College, but he utterly refused the same, abyding still in Jesus College, where he proceeded D^r of Divinity, & there was admitted the reader of the Divinity Lecture in the same College, untill he was preferred unto the King's service, wth was after this sort.

It chanced that when Cardinall Campeius & Cardinal Wolsey Commissioners from the Bp. [of Rome] in the King's Cause of Divorcement, between Katharine Lady Dowager of Spain & his Highness, there was that year a Plague of Pestilence in Cambridge, by means whereof D^r Cranmer, having 2 Schollers with him at Cambridge, the sons of one M^r Cressey of Waltham Abbey,* whose wife was of kindred to the s^d D^r Cranmer, came from Cambridge unto Waltham with the s^d Schollers, to their Father's House, to the Intent to remain there during the Plague time. In the mean season, whiles he was thus abiding at Waltham in the House of the s^d M^r Cressey, & after the Cardinals had ended the time of their Commission, finishing no matter according to the King's expectation, King Henry for a day or twaine removed in great displeasure with the s^d Cardinals from London to Waltham Abbey, & so then as it chanced D^r Stephens, the King's Secretary, & D^r Fox, Almosyner to the K. (the great & only chief Doers of the King's s^d cause at that time) were by the Harbingers lodged in the s^d M^r Cressey's House, where D^r Cranmer was also lodged before y^r coming there, by means whereof all they three, being of old acquaintance, & meeting together the first night at Supper, had familiar talk concerning the University of Cambridge, & so entring into further Communication, they debated among themselves that great & weighty cause of the King's Divorcement, then of late ventilated before the s^d Cardinals. In wth y^r communication & conference D^r Cranmer uttered his opinion in this sort. I have nothing at all studied (said he) for the verity of this Cause, nor am not beaten therein, as you have been. Howbeit I do think that you go not the next way to work as to bring this matter unto a perfect conclusion & end, specially for the satisfaction & troubled conscience of the King's Highness, for in observing the common process & frustratory delays of these your courts the matter will linger long enough, & peradventure in the end come unto small effect; & this most certain, said he, that there is but one Truth in it, wth no Men ought or better can discuss then the Divines, whose sentence may be known & brought so to pass with little Industry & charges, that the King's conscience thereby may be quieted & pacify'd, wth we all chiefly ought to consider & regard in this Question & doubt. And then his Highness in conscience quieted may determine with himself that wth shall seem good before God, & let these tumultuary Processes give place unto a

* Baker, it will be remembered, corrected Burnet, who says (p. 79) Waltham Cross.

certain truth. When he had thus spoken his advice, or like words in effect, they both liked well his Counsell therein, &, within two days after, D^r Fox, communing with the King touching the further prosecuting of that cause, declared the conference they had at Waltham with D^r Cranmer, whose Device so pleased the King's Highness, that he thereupon commanded them to send for D^r Cranmer, & so by & by, being sent for, he came to the King's presence at Greenwich, & after some speciall communication with the s^d D^r Cranmer, the K. reteyned him to write his minde in that his cause of Divorcement, & committed him unto the Earle of Wiltshire, Q. Ann's Father, to be entertained at Durham Place, where the Earle did lie, untill he had ended his mind & opinion concerning the s^d cause. And when D^r Cranmer had accomplished the King's Request in this behalf, he with the Secretary, & the Almosyner, & other Learned Men had in Commission to dispute the Cause in question at both the Universities at Cambridge & Oxford: w^{ch} being first attempted at Cambridge,* D^r Cranmer by his authority & persuasion brought 6 or 7 learned men in one day of the contrary part & opinion on his part. Whereupon after the Determination of the s^d Universities (w^{ch} both confirmed the King's Cause) the King's Maj^{ty} appointed the Earle of Wiltshire, D^r Cranmer, D^r Stokisley, D^r Bennett & other learned men Ambassadors unto the Bp. of Rome, to have the matter there disputed & ventilated; & for that the King liked well D^r Cranmer's travell and Industry in the matter, he promoted him before he went forth unto the *Deanery* of Taunton in *Devonshire* & unto another Benefice named. . . .

And when they had accomplished y^r Ambassage with the Bp. of Rome, the Earle of Wiltshire & the other learned Men returned again into England: & D^r Cranmer not being answered with the Bp. of Rome, was sent forwards Ambassador to the Emperour then being in expedition against the Turk at Vienna, &, upon the Emperour's return homeward through Germany, he had in his Journey as well conference with diverse learned Men in Germany, as with certain Learned of the Emperour's Councill, who being of the contrary opinion was by him allured to favour the King's Cause. Insomuch that being by this means both well acquainted & entertained among the Learned Men there, It was his chance to marry a Kinswoman of theirs, this his last wife, w^{ch} he secretly sent for home into England, within one year of his placing in his Dignity. And whilst he was in this Ambassage with the Emperour, the ArchBp. of Canterbury W^m Warham being departed this transitory Life, the s^d D. Cranmer was nominated & elected ArchBp. of Canterbury in his room. Thus much concerning his entrance towards his Dignity.

Now as touching his Qualities, wherewithall he was specially endued, like as some of them were very rare & notable, so ought they not to be put in oblivion. Wherefore among other things it is to be

* This agrees with the letter of Dr. Buckmaster, printed in your last number, which, however, I should not have sent, had I remembered that Burnet has in his third volume corrected his account of this matter from information supplied to him by Baker, who also furnished him with the Papers in Part III. book I. Collection No. 16. See, too, Dr. Lamb's Documents from MSS. C. C. C. C. p. 15. seq.

noted, that he was a man of such temperature of nature, or rather so mortified, that no manner of prosperity or adversity could alter or change his accustomed conditions &c.

[The rest, the same (or much the same) as printed in Mr Strype's Memorials of ArchBp. Cranmer. Lib. 3, cap. 30, pag. 428, &c.]”

When a competent editor shall undertake (what would be of great service to the student of our Church History) a continuation of Dr. Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog., it is to be hoped that he will print this Life entire from the Corpus MS.: for the writer, Morice, was secretary to the Archbishop, and his quaint style is far more attractive than that of his successors. (For a notice of Morice, see Ellis. Lett. of Em. Lit. Men. Camd. Soc. 1843. Letter ix. In this Letter some mention is made of Cranmer.)

The following paper, it is true, belongs to a later period than that to which Baker's notes hitherto printed relate; but it is perhaps more convenient to arrange these scattered notices by order of subjects than by order of time.

(Baker MSS. vol. xxi. p. 127.)

“In MS. C. C. C. Tit. Quæ concernunt Cranmerum, are contain'd,

(1.) Informations & Articles against severall Preachers in the Diocess of Canterbury, both the opposers & Favourers of the Reformation; & of the latter particularly Lancelot Ridley & Scory, with Dr Nevenson the ArchBp's Commissary, after the setting forth of the 6 Articles in y^e latter end of the Reign of Hen. y^e 8th, attested by several persons, & collected out of their Sermons, according to the various opinion & belief of the Informants, & presented as Heresies & Errors. The Heads of w^{ch} Articles are noted with various observations on them, in the very handwriting of ArchBp. Cranmer.

(2.) Diverse Articles Interrogatory, & their Responses, with Letters relating thereto, concerning the practices of certain Prebendaries & others in Kent & Canterbury against ArchBp. Cranmer, with y^e confessions & Letters under y^r own hands, whereby it appears, that certain Prebendaries of Cant. & Justices of Peace & Clergymen were set on by Stephen Gardiner, Bp. of Winton: to complain to the King & Council of the s^d ArchBp. for his own discourses had both in publick & private tending to favour the Reformation, & also for his permission of, or connivance at, some preachers that opposed some of the doctrines established by the 6 Articles: whereas he was rigorous in his proceedings against some Preachers whose doctrine was more conformable thereunto. The Depositions were taken by the ArchBp. himself & Dr Lee Dean of York. Dr London & Sr John Baker a Privy Counsellor were Winchester's chief Instruments, who received y^e Informations from Dr John Willoughby, Curate of Chilham, Robert Serles, Edmond Shether, William Gardiner, who for preaching about Images, to the dislike of the ArchBp., had incurred his displeasure, & had been imprisoned by him being Preachers and Prebendaries of the Church

of Canterbury; as was also Richard Parkehurst, Arthur Sentleger, John Millys, William Hunt, Prebendaries: & from W^m Cocks Petty Canon, John Thatcher kinsman to Gardiner, Thomas Calkot servant to Series, M^r Petit Clerk of the Peace, & servant to S^r John Baker. The Justices of Peace concern'd most therein were M^r Twayits, S^r Christopher Hales, & S^r Tho. Moyle, Knights, & M^r Baro Clerk of the peace for the County of Kent.

[The History of this Conspiracy, with its Issue, is to be found in Jo. Fox's Acts & Mon., & D^r Burnet's Hist. Ref. pt. 1, pag. 327.]

(3.) These Towns following are specially to be remembered, that in them be placed Learned men, with sufficient stipends.

Sandwich	Crainbroke	Marden
Dover	Feversham	Maidston
Folkestone	Hearne	Wye
Ashford	Whitstable	Wingham."
Tenterden		

Baker's notes on Burnet.

P. 91. [Opinions of foreign Divines on the King's Divorce] Vaconius de Vacuna, qui leges Neapoli publicè interpretabatur, quæstionem illam, an Pontifex possit dispensare, ut frater, &c., negativè determinat. MS. Col. Trin. Cant. *

Ib. [line 18 from foot. Crook died before he could receive a Reward, for I do not find him mentioned after this. 1530.] He liv'd long after, v. Hatcher MS. v. Wood Athen. Ox. p. 85. He dy'd an. 1558. ib. p. 86.

P. 94. [line 32. The Lutherans did express great sincerity in their judgement on the divorce.] Honest W. Tyndall was against the Divorce. See his Practyse of Prelates, Whether the Kinges Grace may be separated from hys Quene, because she was his brother's Wyle. Marborch. An. mcccc & xxx.

P. 95. [line 15. Agrippa won over by Cranmer to the King's cause, &c.] When Rob. Wakfeld publisht his Book in favor of y^e divorce, w^{ch} was after the King's marriage with Ann Bol., Agrippa was then against it, for Wakfeld's Book is principally wrote against the Bp. of Roch., Abel, & Agrippa, & plainly implys Agrippa to be of the same opinion with the other two. v. Rob. Wakfeld Kotser Codicis et literas annex. Voyez Bayle Dict. Hist. Critique; L'Article, Agrippa.

P. 97. [many arguments for the King sum'd up in a short Book, printed first in Latin, then in English. line 14.] They may be had in Antisanderus, printed Cantabrig. an. 1593.* And in the Answer to Sanders' monarchy, print. Lond. an. 1573.† But more largely in

* In Baker's MSS. iv. 32—36, is a paper respecting this book, which I print below from a transcript in the Univ. Libr.

† De Visibili Romanarum contra Nich. Sanderi Monarchiam prolato Libri Duo. [Georgio Acwortho legi doctore Authore Ant. Pemb. MS. note in copy in St. John's Coll. Libr.] Londini apud Johannem Dayum Typographum. An. 1573.

the Booke cited by the Author, w^{ch} Booke he follows exactly in this Abstract. The Booke was printed at London, April, an. 1530, if there be not a mistake in figures. In Latin. And in English, Novembr. 7. an, 1531. cum Privilegio. [*See Dibdin's Ames. Art. 1332-3.*]

P. 101. [line 9. the Queen offered to purge herself by Oath, that Prince Arthur never knew her.] The Princess both gave her Oath & the tokens of virginity were observ'd the day after her marriage with Prince Hen.; v. Tract. printed Lunenburgh, an. 1532, & dedicated to the Emperor's Ambassador. P. 29.

P. 102. [line 10. Laurence, successor of Augustin, having excommunicated Edbald for an incestuous Marriage, refused in spite of y^e Pope's entreaties to absolve him.] Laurence did not excommunicate Edbald, nor could he, Edbald being yet a Heathen, & when he became Christian he put away his wife. v. Bed. Lib. 2. cap. 5, 6. v. Malmesbur. Lib. 1; nothing there sayd of the Pope. But it is so in the Booke the Historian quotes [*that noticed above, on page 97*] juxta Fin.

P. 103. [line 8. No works, except Cajetan's and Victoria's, against the King.] v. [*note on*] P. 89, 101. Cajetan's Booke is only a short Letter to the King, dat. Jan. 27. an. 1534. And another short letter to y^e Pope Clem. 7. Dat. an. 1530. Mar. 13. But tho' the Bp. of Rochester's Booke was not publisht,* yet Cochlaeus has publisht a Booke on the subject. Of both w^{ch} he speaks thus in his Booke against Rich. Sampson. De Matrimonio Regis doctissime scripsit Johan. Episcopus Roffeus: grande volumen, quod vel supprimitis vi, vel ipso cum Autore sustulistis de medio. Ego interim alium de eodem edidi libellum, &c.; of another Booke to this purpose see [*note on*] p. 89 of this vol. Cochleus's Book was printed an. 1535, under y^e Title, De Matrimonio Seren. Regis Henrici 8vi &c. ad Paulum tertium Pont. Max. 1535. 4to.

P. 104. [line 3. Pope Martin confirmed a man's marriage with his own sister.] This is a mistake; it is not sayd his own sister, but his wife's own sister, v. Tr. quoted [*in note on*] p. 101. Printed Lunenburgh, an. 1532. P. 119, 122. [*The mistake is Ackworth's, who says, De visib. Rom'anarch. page 174. 'Martinus Papa, cum quidam sororem matrimonio sibi copulasset, eamq. thori consuetudine diu tenuisset, habito cum Theologis atque Jurisperitis consilio, etsi contra Jus divinum fuisset, tamen matrimonium non dissolvit, sed ob majoris mali alioquin secuturi vitationem id privilegio ratum fecit, de quo quidem matrimonio, quoniam contractum, consummatum, et auctoritate Papæ ratum fuisset, Antonius Florentinus Archiepiscopus ita scripsit. "Quoniam dispensationem obtinuit remanendi cum ea, commitendum est negotium Judicio Dei, neque condemnandum."*]

P. 106. [init. Convocation (an. 1531) satisfied that the King's marriage was unlawful.] Howe in his Preface to Stow's History says, The Clergy nor Parliament, notwithstanding the King's importunity,

* It is in Baker's MSS. xxxv. 253—296. If you think it worth while to print it, I will send it.

would never yield to the divorce. v. Howe's Pref. p. 10; nor did they, till after the King was marry'd to Ann Bolen. v. Godwin Annal. ad an. 1533.—Sed Quære.—Ant. Harmer, p. 193, Specimen, produces the Instrument of the proceeding of Convocation, w^{ch} he seems to place in this year 1531, but does not expressly fix the time.

P. 106. [Margin. The Whole Clergy in a præmunire.] v. Statut. 25. Hen. 8. cap. 22.

P. 112. [Nine Bps. Fisher being one acknowledge y^e K. Supreme Head: probably Pole did the same.] This & somewhat worse is own'd by Sanders. p. 72, 73, as to the Bp. of Rochester. For he says, the Bp. took the Oath with y^t explanation. [*quantum per Christi legem licet.*] And therefore if Pole were then present, it is not like he would refuse. But Sanders says, the Bp. of Roch. repented afterwards of what he had done.—Pool was in England an. 1531, as appears from an Epistle of Erasmus directed to him that year. v. Lib. 24. p. 945.

P. 113. [line 7. Clergy escaped præmunire by paying Henry 100,000£.] v. concessionem Cleri Cant. apud Rymer Acta pub. Tom. 14. p. 413.

Ib. [line 12 from foot. Rouse a cook poisoned some porridge in Fisher's kitchen. Feb. 16.] Feb. 18th.

Ib. [Margin. 22. Hen. 8. Act. 16.] It should be 22 Hen. 8. cap. 9.

P. 121. [Margin. A Bull for erecting new Bpricks.] v. Rymer Acta pub. Tom. 14. p. 273, 291.

P. 123. [Oath of Clergy to the Pope.] This Oath is more full & large than that w^{ch} ArchBp. Cranmer tooke. v. Strype. Append. num. 6. As that w^{ch} he tooke to the King is more full than that w^{ch} follows. ib. num. 7.

Ib. [line 13 from foot. their Rights, Seats, Honours, &c.] States. v. Fox. vol. 2. p. 332. v. Antiq. Brit. p. 302, 326.

P. 124. [line 8. I shall bear to you . . . yearly Worship.] earthly. v. Fox. vol. 2. p. 332.

Ib. [line 22. More gave up the Great Seal. May 16. 1532. & Audley was made Chancellor] May 16. So it is sayd in his printed Works. p. 1419. [F.] But S^r Tho. Audley was not made L^d Chancellor, till the 26. of Jan. ensuing. an. 1533. 24 Hen. 8. Tho. Audley had the great Seal deliver'd to him on Munday 20. Maii; and then knighted. Claus. 24. Hen. 8 in dorso. A new seal made & deliver'd unto him upon the 6th of Sept. following. ibid. He was made Chancellor y^e 26th of Jan. ensuing. ibid. See Dugdal's Catalogue of Ld. Chancellors. p. 23.

Ibid. [line 11 from foot. Anne Boleyn created Marchioness of Pemb. in Sept.] She was created March. Sept. 1, being Sunday. See the Patent and form of Creation in Mills, p. 80; & so likewise Stow, who adds, that she had 1000^{lib} per an. given her by the King out of the Bprick of Durham. p. 560.

P. 126. [line 6. Henry married Anne Boleyn. Nov. 14.] v. Speed. p. 770. v. Weaver, p. 514. Holingshed. p. 929. [*It is well known that Stow is right in saying, what Burnet asserts that he " says*

without any ground" *that Anne was married Jan. 25. "St. Pauls Day."* Cranmer Letter xiv. Jenkyns. *Burnet is wrong too, as appears from the same Letter, in saying that Cranmer was present.*

Ib. [line 8 from foot. Parl. began to sit Feb. 4. 1533.] *Inchoatum per prorogationem 5^{to} Januar. Dugd. Sum. p. 497.*

128. [init. Craumer, to avoid preferment returned slowly.] I prolonged my journey by seaven weeks at the least, thinking that he (*viz.* King) would be forgetfull of me in the meantime. Cranmer *apud* Fox Martyr. vol. 3. p. 655.—Ibid. p. 661, he says, he remained in Germany one half year after the King had writ for him to come home.

Ib. [line 7 from foot. Cranmer consecrated March 13.] Mar. 30 according to Strype Mem. p. 18. [*So Ant. Harmer. No 27.*]

P. 129. [line 9. Cranmer's Protestation.] printed in Stryp. Mem. Num. 5.

Ibid. line 28. [In Convocation the Opinions of 19 Universities were read to the effect that a man is forbidden by God's law to marry his brother's wife, & the question was so decided *nem. contrad.*] It was not carry'd *Nemine Contradicente*, but the Bp. has mistaken his Author. There were 19 dissented, w^{ch} the Bp. by mistake understands of 19 Universities. *v. Antiq. Brit. in vit. Cranm.* The Author before quoted [*in note on*] p. 89 says, only the opinion of 7 Universities could be had. And the *Author of *Fidelis Servi Infidel. Subdito Respons.* speaks of no more, w^{ch} with two of our own, Oxford & Cambridge, make only 9. But the Bp. mistakes Universities for men. *v. Antiq. Brit. in vitâ Cranmeri.* *Ld. Herbert* speaks only of 7; *v. Lif. Hen. 8. p. 324.* Fuller speaks of no more: he mentions indeed ten, but Oxford and Cambridge are taken in, & Paris stands with him for two. *Ch. Hist. l. 5. p. 183.* So *Holingshed. p. 923.* So Fox, ten. vol. 2. p. 326. Only 7 are printed in *Antisanderus, Cantabrig. an. 1593*, the same that are printed in this volume. The Bp. himself mentions only 12 in his Appendix to this vol. p. 284. Only 7 mention'd in the *Answer to Sander's Monarchy* printed an. 1573. Lond. Author *Geo. Ackworth.*

Ib. [lin. 3 from foot. Burnet conjectures that Deans & Archdeacons in the time of Popery sat in the Upper House of Convocation.] This account is plainly overthrown by Fuller's account of the Convocation, An. 1536, from the Records, where Rich. Gwent, Archdeacon of London, is chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, & Deans & Archdeacons are sayd to have sat in that House. *Ch. Hist. l. 5, p. 207.* And so again in the Convocation An. 1540 the same Rich. Gwent chosen Prolocutor. l. 5, p. 236, *ibid.*

P. 131. [Sentence of Divorce, Margin] *v. Rymer Acta pub. Tom. 14, p. 462-3, 467-8, 476-7.*

Ib. [line 26. One thing is to be observed, that Cranmer in his Sentence is called *Legate of the Apostolick See.*] There is no mystery in

* "Auctor hujus libri, Barth. Clarke, L.L.D., erat socius Coll. Regal. Cant., admissus in Coll. 1554." "The author of this book met with such treatment, as might have discouraged Dr. Cowell from undertaking the like employment."—Baker MS. notes in a copy in St. John's Coll. Libr.

this. He was to use that style & Title, till it was abrogated, as it was in a synod the same year, An. 1533, where it was decreed that the ArchBp. of Cant. should be no longer styl'd legate, but Primate & Metropol. of all England; v. Antiq. Brit. ad An. 1533, vita Cranmeri. This the Bp. seems to have discover'd in y^e Appendix, p. 287. [where he says. Parl. did not put down y^e Pope's Authority for 8 months after the Sentence.] The Pope's power was abolished the latter end of this year, Stryp. p. 23. And yet Cranmer us'd the Title of Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus An. 1535, ib. p. 33; of wth Quær. v. Stryp. p. 39 Append. Num. 17, p. 21, num. 15. So that M^r Atterbury is mistaken as well as the Bp. See Addend, p. 635.

Ib. [line 32. Ann crowned Jun. 1.] 4to Calend. Junii says Geo. Lilly, Chron. An. 1533.

Ib. [Censures past on the Divorce. marg.] There was publisht about this time, An. 1533, Londini in ædibus Tho. Berthelet cum privilegio, a Book under this Title, Articles devisid by y^e holle Consent of y^e Kinges most honourable Counsayle, his Gracis licence opteyned therto, not only to exhorte, but also to enfourme his Lo-vynge Subjectis of y^e trouthe.—It contains y^e reasons of y^e King's proceedings in y^e matter of y^e divorce, & should have been taken notice of here, had the Author ever seen it. It is in Trin. Coll. Library, class 2, 8, 24.

P. 134. [line 6 from foot. Duke of Orleans married (according to the Papal historians) when 14 years and nine months old] seven months. Spondan.

P. 136. [line 11. March 23, 1531. King Henry ordered to take Katherine as his wife.] This sentence is printed at large in Antisan-derus, p. 198, dat. Mar. 23, An. 1532. And in Sanders, p. 76, dat. An. 1533, Pontificat. Clement. undecimo, in a different Form; and in Fox, vol. 2, p. 632. Dat. Mar. 23, An. 1534; & in the MS at Gresham Coll. dat. Mar. 23, 1534.

P. 137. [line 12. Then (1532) was written De Differentiâ Reg. & Eccles. Potest.] printed An. 1538, Cl. A. 1, 3.

Ib. [line 17. Stokesley & Tonsal write to Reg. (soon after, Cardinal, Pool.) He was then Cardinal, for they exhort him to return to his Duty to the King, & to surrender up his Red Hat, v. Letter printed cum Privilegio, An. 1560.

P. 140 &c [Royal supremacy. In Baker's MSS are a number of papers on this subject. "Renunciation of y^e Pope by Camb. Univ., 1535, vols. vi. 149, xiv. 193." (Index, p. 25,) "Cleri, Secul. et Regul., Recognitiones de suprematu Regis, 1534, vol. xviii. 444-453." (Index v. Cleri.) "Hilcardi testimon. de Statuto super suprematum Eccle. Regium, vol. xx. 29-32." (Ib. v. Hilcardus.) "Papal Power in England abolished, 1535, vol. xxx. 130. (Ib. v. Reformation.)]

P. 143. [line ult. Parl. sat down Jan. 15.] The Parl. An. 1533, begun Jan. 5th see Dugdal's Sum. p. 497. It begun Jan. 25 according to the Statut. Booke printed in that Reign.

P. 149. [the Maid of Kent, see Ellis, Ser. 3, Letters 168 & 222, & Wright, Suppression of Monasteries, Camd. Soc. Letters, 6-11.]

P. 150. [line 19. Dr Bocking Canon of Christ-Church in Canter-

bury.] Bocking a Monk in Christ Ch. in Cant. ; v. Stat. 25 Hen. 8, ch. 12. But this is observ'd by Fulman.

P. 152. [line 17 from foot. Parl. prorogued March 29th.] prorogued on the 30th of March, v. Stat. Booke printed An. 1544.

P. 154. [line 4 from foot. Form of Oath for Succession not known, erased by Bonner in Mary's time.] I suppose the Form was the same that is printed in the Collect, num. 50. For it is sayd in the Body of it, that they oblige themselves by oath. And it appears from Mr Wharton (*De Episcopis London* : Append. num. 12,) that the Forms in substance were the same, v. L^d Herbert, p. 373. [*As to the charge against Bonner, Wharton says, (Strype's Cranmer, p. 1042, Ed. 1812.)* Burnet giveth two or three instruments of the subscription of so many particular convents, & supposeth that no more remain, but that all the rest were in the reign of Queen Mary destroyed by Bishop Bonner. . . . In truth all those instruments do yet remain . . . in their proper place, the King's Exchequer, into which they were at first returned, & where they have been hitherto kept.]

P. 155. [the Prioress of *Dominican Nuns at Deptford*, line 9.] It should be, Prioress of the Austin nuns at Dertford, v. Collect. num. 50.

Ib. [Margin. More refuses the Oath.] v. L^d Herbert, p. 372, 373.

P. 156. [line 15. The Abbot of Westminster.] W^m Benson, alias* Boston.

Ib. [line 29. Fisher & More offered to swear another oath for the succession] v. Stryp. Memorial. Append. num. 9, p. 13.

Ib. [line 35. Cranmer writes on behalf of More & Fisher. April 27. Weaver's Monuments.] Dat. 17th April. And the same Dat. assign'd in Stryp. Memor. Append. num. 11, viz. April 17.

P. 158. [line 17 from foot. Hilsey not consecrated before 1537.]† Joh. Hilsey was made Bp. An. 1535. Had Restitution of the Temporalities of that See, Octobr. 4, An. 27, Hen. 8. An. Dom. 1535, v. Athen. Oxon. p. 43. An. 1538. That he was Bp. An. 1535 appears from Stryp. Mem. p. 37, 38, where John Bp. of Rochester assists at two Consecrations, Mar. 18 & 19, An. Regn. 27, An. Dom. 1535. And from Stow, Chron. p. 572, who mentions Hilsey of Rochester together with Fox of Hereford & Latimer of Worcester An. 1535. This can be no mistake in Figures. For the Bp. commits the same mistake p. 249 of this vol. Hilsey Bp. 1535. So Antiq. Brit. in the Catalogue of Bps, See p. 365 of this vol., where the Bp. says it again. John Bp. of Roch, assisted at the Consecration of Geo. Brown ArchBp. of Dublin, Mar. 19, 1535, v. Mason, Lib. 2, cap. 12.

P. 159. [line 19 from foot. Tindal, Jove, &c were writing new Books] leg. Joye. [See *More's Works*, p. 342, 346-7.]

Ib. [line 11 from foot. Tonstall buys up Tindal's N. T.]‡ Hall, p. 176. See Tyndal's Practice of Prelates versus finem.

* I have not thought it worth while to preserve the contraction als, nor shall I do so in other cases.

† See Hilsey's Letter to Crumwell, asking for the mitre, staff, and seal of his predecessor. Ellis, Ser. 3, Letter 246.

‡ See a Letter from Richard Nix, Bp. of Norwich, to Warham, June 14, 1527, offering money towards buying up the copies of Tyndal's N. T., (Ellis, Ser. 3, Letter 155,) with the interesting preliminary matter.

P. 160. [line 26. a Paper to be read in every Parish against Tindal's Books] of w^{ch} see Fox, vol. 2, p. 22, vol. 3, p. 479. Hugh Latimer was then B. D., for w^{ch} see Fox, vol. 3, p. 450. See Antiq. Brit. p. 326, 327.

Ib. [line 13 from foot. The Supplication of the Beggars. *The Date in the Margin is 1534, the last Date in the text 1530.*]* This Booke was writ An. 1527, & sent over to Ann Boleyn An. 1528, & deliver'd to the King by Her. Fox, vol. 2, p. 279. This Booke was likewise condemned An. 1530, amongst the other Books mention'd in the last Paper of Spelman's Collection, vol. 2nd, and should have been mention'd before.—It seems it was compil'd before. For I have seen the Booke with this Title. "*The Supplication of Beggars compyled by Symon Fyshe, An. 1524.*" But mark the Event, An. 1546, after the Church Lands had been seiz'd & squander'd away, there comes out, *The Supplication of the Poor Commons*, complaining of want of Hospitality or Extortion in those that held these Lands, & of Extended instead of Old Rents, or Fines rackt beyond the old proportion, so that many Tenants were almost ruin'd. Cl. 14, 12, 25.

P. 161. [line 4. None of the Clergy wrote much, only Fisher wrote for Purgatory.] The Bp. of Rochester wrote severall other Books, that may be seen amongst his Works.

P. 162. [line ult. Tho. Hitton condemned to be burnt by Warham & Fisher] As he was at Maidstone, after he had been dieted & tormented by them, v. the Practise of Prelates, juxta Fin. [*Univ. Libr.*] Cl. F. [*now F.*] 13, 40, v. Fox, vol. 3, p. 1003, 1004.

P. 164. [line 7. Bilney executed Nov. 10] on St. Magnus's Day, Fox, p. 277.

P. 165. [line 26. Bainham burnt about the end of April, 1532.] the last day of April, 1532.

P. 166. [line 8. Tracy's Will. Tracy of Worcestershire] The Copy of this Will both in Fox & Tyndal says, Tracy was of Todington in Gloucestershire. See Fox, vol. 2, p. 317. See Tyndal's Exposition of Tracy's Will, w^{ch} differs from the account here given, particularly in this, that the will was brought before the ArchBp. And it does not appear how this matter should be brought into the Bp. of London's Court. [*as Burnet says that it was.*] That Tracy was of Todington in Gloucestershire, see Bale, Centur. p. 719.

P. 171. [line 5 from foot. Lord Burleigh wrote that he had 6 or 7 volumes of Cranmer's writing all of w^{ch} except two are lost] Here the Bp. should have done right to that Family, by quoting these 2 volumes under their name; whereas he quotes them as Dr Stillingfleet's MSS. who only borrow'd them from the Cecil or Salisbury Family. [*See Baker's note on vol. I. Collect, p. 201.*]

P. 174. [Margin. Cranmer's Speech about a General Council.] This Speech does not occur in either of the two Volumes so often referr'd to, under the Title of MSS. D.D. Stillingfleet. [*which however are here cited as Burnet's authority.*]

P. 181. [line 23. The Bps swore to the King's Supremacy, though no Law as yet required them so to do.] v. Ld. Herbert, p. 379, 391.

* See the preface to Pickering's elegant reprint. London, 1845.

P. 190. [line 19, 1533. Christ Ch. Priory near Aldgate dissolved, & given to L^d Chan. Audley; not to make him speak shriller for his Master in the Commons' House, as Fuller mistakes it; for he had been Chanc. a year before this] An. 1531, An. Reg. 23, says Stow, Survey, p. 146. And Audley was not Chancellor till an. Hen. 8, 24th. So this is the Bp's mistake, not Fuller's. But Stow in his Chron. p. 560, says it was suppress'd An. 1532, in July, & that Audley was made Keeper of the Seal, 4th of June. [See above, note on p. 124.] v. Dugdal, Baron. vol. 2, p. 382, v. L^d Herbert, Hist. p. 343.

Ib. [line 30. Prior & convent resigned 24 Feb. 23d Regni.] Nic. Hancock Prior & y^c Convent resign'd that House Febr. 24. an. 1531. Rymer. Acta pub. Tom. 14, p. 411, 12.

P. 192. [line 18 from foot. Katherine died Jan. 8, 1536, 33 years after she came to England] She came into England Oct. 2nd an. 1501. So she had been more than 33 years in England.

Ib. [line antepenult. Henry made her body be laid in the Abbey Church of Peterborough.]*

P. 193. [line 20 from foot. L^d Herb. wonders that the printed Stat. has no preamble. Fuller wonders, that Herb. did not see the Record; &, after printing the Preamble, says, "The rest follow as in the printed Stat. cap. 27." (read 28.) This shews that neither ever looked on the Record. For there is a particular Stat. of Dissolution, distinct from cap. 28.] And yet in all appearance the Bp. must be mistaken. For it is pretty plain from S^r Will. Dugdal's Monast. vol. I. p. 1048, that there was only one Statute, viz. 27, Hen. 8, cap. 28, the same that is referr'd to by L^d Herbert & Fuller. The preamble whereof is printed by S^r Will. from the Record, together with its connexion with the first words of the printed Statute, cap. 28, & puts this matter almost beyond the possibility of doubt. v. Monasticon vol. I. p. 1048.

P. 197. [line 17 from foot. Ann Boleyn, at a Tilting at Greenwich, let fall her Handkerchief to one of her Gallants.] Here the Bp. transcribes Sanders. For L^d Herbert, p. 381, says, our Histories mention not this Passage.

P. 200. [Elizabeth's Letter to the Queen, *when not Four years old*!! "M^r Denny & my Lady pray God to send you a most lucky deliverance."] The Lady Eliz. was at S^r Anthony Denny's House at Cheston An. 1548, when M^r Ascham went to be her Instructor, w^{ch} year this Letter should bear date. [Burnet dates it 1537.] v. Ascham's Schoolmaster. Fol. 32. See likewise his Life ad. An. 1548.

Ib. [Writ. this last day of July] An. 1548. For Q. Catherin, viz. Parr, dy'd September in that year, of her first child, by the L^d Tho.

* See Ellis, Ser. 3, Lett. 259, which tells us that Henry would not be at the charge of setting up a hearse to Katherine in St. Paul's. See Gunton's History of the Church of Peterborough, p. 57. It may be well to remark that there is a copy of this book in the University Library, with large annotations by Baker, amongst which are a few transcribed from Kennett, (who appears to have meditated a new edition.) This work is not, I believe, noticed in the excellent Index to Baker's MSS., published in 1848 by Four Members of the Camb. Ant. Soc.

Baker's notes on Burnet (vol. i. p. 356,) and on the following passage from More's Letter to Cromwell, (Feb. or March, An. 25. Hen. 8, p. 1427, A. Ed. 1557 of More's Works,) "At y^e first redig wherof [of the book against Luther], I moved y^e kinges highnes, either to leave out that point [the pope's primacy], or els to touch it more slenderly, for dout of such thinges as after might hap to fal in questiō betwene his highnes & some pope, as betwene princes & popes divers times have done. Wherunto his highnes answered me, that he would in no wise anything minishe of that matter, of which thing his highnes showed me a secret cause, whereof I never had anything herd before." Baker's note on this is as follows. "This secrete cause (when it needed no longer be a secret) is explain'd by Roper, in his Life of S^r Tho. More, where he speaks* of the King's Book, compil'd by other learned Men, not by the King, who had neither style nor Talents for such a work." Page 41, occurs for the first time a mistake, which is at least thrice repeated, (vol. i. p. 42, Append. p. 279. vol. ii. p. 316.) "For this he [Sanders] cites Rastall's Life of Sir Tho. Moor, a Book that was never seen by anybody else." This is sufficiently confident, and the reason given (vol. i. Append. p. 279, cf. vol. i. p. 42) is an amusing example of the practice (so prevalent in our enlightened days) of substituting guesses at what might have been expected to happen for evidence of what has in fact happened. "Nor is it likely that Rastal ever wrote More's Life, since he did not set it out with his Works, which he published in one volume, Anno 1556."† Where is the improbability? May not Rastell have written the life *after* publishing the works? Baker (in a note printed in the Magazine for July, on page 89 of Burnet) gives a reason for supposing this to be the case.

My last example, though beyond the limits marked out, is so much to the point, that it may find a place here. Burnet says (vol. ii. p. 284, line 27,) "As for the letters which these & the other Prisoners writ in their Imprisonment, Fox gathered the Originals from all People who had them," &c. On this Baker remarks: "Most of these Letters are printed by M^r Fox, but an Author, that writes the History of the Reformation, should have known, & had he known, should have taken notice, that the Letters of the Martyrs are printed in a separate volume by John Day, 1564, with a Preface or Letter by Myles Coverdale, who was probably the publisher."

These instances may help the reader to form an opinion of Burnet's

* P. 77, ed. Lewis, 1729. P. 38, ed. Hearne, 1716.

† Here is a mistake. Rastell in his dedication to Mary expressly says that the book was finished on the last day of April, 1557. So that Burnet cannot be defended by supposing Rastell to have antedated it; a supposition which might otherwise have been specious. See More's Works, p. 1422. C. "My aunswere whereunto, albeit that the printer (unware to me) dated it Anno 1534, by which it semeth to be printed since the feast of the circumsicion, yet was it of very trouth both made & printed & many of them gone before Christmas;" and Baker's note upon the passage, (in the copy belonging to St. John's Coll.): "This seems to show the Printer's custome of dating Books, printed the latter end of one year, as printed in the following year, to be as old as the Reign of H. VIII."

capacity for his office in one most important point, the knowledge of sources; much more might be done towards this end by any one who would track him through his investigations.*

In passing from the consideration of Burnet's general incapacity to that of his particular mistakes, one's attention is at once directed to his errors in Chronology. On this point Henry Wharton's statement appears scarcely to exceed the bounds of truth. (Harmer. No. 24.) "I have not had opportunity or a curiosity to examine one half of the dates of times either in the *History* itself, or in the *Collection of Records*; but do assure the Reader, that of those which I have examined, I found near as many to be false as true." Not to mention the cases on which authorities are divided, (and yet even here notice should have been taken of conflicting accounts,) I find that Baker has corrected in these few pages, two mistakes in page 8, one, if not two, in page 9, and one in page 36, which scarcely require special mention; the following are more important. In page 20, Burnet says that a Convocation, which met April 20, 1522, was dissolved on the 2^d of May after; Baker, from an Episcopal Register, shows that it sat till Aug. 14, an. 1523. In page 25, Imprisonment of Hereticks is said to have been first used in England, an. 5, Ric. 2, whereas Baker shows that it was customary in Edw. III.'s time. Page 26, Burnet implies that the writ for burning Will. Sautre issued after an Act passed 2 Hen. 4; Baker, from Burnet's authority, Fitzherbert, shows that it was before the passing of that Act. Page 43, Burnet dates Sir Tho. Boleyn's Ambassage an. 1516; the true date being 1519. Page 77, Campegio is called an ancients Cardinal than Wolsey: whereas the latter was created an. 1515, the former an. 1517. In page 82, Wolsey is said to have died Nov. 28 instead of Nov. 29. Page 86, the determination of Oxford in favour of the King is placed before that of Cambridge; whereas Buckmaster's† Letter shows clearly that Cambridge passed the determination before Oxford. There is one more chronological error, noticed by Baker, contained in a passage, which it will be best to give entire. (Page 10.) "It generally passes current, that he [Henry 7th] bred his second Son a Scholar, having designed him to be ArchBishop of *Canterbury*, but that has no foundation; for the Writers of that time tell, that his Elder Brother Prince *Arthur* was also bred a Scholar. And all the Instruction King *Henry* had in Learning, must have been after his Brother was dead, when that Design had vanished with his life. For . . . he was not full eleven years of Age, when he became Prince of *Wales*; at which Age Princes have seldom made any great progress in Learning." The

* The materials for such a work are, I suppose, abundant. See e. g., Brit. Mag., vol. vi. p. 382, and Evelyn's Letter to Nicolson, Nov. 10, 1699, in which is a bitter complaint against Burnet for losing some original papers which he had borrowed for his history from Evelyn.

† Quære. Is the writer of this letter the same with the proctor for the London clergy in the Convocation held anno 1536? (See Burnet, vol. i. Addenda, No. I. p. 315.) I find that he was Lady Margaret Professor, an. 1532, and again, an. 1534: (Fisher's Funeral Sermon on Lady Margaret, ed. Hymers, pp. 63, 94.)

first clause is not very clear: the only pertinent sense is, that "those who bring forward Henry's early studies as singly sufficient to prove that he was designed to be ArchBp, are confuted by the fact that Arthur was a scholar too:" but the grammatical construction rather points to the meaning, "Arthur was 'a scholar:' *Ergo*, Henry was not one;" an argument which, however absurd, might yet be matched by others in this author. The second syllogism has plainly four terms, unless we are content to accept "great progress in learning" and "any the least instruction" as equivalent terms. For it stands thus—

Princes at 11 years of age have seldom made any great progress in learning. [True: but why *princes* particularly? Are we to infer that boys who have not the luck to be princes often have "made great progress in learning" at that age? Briskly as we are now pressing forwards in the March of Intellect, few would speak of a "Scholar" of 11 years of age.]

Therefore Prince Henry, at that age, had received no instruction whatever.

If historians are to derive their facts from argumentation & general maxims, & not from observation & historical records, we are at least entitled to demand that the argumentation be conclusive. But conclusive or not, it stands these ambitious writers in little stead, when they fall in with an inquirer like Baker, who not venturing, dull plodding antiquary that he is, to discuss (as in this instance) when Henry *ought* to have begun his studies, is content to show, by a simple reference to Erasmus, that in point of fact he *did* begin them before Arthur's death, a thing which "had been proved, & was very near being thought," impossible.

Another kind of mistake very frequently met with in Burnet is the giving wrong names to persons, places, & offices; & this is a fault which, more than any other almost, betrays a want of acquaintance with the customs & literature of the time treated of. Thus, Eliz. Talboys is called Blunt, p. 9. Robert Braibrook, Bp. of London is called John, p. 25; a mistake almost unpardonable in a historian of the Church, to whom the names of all bishops ought to be as familiar as those of Matthew Parker, or Thomas Cranmer, are to the general reader. P. 8, Wolsey is called *Bp. of Tournay*, whereas it appears that he only had the revenues of that see granted to him. P. 79, Waltham Cross is named instead of Waltham Abbey. In p. 81, the offices of Constable & Lieutenant of the Tower are confounded.* In p. 86, we find "Bonner (whom they call Dr Edmunds)," busy in the King's service. Burnet, as it seems, is so determined to consider Gardiner & Bonner as inseparable coadjutors their whole lives long, that learning that Gardiner was engaged in procuring the determination of Cambridge for the King's Divorce, he concludes at once that Bonner must have been at his elbow, & so not finding "Edmund Bonner" in

* That these were distinct offices, appears from Cuthbert Symson's Letter, (*Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 686; p. 529 of the reprint.) "On the Sundaye after, I was brought into the same place agayne before the Lieutenent being also constable, &c.;" which shows, too, that they were both sometimes held by the same man.

his authorities, does the best he can with the name most like, if not to "Bonner," then to "Edmund;" & the Master of Peterhouse* does duty for the nonce as "the bloody Bonner."

In p. 87, line 3, Burnet says that a Committee of 29, among whom were 16 Bachelors [of Divinity], were appointed to discuss the question of Divorce. Baker (as will be seen when we come to the Collection) shows that several of these Bachelors were indeed Masters of Arts.

There are one or two more mistakes noticed by Baker, which I will run through as they come in Burnet, before touching upon the last and most flagrant of all. In p. 19, it is said that the Bp. of Rochester was present at the Lateran council, 1512. Baker, from authentic documents, proves that he did not go. In p. 22 is a direct contradiction to p. 261, as will appear by printing them in parallel columns.

Page 22.

These [Religious] Houses being thus suppressed by the Law they belonged to the King.

Page 261.

It is true by the *Roman Law* . . . the Endowments of the Heathenish Temples were . . . in the end adjudged to the *Fisc* or the Emperor's Exchequer. . . . But in England it went otherwise, &c.

In the same p. 22, Burnet speaks of *many*, where he should have said *two* Bulls. In p. 32, he says, Sir T. More *would needs* have the Bp.'s Licence for reading heretical books. Baker shows that he could not but ask for a licence, the books having been prohibited by the bishop's orders.

In p. 89, Burnet's text and margin, as they directly contradict one another, might have been left unnoticed, especially after the proofs which Baker brings in his note of the corruption of the Universities, which pronounced for the King; but as Mr. Brewer (in his edition of Fuller, vol. iii. p. 63, note w.) says, that Burnet has "clearly refuted" the charge, it may be well to cite a letter from Croke to Henry, (Ellis, Series iii. Letter 184,) which of itself is sufficient to overthrow what Burnet says. "Please y^r yow^r Highnes to be aduertysed that sins the xxviij day of Auguste I delyuered vnto friar Thomas xiiij crouynes; syns the whyche tyme he hathe got yow^r Highnes but vij subscriptions; the whiche I sent by Harwel the xix of Octobre. And of them, too only excepte, there ys not on worthy thanke. I have and do often cal vpon hym, but he answerithe me that there ys no mo doctors to be gotten: the contrary whereoff I knowye to be trew. And whau I demande off hym for the declaration of my accompts som remembrance off his hande for xlvij crouynes whyche I have paide hym, he answerithe that at th'end off the cause he wyl other make me a byl, or delyver me th'ole money ayene. And hys cause why he wol make me no byl, ys, as he saithe, feare leste hys byl myght be shewed to yow^r Highnes aduersaryes. . . . And consydering, that I can get

* Dr Edmunds seems to have been Master of St. John's in 1522. See Fisher's Funeral Sermon on Lady Margaret, p. 45, ed. Hymer.

no mo subscriptions nother off Friar Ambrose nor off Thomas, very feare compellythe me to aduertise your Highnes that all these friars were firste and only attayned vnto yowr Highnes by me. And Ambrose had off me for the gettinge of the determination off Padua for his parte only xx crouynes. Thomas hathe had xlvij crouynes. Francis, for him and Dionysius lxxvij crouynes, as I can right wel prove. And thys notwithstandinge, whan I cal upon them for som frute of none off theyr labour, except Dionysius, I can get non." It is impossible, I think, to read this, and yet not be convinced, that the money was to be given, not as a compensation for time and labour expended, but as a bribe for giving an opinion for the King. What can we think of Burnet, who, doubtless, had read this letter, and yet says, (p. 89, margin,) "No Money nor Bribes given for Subscriptions"? Henry Wharton quotes against Burnet Agrippa and Caven-dish. The passage of the latter author, which he cites, may be found in Mr. Singer's second edition, p. 206. See note on Dodd. ed. I. p. 201.

[*The papers about Dr. Cowell's Antisanderus, which I spoke of above may be fitly introduced by Baker's note in the fly-leaf of his copy (St. John's Coll. Libr. A. 15, 14.) This note has indeed been printed, but very incorrectly, by Mr. Hartshorne, (Book Rarities of the Univ. of Camb., p. 441.)*]

"Because the Author of this Book is much in the dark, I shall endeavor to do him some right from Original Papers; The rather, because it will show, How Men may expect to be rewarded, that endeavor to serve the public.

To the R^t Hon. My very good Lord, the Ld. Keeper of the great Seal, &c.

My very good Ld.

I cannot but thynk myself gretlie beholden unto you, for your frendlie paynes, taken in visiting me yesterday, & especiallie to my good Ladie, for to her, yt could not be but paynes. I have sent unto your L., according to my promisse, the objections against Anti-sanderus, & the Answeres thereunto, together with the particulars of the Author's defens of her Maj^{ties} Mother & her self. The staying of the Boke bredith a great scandal, & *discoragits* Men willing to imploy their labours in such matters. Nether hath any as yet signified unto me, what or how the Boke should be mended. I had sett on worke this way divers as sufficient Men, as are in this Land, but partlie this Accident, & especiallie lack of Instructions hath caused them to sur-cease. Let the burden thereof light upon such as deserve yt. I have discharged my consciens & dutie herein to God, her Maj^{ties} & y^r State, all w^{ch} are sought to be dishonored by these Libells, whereof there are many & [dispersed] everie where, & yet no care taken for [answer-ing] them, & Men willing to do yt [discoraged] without cause. And so with my hartie prayers [to God] for your L., I commit you to his tuition.

From Croyden the first of Septemb. 1593.

Your L. Most assured

Jo. Cantuar,

From the Original. }
torn at the bottome }

Then follow the Particulars, with the Objections & Answeres, too long & too many to be here inserted. v. MSS Roberti Comitiss Oxon:, quorum Apographum asservatur apud me. T. B. [*See below.*] Dr. Cowell is there sayd to be the Author of Antisanderus, whose *Interpreter*, a very usefull Book, was by the Parl. [An. 7. Jac. I.] ordered to be burnt, & yet the passage in it most objected to (as far as I can yet see) is very inoffensive."

[It should be clearly understood that of the forty-two vols. of Baker's MSS. the first twenty-three are in the British Museum, the remainder in the Cambridge University Library; but a portion of the earlier volumes has been transcribed into four volumes, A. B. C. D., in the University Library. It is from vol. A. p. 37—40, (being a transcript from vol. iv. 32—36,) that what follows is taken.* The objections, answers, &c., are those which were sent with Whitgift's Letter just given, which is to be found with them in the MSS., but of course need not be repeated.]

The poynts handled by Dr Cowell.

1. That it is not lawful, nor to be dispenced with, for a Man to marry his Brother's widow. First dialo.

2. The defence of her Majestie's Mother, from the page 111 to the page 130.

3. The defence of her Majestie's chastitie, from the page 131 to the page 151.

4. That the Kingdom of England was never held in fee of the Pope, nor that it ought so to be held of him, from page 153 to the page 176.

5. That her Maj.^{tie} hath not given such cause of offence to K. Philip, as Saunders pretendeth, but contrarilie hath been many wayes greatly injured by him, from the page 178 to the page 196.

All these points (saving the fourth) are handled by Dr. Sutcliffe, in the 8 Chapter of his booke. But Dr Cowell hath delt in them more throughlie, especiallie in the three first poynts.

Certain particulars collected out of the Booke called Anti-Sanderus for the defence of Q. Anne, King H. the 8, & her Majestie.

For Clearing Q. Anne Bolein's nativitie, & of K. H. the 8 from y^e Slanders of Sanders.

1. The horror of Incest, specially of the Father with the Daughter, w^{ch} even beasts abhor.

2. The noble birth & education of K. Hen. the 8th.

3. His careful approving himself to be religious, & the Papists opinion of him, even till y^e marriage fell out.

* Some readers may wish to know how far these transcripts are accurate. I have not as yet had occasion to compare them with Baker's MSS., except in the case of the above letter; that is very exactly copied. I shall be grateful to any one who will collate the remainder of this paper with Baker's own MS. in the British Museum.

4. The great unlikeliness, that when Sir Tho. Bolein came from France, his wife could not have better coloured the matter, than to suffer the Childe to remain in her husband's sight at his coming home.

5. That no citation, nor no returne, nor none Act in either the ArchBps. Courts doth appear, as is surmised, yet all other things still most diligently kept.

6. The absurdity, that S^r Tho. Bullein should not ask his Wife of the circumstances of the fact, before he sued her.

7. If he did, & she must needs be taken in an offence, would she not in all likelyhood tell him, It was the King's?

8. If she so did, what likelihood that he should sue her, before y^e King were made acquainted with it.

9. The absurdity that Sir Tho. Bullein, to hinder the Marriage, should without leave come out of his Embassy in France, to tell the King of that, w^{ch} Sanders sayth, the King knew long afore, and the husband had at his entreatie forgiven.

10. S^r Tho. Bollein's Embassage in France was 1519; now a Year must be from thence unto the birth of Q. Anne, if she were gotten in his absence, but in the ninth year after, the K. cast liking to her, & married her in the twelfth.

11. The contrarietie of Sanders to himself, who elsewhere affirmeth, that before the K. cast liking to her, & after she was 15 years old, she remained in France a good while.

12. By supputation of tyme, if the Calumniation were true, Queen Anne should have been brought to bed of the now Q. Majestie, before twelve years of Age.

13. S^r Tho. Bullein was never Ambassador in France, but in that year 1519; He went over indeed four years afore, but this was in September, & he with the others that went with Lady Mary the K. sister, returned again before Christmas.

14. Queen Anne was 25 years old when the King married her. He married her when he had reigned 23 Years & an half, therefore it must needs be her Mother was conceived of her 3 years afore he was K., & when he was but 15 years of Age, & under Tutors.

15. The Popish Bps. awhile made scruple, to use the Ceremonies of Coronation to Q. Eliz., in respect she was no Papist, but if any such matter had but been suspected by them, who should have known it better then Sanders, It would then have been objected.

16. In Queen Marie's days, when Q. Eliz. Religion was knowen & hated & all means sought to put her to death, would not her Enemies then have used this objection (if any likelihood had been of it) to cut her off from all hope of the Crown.

For clearing her Maj.^{tie} from Sanders & other odious Imputations.
For her chastity in general.

1. Seeing in her younger years no such suspicion touched her, how can it be in her more ripe years?

2. What likelihood, that so soon she should forget her troubles & perils in Q. Marie's time, & God's marvellous deliverance & Mercy?

3. Her naturall study & care of chastity, joined with the fear of God.

4. Her great care in framing her Kingdome with wholesome Lawes, & continuall & infinite troubles of government, unlyke to admit such cogitations.

5. Her great private Study in Divinity, in the tongues, & in other good learning, sufficiently declared by her own profiting in them, sufficient by y^e very toyle to remove such light disposition.

6. Her severe punishing & detesting of such lewdness in others.

7. Her sundry most noble Suitors, who would not have been so baseminded, if the least suspicion thereof had appeared.

8. How could so many Noble Princes be ignorant thereof, & yet Monks, & such drones, living in their Cells, only know it?

9. How can these stand together, that she should so closely hide it from all, & yet would publish it by an Act of Parliament? Such turpitude might better have been cloaked in marriage, which yet she had hitherto refused.

Touching the Slander of three children.

1. Never heard of by subjects, objected only by enemies, who seek her death, & y^e without colourable suspicion.

2. If it were true, that it had been muttered amongst the people, what credit could it have deserved, coming from the unstayed multitude?

3. How could they in other kingdoms know it, but from hence?—yet never any suspicion here?

4. Why are not the places & times of their births noted? She coming so often abroad, who hath espyed her to have been with child?

5. Who were the Midwives or Nurses?

6. Are the children dead, & then where buried, & when? &c. If alive, where remayning & in what honour or Ignominy live they?

Touching the Act mentioning natural children.

1. What likelyhood, that Bastards should be appointed to enheritt?

2. If this had been meant, why were they not named, that knowledge of them might from tyme to tyme be taken, least one may be suborned & set up for another?

3. The drift of the Act, not to settle any Heir, but to forbid nominating of any Heir, saving such of her Maj.^{ties} Body, as no doubt should be made of, nor any should need to be ashamed of? Therefore only lawful begotten thereby meant.

4. How can these agree, that she killed some of her Lovers to cover this shame, & yet would blaze it abroad in parliament?

5. By natural Children in our Speech, not Bastards but legitimate signified.

6. The civill Law (out of which they cavill) understandeth by naturall often tymes those w^{ch} be lawfull & never Bastards, but when [tantum] or such words of restraint is used with it.

7. If by this word any Bastard should be understood, what purpose (with her Highnesses reproch) were it so to mention it, seeing it is but

an exception, & therefore cannot vest a right of succession in a Bastard, who afore could not inherit at the common Law?

8. If any such thing had been, how could it have been so long hid, whereas many Papists do remayne; yea and many Priests wander, who are the Pope's Espialls?

Objections against Dr Cowells Book.

1. The writer hath very diligently repeated the Adversaries Slanders, with more life than the Answeres do holde to confute the Slanders.

2. In sundry places the conditions of King H. the 8th are set forth not with y^r gravity that was requisite.

3. The Slaunders are meerly lying Reports without proofs, & the Answeres are conjecturall denials without proofs, so as the judgment is left to the humour of the reader, without leading him by any solid arguments.

Answeres to the same objections.

1. He setteth down the adversaries words, to the intent his answer to every poynt may the better be understood, & to the end also that the libeller's lewde & unchristian wicked dealing may the better appear, & be the more abhorred & detested of all good men. Besides he could not otherwise well doe, keeping any decorum, in the course by him undertaken, nor yet prevent the common Calumniation of the Adversaries, that y^r words are not truly sett down, but to the adversaries best advantage perverted.

2. Learned Men that have perused the Booke can observe no such matter in it. And the places (noted by them that find this fault) are not as yet certainly known. But if the objection be gathered from that place, w^{ch} is reported it should be, the Collector understandeth not Latin, neither ever read Tullie, or at least hath forgotten him.

3. They are answered as pithilye & with as good reasons & circumstances as the nature of such causes require, & as far as those instructions, w^{ch} could be procured, might any way lead him. The answerer to my understanding leaveth nothing doubtfull, or to y^r humor of the Reader, w^{ch} (the premisses considered) he could clear with more sound arguments. Dr Sutcliffe handleth the selfsame matters, in the 8 Chap. of his 2 Booke. Dr Cowell hath the effect of all his reasons, & besides addeth divers others of his own with mete & necessary enlargements, especially in three poynts.

1. In the matter of Marriage

2. In defence of her Maj.^{ties} Mother

3. And in defence of her Maj.^{ties} self

} From the L^d Keeper
Puckering's MS.

[See Harl. MS. 6865, Art. 1, and 6996, Art. 13. The last appears to be the original from which what is here printed was taken.]

I will close this most discursive paper with a collation of a well-known document, the recantation of Christopher Goodman; it is true that the two variations (I have not taken notice of those which are merely orthographical) between Strype's copy and Baker's are very

unimportant, but it is not unimportant to learn which among Strype's papers may be relied on. (Compare Baker's MSS. xxxvi. 337, with Strype's Annals, I. i. 185. Oxford: 1824; or p. 125, vol. i. of the fol. edition.)

Strype, p. 185, line 10, "transgressing the Lord's *precepts*." *precept*. Baker.

Strype, line 22, "to the *utmost* of my power." *uttermost*. Baker.

Strype's copy is taken from Petyt's MSS., Baker's from MS. Tho. Smith, num. 97, among collections from Mr. Wm. Bedford's (which, if I rightly remember, were once Hearne's,) MSS.

I am, &c.,

St. John's College, July 10, 1849.

J. E. B. MAYOR.

P.S.—I take this occasion (to adopt a favourite phrase and practice of Baker's) to "do right" to Strype. Sir Henry Ellis has not remarked that Strype must have read the letter of Morice referred to above. (See Strype's Cranmer, p. 618, Ox. 1812=427, fin.; 428, init. fol.) The third article of the second of the papers relating to Cranmer, given above, is also to be found in Strype's Cranmer, (p. 633=441.)

The book of Bishop Fisher, of which I spoke in a note above, is thus headed, (Baker, MSS., xxxv. p. 253,) "Joh. Roffens Licitum fuisse Matrimonium Hen. 8. cum Catharina Relicta Fratris sui Arthuri.

[N.B. Titulus est aliâ manu, non originali.]"—At the end is the following note, (p. 296.) "Ex MS^o Codice Joannis nuper Epī Eliensis, modo in Bibliothecâ publicâ Acad. Cant. Continet autem Paginas 88 in quarto, numeratis Paginis duabus vacuis."

The only copy of the edition printed at Alcalá, 1530, that I have seen a notice of, is that bought by Mr. Heber for 25*l.* at the sale, in 1824, of Don Jos Antonio Conde's library. In the catalogue of Mr. Heber's library it is called "one of the Rarest Tracts in English History." (Heber's Catal., part i. no. 2770. Lowndes, Bibliogr. Man. v. Fisher. Singer's Cavendish, 2nd edit. p. 504.)

[*Erratum*.—In the note on Burnet, vol. i. p. 85, for "A Vindication, &c., by F. D.," read "by E. D." The fault was mine and not the printer's. To the reference in the note on p. 41 of Burnet, add, vol. ii.]

DR. JAMES'S APPEAL FOR NEGLECTED LITERATURE IN THE CHURCH.

SIR,—I enclose you a transcript I have just made of a little tract, circulated by Dr. Thomas James, librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford, well known as the author or compiler of several publications in the earlier portion of the seventeenth century. The original occupies sixteen small pages, and bears no notice of date, place, or name of printer. The contents are curious; and as I recollect it is one object of the British Magazine to collect and preserve the fugitive memorials of ecclesiastical literature, I thought you might perhaps find room for its insertion. My venerable friend, the late rector of Sutton Coldfield, once took an interest in the writings of Dr. James; and though, as he

tells me, *septuagenario jam major*, he might still respond to an appeal for any particulars attainable in the life of that laborious scholar. At all events, some of your correspondents may go so far as to state more accurately than I could pretend just now to ascertain, what has been done meanwhile towards a satisfactory supply of the *ten wants* expressed in the following *propositions*. I will only add, that in several passages that look as if there was a breach in the sense, I must beg your readers to trust me so far as to take for granted I have presented you with the document as originally printed, with merely the spelling and pointing corrected.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
PETER HALL.

Great Malvern, July 10, 1849

THE HUMBLE AND EARNEST REQUEST OF THOMAS JAMES, DOCTOR OF DIVINITY, AND SUB-DEAN OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF WELLS, to the *Church of England*, for, and in the behalf of, Books touching Religion.

1. That the *Latin Fathers'* works (whereof divers are already done) the books of *Councils*, and the body of the *Canon Law*, may be diligently reviewed, and compared with the best *manuscripts*; and the collections, and needful observations therefrom arising, printed, together with the pieces and fragments of the *Fathers'* works, if any shall be found.

2. That the *Latin translation* of the *Greek Fathers* may be collated by able and fit persons, by reason of divers *Christophersons* and Jesuits that have too much abused the ignorant of the tongue.

3. That the *Indices Expurgatorii* may be likewise well perused, all of them, as many as can be gotten; the places forbidden to be transcribed, of which labour there is a third part at the least already taken either by me or my procurement.

4. That *Lyra* and the *Gloss*, the great *Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum*, *Platina*, *Cajetan*, *Alphonsus de Castro*, and sundry others of all sorts of authors, may be compared with the former *editions* and *manuscripts* (if need be,) to meet with their secret *Indices Expurgatorii*; which are the more dangerous, because they print, and leave out, what they list, at pleasure, and yet make no words of it, neither have any commission known for to do it.

5. That the *authors of the middle age* that wrote in the defence of that religion which is now (blessed be God) publicly established in the *Church of England*, for the substance thereof, may be faithfully transcribed, diligently collated, and distributed into volumes; whereof many may be made of orthodox writers, if not so many as of their *Bibliotheca Patrum Probabilium*: adding hereunto such writers as, being bred and brought up in the bosom of the *Roman church*, saw the disorders, discovered their abuses both in doctrine and manners, and wished almost for the same Reformation that was afterward most happily wrought and brought to pass by *Martin Luther* and his com-

panions. Of the first sort are *Wicliffe, Peacock, Gu. de S. Amore, Jo. P. Minorita, Normannus Anon, Nic. Orem*, and sundry others: of the latter kind, *Wesselus, Wiccius, P. de Alliaco, Faber, Gerson, Cusanus*, and such like.

6. That the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, compiled by *Illyricus*, may be rectified out of the originals, quoting book, and chapter, and edition, and supplied out of the unprinted *manuscripts*.

7. That out of all these an *Anti-Coccus* may be framed out of *Fathers* and *middle-aged writers*, that were in their times esteemed of the *Church of Rome*, and out of them only; nothing doubting but we shall be able to match, if not exceed, his two large volumes both in greatness and goodness; quoting, as before, precisely our editions, and doing all *fide optimâ et antiquâ*, religiously and unpartially, as becometh divines.

8. That the *supposititious and bastard works of the Fathers*, noted by Doctor *Rivet*, or Master *Cooke*, or any other, may be re-examined; their exceptions scanned or weighed with indifferency, and other reasons added to their challenge, if any shall be found.

9. That the suspected places may be viewed in the true *Fathers*, which are justly challenged of corruption, either by our own men or the adversary, with the like indifferency of minds and impartiality of judgments, being compared with the touchstone of the old *manuscripts*, and printed books, which are *quasi manuscripts*.

10thly and lastly, the *Perpetual Visibility of the Church*, more or less, and the history of the same religion that we profess, for the substance thereof, throughout all ages, may be showed to the eye; noting when those novelisms and superadditaments of the *Church of Rome* came in, as near as may be guessed; the time when, and the parties by whom, they were opposed.

All which *ten propositions* (needful and important as they are) I do willingly commend unto my dear mother the *Church of England*, and from her unto the *clergy and gentry* of this land, to be proceeded in, as they shall see it most expedient for the common good; promising nothing but my pains to be commanded in these public services. And I make no doubt (if God will) but that all this may be effected within some few years, if the Almighty give grace; the rich, whom God hath blessed with this worldly substance, encouragement; and the rest, their prayers. Of the likelihood hereof I am the rather persuaded, because already, by my own means, and small endeavours, there is almost a fourth part of the work done in all these *ten articles*. If one alone may do so much within such a time, what may a dozen able scholars (such as I know, and could name) do, within five, six, seven, or eight years; which is the utmost in my conjecture?

For the raising of the charges, which will amount to 3000*l.* stock, or 300*l.* a year, at the least; (so much shall well content both me and them, that shall be employed in this happy work; though if more be offered we know well how to use and employ it to the public benefit:) and of raising such a sum as this I doubt not, if some one of the *clergy* or *laity* shall not take upon him the whole charge, as many in this kingdom are (thanks be to God!) able, and would be willing, if they

either knew of the good that is likely to come unto the Church, or the honour unto themselves; and chiefly how much this business doth concern the glory of God, the assuring of the most material points controverted, whiles there are daily questions made, and doubts arising, either about the editions, readings, translations, corruptions of whole books in pseudepigraphous writers, or of divers hundreds of places in the true books; all which difficulties will easily be avoided (as I trust) by this one work being once well done. But that such a stock, or annual rent, may be made, I doubt not, but am somewhat confident, when I see how fruitful our religion hath been of good works, and how many *Suttons* and *Bodleys*, and other godly men, it hath yielded, (no nation more;) and herein no city, (I except not *Rome* herself,) without the hope of pardon, guile of confessors, and fear of purgatory, is able to match or equalize, much less to surpass or exceed, our famous city of *London* in the right use and end of giving, as tokens of our faith, not as the means of our salvation. What shall I speak of the sages of our *law* or *inns of court*? But my desire is, and proposal shall be, to offer this great honour first unto the *clergy* of this land. The *Popish clergy* in *France*, have (as I am informed) at their own charges printed the *Greek Fathers*; and shall not we be provoked to do the like for the *Latin*; and many things else that impart the weal-public of learning? Twelve pound out of every *diocese*, one with another, from the *cathedral churches*, the rev. *bishops* and *clergy*, will make up the sum. Or if every one of the *clergy* of this famous church will either give yearly twelve pence, or but lend two shillings till anything be printed, he shall have the same again with thanks (if it be demanded) deducted out of the book when anything shall be printed; I mean this twelve pence, or two shillings of every hundred pounds, they making their own estimates of their livings, and paying the same half-yearly to the *register* of every *diocese*. But my intent is to desire, and not to prescribe unto my *superiors*, who know better than I how to manage so weighty and important a business.

Resting theirs

wholly to command,

T. I. S. T. P. B. P. N.*

* (*That is, THOMAS JAMES, SANCT. THEOL. PROF. BONO PUBLICO NATUS.*)

I approve of the things here projected, and wish with all my heart they may take good effect:—

JO. PRIDEAUX, Vicecanc. S. T. D. Prof. Reg. Theol.

ROD. KETTEL, Preses. Christi Prebend.

LEON. HUTTON, Œdis Christi Prebend.

GUIL. LANGTON, Coll. Magd. Preses.

SEBASTIANUS BENEFIELD, Lecturæ Margariticæ Professor.

JO. PARKEHURST, Magister Coll. Ball.

JO. RAULENSEN, Principalis Aulæ S. Edmundi.

JO. WILKINSON, Aulæ Magd. Præp.

GUIL. PEIRS, Decanus Petriburgensis.

SAM. FELL, *Œdis Christi Præbend.*

THO. ILES, *Aulæ Cervinæ Principalis.*

RIC. ASTELEY, *Custos Coll. Omnium Animarum.*

ROB. PINCK, *Novi Coll. Custos.*

GU. SMYTH, *Coll. Wadham Guard.*

JO. TOLSON, *Coll. Oriel, Præpositus.*

PAULUS HOOD, *Coll. Lincoln, Rector.*

GUIL. JUXON, *Coll. D. Jo. Præses.*

ORIGEN ON THE MILLENNIUM.

REV. SIR,—I have now brought forwards what seem to myself conclusive proofs, that the doctrine concerning the Millennium and the events which will precede and accompany that period, as taught by the Fathers of the primitive church, is distinctly revealed in the Scriptures, both of the Old and of the New Testament, taken in their self-evident and grammatical meaning; and that it receives additional confirmation from the manner in which the Apostles quote and apply the words of the prophets.

I have shown, by quotations at considerable length, that this doctrine was taught in the most explicit manner by three of the most important of the early Fathers, St. Justin Martyr, St. Irenæus, and Tertullian; as it was by Lactantius at a later date. Extracts have been given also from St. Hippolytus, St. Cyprian, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and from fragments yet remaining of the works of Victorinus and St. Methodius, which show that they held in substance the same doctrine; in addition to whom, we have the authority of St. Jerome for reckoning the name of Sulpicius Severus, and there appear to be some grounds for including St. Melito of Sardis, St. Martin of Tours, and St. Gregory of Nyssa among the same class.

It is necessary further to bear in mind that this doctrine is not taught by the early Fathers as a notion which they had themselves formed by their own private judgment in their study of the Scriptures; but that it is delivered by them as a traditionary belief which they had received from the Apostles—St. John being mentioned in particular, and his immediate disciples—and that it is stated by them to have been the universal belief among all orthodox persons in those times. To use the words of Dr. Thomas Burnet, (*Sacred Theory of the Earth*, Book iv. § 6,) “the millenary doctrine was orthodox and Catholic in those early days; for these authors do not set it down as a private opinion of their own, but as a Christian doctrine or an Apostolical tradition.” One pre-eminently qualified to give an authoritative judgment on such a subject, as being well known never to speak decisively without competent information and careful research, has stated that, “as far as he can find, Chiliasm was the common belief of the Christian church until the middle of the third century.” (*Eruvin*, Essay VII. p. 178.) He observes again (p. 189,) “As far as I know, no one (except such as were notoriously out of the pale of the church) had impugned the doctrine of the Millennium as held by

Justin, or taught any doctrine contrary to it. I have taken some pains to become acquainted with the opinions of the writers of those times; and I am not aware of a single expression in the work of any Christian writer before, or for a century after, the time when Justin wrote, from which we could infer that he was *not* a millenarian." "There is not extant either the writing, name, or memory of any person that contested this doctrine in the first or second century," remarks Dr. T. Burnet; "I say, that called in question this millenary doctrine proposed after a Christian manner, unless such hereticks as denied the resurrection wholly, or such Christians as denied the divine authority of the Apocalypse," (Sacred Theory in ubi sup.) To the same purport it is stated by Mede, that "in those times it seems to have been denied chiefly, if not solely, by the heretics whom I have mentioned, (i. e., the Basilidians, Valentinians, Marcionites, &c.,) and that for a particular reason, namely, lest if they received this doctrine, they should also be obliged to confess the resurrection of the flesh, and that the God of the law and of the prophets was the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." (Mede's Works, Book iii. Comment. Apoc. Pars 11. "Justini Martyris . . . locus insignis . . . emendatus, &c." p. 665, Note a.)

Further, if the testimony of Gelasius of Cyzicum is to be regarded as trustworthy in this particular, (and it seems to have been so regarded by Mede,) the substance of this doctrine has the support of a statement contained in the acts of the Council of Nice, which I gave in a former letter, inserted by you in the British Magazine for November, 1846.

As far as our own church is concerned, though, as I showed in the same letter, the millenarian doctrine was condemned in the 41st of the Articles of 1552, evidently with a reference to the gross corruption and perversion of it which was made by the turbulent fanatics of Germany, yet it is well known that this Article was afterwards withdrawn; and the extract from the Catechism set forth by the authority of King Edward VI., ascribed by Burnet to Archbishop Cranmer, shows very distinctly that the sentiments of the Reformers on this subject agreed much more nearly with the doctrine of the primitive church than with that of those who now oppose it. An extract from Bradford, which I gave in a former letter, (British Magazine, August, 1846,) is to the same purport. Extracts have also been given in the course of these letters from the works of Leslie, Mede, Bishop Horsley, Dr. Wells, and Bishop Van Mildert, (authors whose extensive learning and sound orthodoxy no one, I presume, will venture to question,) which show that they were defenders of the primitive doctrine on this point; and a short passage which I quoted, in a letter contained in the British Magazine for November, 1845, seems to give some ground for believing that we may add the important name of Bishop Butler to their number. (See Analogy, Part ii. § 7.) A passage which I quoted from Dr. Grabe's Spicilegium, in one of the letters above-mentioned, and still more, the replies given by him to the arguments of Feuardent in his notes on St. Irenæus, show that the bias of his judgment was at all events favourable to the doctrine taught by that Father; and the same may apparently be said of the author of the

elaborate note so often referred to by me in Mr. Dodgson's translation of Tertullian.

I recapitulate these points because it still seems the fashion with some to decry this doctrine as something peculiarly wild and extravagant, and to insinuate that it has been held only by persons of weak judgment, shallow learning, and unsound faith. Now no considerate person will bring any of these charges against the divines above named, or against such defenders of the same doctrine in these days as Dr. Maitland, Dr. Todd, and Mr. Greswell; and if any one should venture to cast such an imputation upon them, he will not find any one of competent information or understanding disposed to listen to him. The principal argument which opponents of the doctrine usually have recourse to is, that fathers of considerable eminence in *later* ages opposed the doctrine of the earlier church on this subject, of whom the most important are Origen, St. Dionysius, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome. Even supposing that it were capable of proof that these great divines did oppose the doctrine as taught by St. Justin and St. Irenæus, surely it is directly contrary to all legitimate argument, and to the usual method of reasoning current among sound churchmen, to follow the private judgment of individual fathers, however eminent, in respect to any doctrine, rather than the collective tradition of the whole primitive church. Why is a method of reasoning, which no sound divine would allow to be correct in respect to any of the leading doctrines of Holy Scripture, to be adopted as the one to be followed in this single case? and why is Tertullian's canon, "*id verius quod prius, &c.*," (allowed to be irrefragable on every other point,) to be set aside only in this particular instance?

It is important, however, to inquire what was really the nature and what the amount of the opposition which the writers just mentioned gave to the millenarian doctrine, and if the result of such inquiry be the discovery that their opposition was considerably qualified by other statements found in their writings elsewhere, and that the opposition was in reality given to what their expressions prove to have been a very different form of doctrine from that taught by the primitive fathers, the whole argument which has been raised therefrom against the early doctrine, will be proved to be utterly worthless and irrelevant.

I will at present confine myself to the consideration of Origen's opposition to the doctrine in question. The following passage is quoted by Mr. Greswell (*Exposition of the Parables*, vol. i. p. 329) from his work *De Principiis*.

"Some persons, therefore, refusing perhaps to be at the pains of understanding, and attaining to a certain superficial knowledge of the letter of the law, and somehow or other indulging rather their own humour and inclination (*than anything else*,) being disciples of the letter only, think that they are to look for the fulfilment of the promises hereafter in bodily pleasure and luxurious enjoyment; and for that reason more particularly, they long for the possession again, after the resurrection, of such fleshly members as shall never want the power of eating and drinking and of doing everything belonging to

flesh and blood—not following the opinion of St. Paul concerning the resurrection of a spiritual body.

“Agreeably to such principles they add that there will be covenants of marriage and begettings of children *even after the resurrection, &c.*”

On this Dr. Pusey has justly remarked, that it is “a manifest misconception of the doctrine, if he means to speak of that held in the church,” (Note in Mr. Dodgson’s *Tertullian*, p. 126.) I need only refer to the extracts given in my former letters from the early fathers, and to the extract which I produced from Mede in reference to a passage in Lactantius, in order to prove that Dr. Pusey’s judgment on this point is strictly just and accurate.

Origen’s expressions, therefore, above given, must either be understood to have proceeded from a misapprehension of the primitive doctrine, or to have been designed to be applied to some subsequent corruption of it. That the latter is not improbable would appear from other passages in his works, where he gives utterance to sentiments which concede some of the most important points maintained by the defenders of the primitive doctrine.

Thus in Mede’s *Paraphrase and Exposition of S. Peter, Ep. 11, c. 3. Appendix*, (Works, vol. ii. Book iii. p. 766,) we find the following:—

Origen against Celsus, Book iii. “We do not deny *the purifying fire*, and the destruction of the world, with a view to the abolition of wickedness and *the renovation of all things.*”

Again, in his 13th homily on Jeremiah. “If any one has preserved the washing of the Holy Spirit (that is, as he had intimated a little before, he who is holy, and after believing and subjection to the government of God, has not turned again to wickedness, he who has not committed mortal sin) he *has a share in the first resurrection.* But if any one is saved in the second resurrection, that is the sinner who needs the baptism of fire, &c. (He alludes, observes Mede, to Matth. iii. 11.) Wherefore, since we see that such things await us after death, diligently reciting the Scriptures together, let us lay them up in our hearts, and endeavour to live according to their precepts; so that before the day of our departure, if it be possible, being cleansed from the defilements of our sins [so, says Mede, he styles lesser offences, or the desires of the soul, as shortly before] we may be able to be caught up with the saints in Christ Jesus, [does not he here, says Mede, allude to 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17?] whose is the glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.”

Mede subjoins in a note, “Although I have no doubt but that Jerome (who in his prologue to Origen’s homilies on Ezekiel, confesses that he had translated fourteen homilies of Origen on Jeremiah) has here in some degree altered and softened away the sentiments of Origen, yet sufficient still remains to prove that Origen held opinions conformable to those of the millenarians.”

The opposition of Origen to the millenarian doctrine is seen, therefore, to have been only partial, and to have been made against either a misconception or a corruption of the primitive doctrine. The first extract given above shows, moreover, that such opposition as he did

give to it arose from his having adopted the allegorizing method of interpreting the Scriptures, which the author of *Eruvin* remarks, "was first applied to the Bible by the Hellenizing Jews, but in its origin was purely heathen, and was borrowed by the Jews from the school of Plato" (p. 178); by which he very justly observes, men were "commonly led to treat the plain narratives, precepts, and predictions of Scripture with contempt while . . . amused with puerile conceits framed on the model of Pagan philosophy" (p. 177). I do not know what can be advanced on this subject more to the purpose than the following words of Mosheim, which I quoted in a former letter. "Origen, unquestionably, stands at the head of the interpreters of the Bible in this (the third) century. But, with pain it must be added, he was first among those who have found in the Scriptures a secure retreat for all errors and idle fancies. He . . . taught that the words in many parts of the Bible convey no meaning at all; and in some places where he acknowledged there was some meaning in the words, he maintained that, under the things there expressed, there was contained a hidden and concealed sense which was much to be preferred to the literal meaning of the words. And this hidden sense it is that he searches after in his commentaries, ingeniously indeed, but perversely, and generally to the entire neglect and contempt of the literal meaning." (Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.*, Soames's Transl. Book i. Cent. iii. Part ii. Ch. iii. § 5, p. 240.) The ablest writer of the present day on ecclesiastical history and on the interpretation of the unfulfilled prophecies, has very justly remarked, in respect to this allegorizing system, that "it leads men to tamper with the Word of God; and either by addition, suppression, or some tortuous proceeding or other, to make it agree with their imagination." . . . "Those who habitually employ their minds in the study and generation of what is imaginary, are but too likely to lose sight of the real nature and just value of truth; and when they come to anything like argument they betray the oddest notions imaginable. Precedent does for proof, and anything does for precedent. If they cannot find just what they want, it is quite, or seems to be quite enough for them that there is something like it somewhere." (A Letter to a friend on the Tract for the Times, number 89, by the Rev. S. R. Maitland, pp. 10—17.) Illustrations of the truth of these remarks may be found in great abundance in modern commentaries on the Apocalypse and other unfulfilled prophecies. The same pernicious mode of interpretation has been employed to maintain the grossest corruptions of Romish developments, and the wildest heresies of German rationalism.

It appears, therefore, that what Origen opposed was either a misconception or a corruption of the primitive doctrine concerning the Millennium; that some of the principal points of that doctrine were still held and taught by him; and that the source of his opposition to it is to be found in the facts, that "it contravened some of his opinions" (Soames's Mosheim, vol. i. p. 247), and that he had adopted a system of interpretation of the most pernicious tendency, in respect to which I cannot conclude these remarks more appropriately than in the wise and forcible words of him, who has obtained by universal

consent the appellation of the *judicious* Hooker; "I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that, where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchemy doth or would do the substance of metals; maketh of anything what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing." (Eccl. Polity, Book v. Ch. lix. § 2, Keble's edition).

I remain, Rev. Sir, very respectfully yours,

M. N. D.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY'S EDITION OF STRYPE'S CRANMER.

MY DEAR SIR,—Dr. Jenkyns (Cranmer's Remains, pref. p. cxix. note g.) states that Balliol College Library possesses a copy of Strype's Cranmer, with MS. notes in the author's hand. Not a single notice from these notes is to be found in the first volume of the Ecclesiastical History Society's edition of that work; (the second volume and the supplement to the first, I have not by me to consult.) Are we to conclude that it was "impossible" for the editor to obtain permission for their publication? Or are they to appear with Wharton's at the end of the third volume?

The letter of Ralph Morice, which I have already mentioned, is, I find, quoted by Strype, (p. 90, fol. = p. 206 Eccl. Hist. Soc. ed.) and the date 1565 is assigned to it; the editor also, in a note, assigns the same date, and gives a correct reference to the original among the Harl. MSS., but does not mention that the letter was printed in 1843 by Sir Henry Ellis. I suppose that Strype assigned the date from internal evidence, for there is no date of the year in Sir Henry Ellis's edition.

I do not remember to have seen a notice of these omissions in the remarks of Dr. Maitland, or any other critic that I have met with, upon the Society's operations; if they have not been noticed you may perhaps think it worth while to direct attention to them.

I am, very truly yours,

J. E. B. MAYOR.

P.S.—I had scarcely folded up this note when I found myself obliged to open it again. In vol. i. p. 12 of the new edition of Strype, the editor says (note k) that Strype and Collier entitle Pole's book "*De unione Ecclesiasticâ*;" and Burnet, "*de Unitate Eccl.*;" referring to Burnet, vol. i. p. 444, ed. 1829. That is, I suppose, p. 221, Ed. 1681. We shall see next month that Burnet made the same mistake as Strype, and that Baker corrected that mistake.

THE ATHENÆUM AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

WE noticed some months ago some able articles which had appeared in the *Athenæum*, with regard to the extraordinary performances of the so-called Ecclesiastical History Society. Viewing, as we have done all along, their proceedings as exceedingly discreditable to the theological character of the Church of England, it could not be otherwise than a matter of thankfulness that the attention of the literary public should be directed to it by a periodical of such extensive circulation, and conducted with so much ability, as the *Athenæum*. And we felt this the more, because we were perfectly aware that Dr. Maitland, so far from having exhausted the materials of criticism which were in his hands, had almost entirely confined himself in the letters we published, to one or two features in the Society's edition of Cranmer. We were glad, therefore, to find that from another quarter, and by a writer who evidently understood what he was about, (and we knew nothing more of him) this new edition was likely to receive an exposure in some degree proportioned to its deserts. There are few undertakings which would be more serviceable to the Church of England than a new edition of Strype, provided always that the task was confided to persons really competent to the task, with habits of patient investigation, a taste for historical research, a real love of truth, a familiarity with the sources of information, and leisure to devote to the examination of the public libraries and the collation of manuscripts and printed documents. Both these points,—the value of Strype's works, and the need there is for such editorial labour and judgment as this, to make them as valuable as they might be made, are the subject of some very able remarks in an article which appeared in a recent number of the *Athenæum*. The writer says,

“The works of Strype have a value in the historical literature of England which it is not easy to over-estimate. Written in a style that does not pretend to elegance, or even to accuracy—diffuse, and yet ambiguous—abounding in reflections which seldom soar beyond the height of commonplace, and occasionally disfigured by prejudice and servility—these voluminous writings have, nevertheless, not only survived the neglect with which they were received at first, but have come to be considered as among the best contributions to modern history which were made during the eighteenth century. It is not difficult to discover the causes upon which this reversal of the judgment of Strype's contemporaries is founded. They are the same on which all ultimate judgments are based. It has been established that, in spite of his rough and unattractive style, Strype possessed two inestimable qualifications. In the first place, ‘as this world goes’ he

was honest—more honest than was pleasing to his niggardly ecclesiastical patrons.* He never garbled nor willingly misstated the contents of his documents; and when he took courage to display his little prejudices, he did so in a way not only totally free from Jesuitry, but with a pretty simplicity that made them perfectly harmless. The veriest tyro can perceive the truth under the flimsy ‘Church and King’ trappings occasionally thrown over it by Strype. Strype’s second admirable qualification was his industry. With a plodding perseverance which betrays his German origin,† he passes on, in his narrative, from year to year; giving chapter and verse of every dry detail,—telling the same story over and over again,—and fortifying every minute particular with proofs and references, and original documents, all collected with infinite pains, and sometimes printed in the text, sometimes in an appendix, and not unfrequently in both. It is in these proofs and documents that the value of Strype’s work is mainly to be found. Dry and heavy as his papers occasionally are, they are indispensable as materials for our history from the rise of the Reformation to the middle of the reign of Elizabeth; and the industry with which he got them together, and the fidelity with which he designed to publish them, have carried him safely over a period of neglect, and have placed him—not at the head of our historians and biographers, very far from it, but—very nearly at the head of our historical antiquaries.

“Strype’s fidelity as a publisher of historical documents has, however, been long known to be only comparative. He was more accurate than many of his contemporaries, and yet is not at all to be implicitly relied upon. Minute accuracy was not sufficiently regarded in his day,—collation was not thought of; and, although it is quite evident from Strype’s marginal notes and readings of difficult words in his MSS., that he very well understood his authorities, those same marginal notes and readings render it equally clear that he suspected his transcriber would not understand them, and that he endeavoured in that way to give him assistance. In spite of all his care a great many mistakes crept in. Sometimes they are of considerable moment, sometimes of very little; sometimes a document is almost free from error—probably Strype copied it with his own hand; sometimes words, lines, whole sentences, are omitted, as if the paper was presented to us just as it was transcribed by some careless, ignorant, or sleepy copyist.

“This defect in Strype has long been universally acknowledged; and has often occasioned uneasy feelings, and given great and sometimes very unnecessary trouble to conscientious writers, who have been obliged to use Strype’s materials as they stand published in his works. The defect would have been remedied long ago, but for the

* In Ellis’s ‘Letters of Literary Men,’ p. 271, is a letter written to Strype by desire of Archbishop Tenison, to procure him to alter what he had said of Queen Elizabeth’s inclination for some Papistical usages, because ‘the owning this much would give some advantage to the Papists.’”

† Strype’s father was a silk-throwster in Spitalfields. He was a native of Brabant, and fled to England on account of his religion.”

circumstance that some time about the end of the last century the Oxford University press took possession of these valuable works. This hybrid body—a sort of compound of learning and merchandise—has ever since carefully filled the market with a number of reprints, sufficient to supply all ordinary demand. What the University have rendered either to the public or to the memory of this Cambridge author in return for the advantage which they have received, we know not. They have changed the size of the books from folio to octavo, and have published a general index; but (with one exception) the works remain with an infinite number of—if not with all—their old inaccuracies on their heads. The University has derived an income from the books, but has not placed them on a level in point of correctness with the historical literature of the day. So far as we can judge from occasional comparison of the several editions, and so far as appears from the prefaces or advertisements of the books themselves, the Oxford reprints are mere printer's reprints, without any known editor, and without any attempt at verification of the documents.

“We have remarked that among the Oxford reprints there was one exception. It was but a partial one; but as far as it went, it was honourable to at any rate one of the parties concerned. Some seven-and-thirty years ago, a young official at the British Museum, stirred up perhaps by zeal for the credit of Alma Mater, tendered to the Oxford authorities a collation of the documents in the Appendix to Strype's Cranmer derived from the Cotton MSS. In some cases Strype's copies were found to be so inaccurate that collation was out of the question—and this young official was consequently obliged to make transcripts. His offering was accepted. It is mentioned as something very marvellous in the advertisement to the Oxford edition of Cranmer published in 1812; and has given to that edition of Cranmer, and to the subsequent Oxford editions of that same book, a value which none of the other reprints possess. The name of the young official was Henry Ellis. We are pleased to mention it in connexion with such a proof of his youthful zeal. It is, of course, the same gentleman who has now been for many years the principal librarian of the British Museum.

“One would have thought that this volunteer proof of Strype's inaccuracy would have brought home to the Oxford authorities a sense of their duty. But, no! Mr. Ellis's labours extended only, it will be remarked, to the Cotton MSS. published in the Appendix to Strype's Cranmer,—one volume out of Strype's twenty-five. That same edition of that very book was sent forth with the documents derived from other collections unverified; and we have not heard of any subsequent attempt made by the University to carry the collation farther. Movements to that end have proceeded from private persons,—accurate scholars interested in historical literature; but there has existed little probability of the sale of a better edition prompt enough to pay either editor or publisher,—and, with one partial exception, no publisher could be tempted to encounter such formidable rivals as the Oxford University press.”

We have for many years, in common with many a student, lamented the deplorable condition in which Strype has issued from the University press of Oxford. It is indeed a most discreditable work, and the University would have done far better service to the church, and have consulted far more both for their own reputation, and the interests of theology, if they had never meddled with Strype's works at all. One might have supposed, that, with the hint given by Sir Henry Ellis's collations, they would have felt bound to call in their edition, and to employ competent persons to revise the whole. But the subject is too painful to bear further enlargement.

The article in the *Athenæum* from which we have made the foregoing quotation, is a review of the first and second volumes of the Ecclesiastical History Society's edition of Strype. It is altogether as complete an exposure of literary imposture (for there is no other name which can describe it) as has appeared for a long time, and ought, if there be any persons who exercise any influence in the proceedings of that incomprehensible Society, to lead to a total change in the governing and responsible body; if, indeed, the Society possesses any set of persons who are considered responsible for its management, or have any power entrusted to them which gives them any right to control the proceedings of the two or three individuals who are generally believed to have the whole of its affairs at their own disposal.

The observations of the writer in the *Athenæum* on their edition of the Memorials of Cranmer are so just, and the facts he discloses are so extraordinary, that although we take for granted they have already been seen by a large number of our readers, yet for the sake of those who may not have had an opportunity of reading them in the *Athenæum*, as well as from a wish to enable our readers to refer hereafter to everything of moment which has appeared on the subject of these unparalleled proceedings, we take the liberty to transcribe his very able exposure of this affair.

“When the Ecclesiastical History Society came forth in *pontificalibus*, and snuffing out all other pretensions announced its intention to undertake a new edition of Strype, we were amongst those who were rather pleased that it should do so. We thought that a great body, supported by a list of bishops which defied all ordinary numeration, would be better able than any single editor, or single publisher, to cope with the Oxford press; and when we considered in what a variety of quarters Strype's authorities and documents were scattered, we supposed that the influence or authority of a body which more resembled a meeting of the two Houses of Convocation than anything else that has appeared in our days, would be sure to unlock all repositories, and present us with a really excellent edition of Strype. We were a little puzzled when it was announced that the new edition

was to be begun with the 'Memorials of Cranmer.' It was the work which, having already been in part collated by Sir Henry Ellis, was exactly the least needed. Besides, it seemed unwise in an infant society to begin with a work in two volumes. It is well known that some of Strype's single volumes are most curiously incorrect. A single volume would have been a sufficient experiment, a prudent trial of the editor, and more consistent with the uncertainty which hangs over every new association. The next news that reached us was, that the new edition of Cranmer was to be in three volumes. The Oxford edition is in two. Here again we were puzzled. The advance from two volumes to three, if carried throughout the series, would extend Strype's 25 octavos to 33; would entail upon the Society the expense of binding and delivering perhaps 40,000 additional volumes, besides extra editorial remuneration and very many other incidental expenses. All this seemed to indicate that the right reverend gentlemen who were at the head of the Society were not paying much attention to its affairs; but there were no general meetings, no opportunities afforded of asking the managers any questions,—so we paid our subscriptions and awaited the result. That result is now before us. We have two volumes out of the three which are to comprise the new edition of Cranmer. They abound in foot-notes and references, respecting which a great deal might be said—not entirely in their praise; but we will consider at this time that which must be the most important question connected with every new edition of Strype. Have the documents been collated?

“The text is a reprint of Strype's original edition of 1694, the corrections being given in foot-notes. In the case of documents surely this is very ridiculous. There may be a difficulty about altering the text of an original composition; but when an old editor prints a document, and makes a verbal blunder in it, why not correct the blunder at once in the text? Why preserve the blunder and print the correction in a foot-note? To do so may give the book an appearance of extreme accuracy—it may display the arduous labours of the editor; but it entails considerable additional expense in printing, is confusing to the reader, and is a roundabout ridiculous way of arriving at a very simple end. This is the more absurd if we consider what edition of Strype is here reprinted. It is Strype's original edition of 1694,—not that corrected by Mr. Ellis in 1812. So that we have in the text a resuscitation of all those errors which Mr. Ellis corrected more than thirty years ago! All of them are here brought up again bodily to the light, enshrined in modern type on modern paper, in order that they may be duly exposed and corrected in the notes. Perhaps it may be thought that there might be some copyright difficulty in printing Mr. Ellis's text. There would have been no difficulty under any circumstances, in printing a text which has been the result of a fair and honest collation, (which would have been the same as Mr. Ellis's, although not copied from his); but the bare imagination of any such possible difficulty is utterly done away with in this case, for this edition is printed by the Oxford University Press. The same persons who, thirty-seven years ago, put forth a corrected text,

which they have reprinted several times since, now, by an arrangement with the Ecclesiastical History Society, go back again to that identical old text of the edition of 1694, which Mr. Ellis found in some places to be so full of blunders that he was unable to collate it! This does not seem to be very wise; but perhaps it will be thought that there is some explanation of it offered by the Ecclesiastical History Society—some reason assigned by them why they did not avail themselves of the corrected text as far as it went. Not a word. There is no mention of the fact of there being a corrected text—no kindly allusion to the preceding labourer in the same field. It would seem as if Mr. Ellis's collations were utterly unknown to all the persons concerned in this new edition from the text of 1694.

“All this may be very foolish and very ungracious: but after all the main question again recurs. Is the text corrected? Has it been collated? The editor states as follows:—‘The documents contained in the edition of A.D. 1694 have also been verified as far as it has been possible, and more correct references added wherever it appeared needful.’—(Preface of the Editor to Vol. I. p. viii.) And, that there may be no doubt as to the meaning of the word ‘verified,’ the editor ostentatiously (and somewhat ignorantly) vouches ‘Cott. MSS.’ many more than 100 times in the course of the work as his authority for corrections of the text of Strype’s documents. Our readers are aware that it was made apparent some time ago, that, in spite of the asserted verification, the Cranmer Register at Lambeth had not been collated—and that an apology or excuse for the editor has been published on that score; but it occurred to us that, notwithstanding that defect—which is of far greater moment than we at first thought—all necessary trouble might have been taken with the rest of the book. We determined to ascertain whether that was the fact or not. Our readers shall judge of the result. We will take our examples from one single Cotton MS., Cleopatra, E. v.—and exhibit a selection of a few of the variations between the readings of the ‘verified’ text and that one MS. in parallel columns.

As Printed.

As in the MS.

Vol. I. p. 131.

‘which remaineth,’ in the text; corrected in a note *‘that remaineth.’*
Cott. MSS.

which remaineth.

£1000.

ten thousand pound.

p. 132.

lords of Canterbury.

lord of Canterbury.

p. 342.

I have had . . trouble . . with others
in like matters: and *as* they say.

I have had . . trouble . . with other
in like matter, and they say.

the New Testament . . *shall* go forth.

the New Testament . . *should* go forth.

But now it may be done.

For now it may be done.

such that *have* their abiding.

such that *hath* their abiding.

As Printed.

Gunnell Hall.

[no signature.]

p. 392.

realm. I would fain.

should gender in many of the people's hearts.

for *so* he can get none answer.

not . . trouble my lord deputy.

T. Cantuariensis.

[a form of signature never appended, we believe, by the Archbishop to an English letter.]

p. 394.

neither good paper, letters, ink.

at their pleasures.

more true than it is.

them that hath *made* both sore trouble.

p. 402.

"What is [*an*] *Apostle*" saith he, "what is Paul."

Verbo suo secreta potestate convertit.

p. 403.

It is not . . the priest that worketh this *work nor* bringeth Christ out of Heaven.

he scorneth the ministration of the priest, *saith* that he so depraveth *his* very Lord.

p. 404.

If they will not hear *nor* believe.

Chrysostom . . teacheth *even* Christian men.

p. 411.

foreign parts.

and shall have license.

any book of Scripture.

anabaptists and *other* sacramentaries.

p. 412.

dispute upon the said blessed sacrament *as of* the mystery thereof.

their liberties and privileges in their schools.

many *brookd* divers . . ceremonies.

p. 413.

old custom of the realm.

As in the MS.

Gunwell [i. e. Gonville] Hall.

[signed] Ri. Norwic.

realm, *and* I would fain.

shall gender in many of the people's hearts.

for he can get none answer.

not . . trouble my *said* lord deputy.

T. Cantuarien.

neither good paper, letter, ink.

at their pleasure.

more truer than it is.

them that hath *had* both sore trouble.

"What is *Apollo*?" saith he, "what is Paul?"

verbi sui secreta potestate convertit.

It is not . . the priest that worketh this *thing, or* bringeth Christ out of Heaven.

he scorneth the ministration of the priest, *sith* that he so depraveth *the* very Lord.

If they will not hear *and* believe.

Chrysostom teacheth *every* Christian man.

outward parts.

they shall have license.

any books of Scripture.

anabaptists and sacramentaries.

dispute upon the said blessed sacrament *and* of the mystery thereof.

their liberty and privilege in their schools.

many *break* divers . . ceremonies.

old customs of the realm.

As Printed.

laucful ceremonies.

high perfection.

minister *the* sacrament.*

p. 424.

What a sacrament is?

p. 425.

without naming the name Sacrament,
saving only Matrimony.

rather one 'Dilectio.'

1. Of Baptism.

on Scripture.

in Scripture, *though* the name.

p. 426.

nother of the two.

lacking higher power, *and* not having
a Christian king.

the prince Christianed.

of others Scripture speaketh not.

p. 427.

they *may* preach.

God in such cases assisting.

the sacrament of baptism and others.

hath [had] a *determination* from one
to another.

p. 428.

What a Sacrament is?

Sacrament by the authors is 'sacrae
rei signum.'

p. 429.

We find in old authors, Matrimony,
Holy Communion . . Orders.

that should be seven.

So although the name be not *in Scrip-
ture*, yet whether the thing be in
Scripture or no, and in what wise
spoken?

Of Eucharistia, . . receive spiritual
nourishment.

As in the MS.

laudable ceremonies.

higher perfection.

minister *any* sacrament.

What a Sacrament is *by the Scripture*

without naming the name Sacrament,
saving only *in* Matrimony.

rather *now* one 'Dilectio.'

Scripture speaketh 1. Of Baptism.

is Scripture.

in Scripture, the name.

nother *any* of the two.

lacking higher power, not having a
Christian king.

his prince Christianed.

of other Scripture speaketh not.

they *should* preach.

God in such case assisting.

the sacrament of baptism and other.

hath had a *derivation* from one to
another.

What is a Sacrament *by the Scripture?*

Sacrament by the authors is *called*
sacrae rei signum.

We find in *the* old authors, Matri-
mony, *the* Holy Communion . .
Order.

that *there* should be seven.

So *as* although the name be not, yet
whether the thing be in Scripture or
no, and in what wise spoken *of?*

Of Eucharistia . . receive *thereby*
spiritual nourishment.

" * It is no wonder that the Editor allowed these and a multitude of other blunders to stand in the paper, pp. 410—413, for he has printed a 'Cott. MSS.' reference for it, to a place where it is not. Ellis printed it very accurately from a fresh transcript in 1812."

As Printed.

Of Orders that by it grace is given to ministers effectually in preaching of the word.

[The 'Abp. Cant. Bishop David's,' in this page, should be placed against the answer to No. 5, not against the question.]

p. 430.

them that be baptized.

it was done 'chrismate.'

in the *same* confirmation.

lacking higher power *and* not having a Christian king.

if the priests *were* first.

p. 431.

only a bishop may make a priest or *no?*

bishop or priest or only appointing to *the office.*

may preach.

institute priests.

p. 432.

priests of a *realm.*

sacrament of baptism and *others.*

confess his secret *deadly* sins.

whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate? For what crime? And whether [they] only by God's law.

Bishops *or* priests.

others than bishops *and* priests.

p. 439.

fide digna testimonia accepimus.

et imprimi curandi.

p. 440.

excusum.

As in the MS.

Of Order, that by it grace is given to minister effectually in preaching the word.

them that be christened.

it was done 'cum chrismate.'

in the *said* confirmation.

lacking higher power *as is* not having a Christian king.

if the priest was first.

only a bishop may make a priest?

bishop or a priest, or only appointment.

should preach.

constitute priests.

priests of a *region.*

sacrament of baptism and *other.*

confess his secret sins.

whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate, *and* for what crimes? And whether they only *may* excommunicate by God's law?

Bishops *and* priests.

other than bishops *or* priests.

fide digno testimonio accepimus.

ac imprimi curandi.

excussum.

"Nothing can be more disagreeable either to reviewers or to readers than to be obliged to have recourse to this minute comparison of word for word and syllable with syllable. It is a mode of criticism which in itself is extremely ineffective, and which is generally misunderstood. Many of these errors (which, be it remembered, are a mere selection from a much larger number produced by the collation of only that portion of Vol. I. which is derived from a

single MS. volume,) may appear to some of our readers to be almost trifles; yet if we could exhibit their power and effect,—if we could show the manner in which the sense of important papers is utterly destroyed by them—if we could transfer to our columns two or three of the disfigured pages of this ‘verified’ edition which have passed through the process of *entire* collation, they would excite shouts of astonishment and derision. This is one of the books to which minute criticism is the only test that can be applied. If it will not stand that test, it is unnecessary. We do not want a new Strype unless it be a corrected Strype. The present editions are neither scarce nor costly,—but they are inaccurate. Is this edition more accurate than the previous ones? On the contrary:—it is less accurate. It is almost incredible, and yet it is the strict and literal fact, that the errors of this edition, a selection from which we have quoted above, stand corrected in the current Oxford reprints founded on the collations made by Mr. Ellis in 1812. The result of the labours of the present editor is therefore not even to kill again the slain—which it would have been if the verification had been actual—but to use the funds of a Society, gathered together by the allurements of a vast flock of most respectable decoy-ducks, in the production of a work in which the errors of the edition of 1694, corrected in 1812, are now restored! This is a feat in editorship—a result of verification—which to the best of our recollection is unparalleled.

“Here we would fain have come to an end; but the discovery of these gross inaccuracies raises some very serious questions. We shall not take upon ourselves to determine them; but will state a fact or two which may lead other people to come to something like a just conclusion. The questions are these:—‘Verified’ this edition clearly is not. Is the defect in verification the result of mere carelessness—carelessness gross and outrageous, but still carelessness—or of something worse? Has the editor vouched his favourite ‘Cott. MSS.’ after a hasty and superficial collation,—or *without* any collation at all? Is ‘Cott. MSS.’ as used by the editor in a way which is universally understood to mean that he actually compared his text with the authority in the Cotton MSS., a truth—or is it the reverse? The following facts bear upon the solution of these questions.

“1. We have compared many of the documents published in these volumes with the same documents as they are published in the edition of Cranmer’s works printed for the Parker Society in 1846, under the editorship of the same person who is said to have edited the books before us. We find that both works contain precisely the same errors. With one or two trifling variations, such as it is scarcely possible to avoid even in reprinting one book from another, the mistakes in both are identically the same. There are neither more errors nor fewer in the one book than in the other:—both are in every respect alike. Examples might be adduced *ad nauseam*. The same words are mistaken in the same way, omitted in the same places, inserted in the same places. The two books are so exactly alike, that if the editor of the latter one had cited ‘The Parker Cranmer’ instead of ‘Cott.

MSS., and had stated that he had 'verified' his documents, 'as far as was possible,' by that book, we could not have found any inaccuracy in the statement, however much we might have questioned the propriety of such a verification.

"2. The text of the Parker Society's 'Cranmer' is stated, like this book, to have been 'verified'—or, in the more explicit language there used, to have been 'collated with and corrected by the original MSS.'

"3. The same errors which exist in the Parker 'Cranmer' and in this book exist also, so far as the two books are alike, in Jenkyns's 'Remains of Cranmer,' published in 1833. Dr. Jenkyns was the first to gather together Cranmer's writings from a great variety of sources. He did not profess to collate, save where he published from MSS.—which he did correctly. When he found a document in Todd or Strype, or any other author generally esteemed credible, he took him as an authority, and followed his text without scruple. This was an error; but Dr. Jenkyns bestowed so much real pains and trouble in laborious research and judicious annotation, that his mistake ought to be dealt with most leniently. His book was used, both avowedly and otherwise, to a very great extent, in the compilation of the Parker 'Cranmer,'—and, with one exception, all the mistakes in the one are to be found in the other.

"4. When a document is published in the Parker 'Cranmer,' or in this book, which is not found in Jenkyns, the same similarity of mistakes is traceable between it and some other common book:—as, for instance, Anderson's 'History of the English Bible.'

"A few examples will illustrate our meaning, and enable us to conclude.

"In the first instance which we have quoted above, the MS. reads '*which* remaineth.' Strype has '*which* remaineth'—so has Ellis—so has Todd—so has every one whose works we have consulted down to 1845, when Anderson printed '*that* remaineth.' '*That*' was copied into the Parker 'Cranmer.' In the work before us, the '*which* remaineth' of Strype stands in the text; but the editor's corrective note reads, '*that* remaineth.—*Cott. MSS.*'!

"In another instance, the second which we have quoted above, Todd, Jenkyns, Anderson—all the modern editors—have '1000*l.*;' and the present editor followed them in the Parker 'Cranmer,' and again in the present work. The MS. has 'ten thousand pounde,' 'as plain as a pike-staff;' and the Strype of 1694 and Ellis read '10,000*l.*'

"One example more, and we have done. Cranmer writes a letter about a man who wanted to marry '*his* sister's daughter of his late wife.' It never seems to have occurred to any one to inquire what was the meaning of the words. Strype printed them in that way; and was followed in due time by Todd,—and, after him, by Jenkyns,—whose notes were borrowed, and his authority accepted for the Parker 'Cranmer,'—and last of all, for the present book. Now, the MS. reads, '*the* sister's daughter of his late wife.'

“After due consideration of these facts and examples—the latter of which might be extended almost to ‘crack of doom’—the questions to be determined will probably be thought to be—Whether collation in the case of the Parker ‘Cranmer’ did not mean comparison with Jenkyns, who relied upon Todd, who relied upon Strype; and with Anderson, who sometimes made little blunders on his own account?—whether ‘Cott. MSS.’ in this book does not mean ‘Parker Cranmer?’—and whether the present editor, travelling by this long road of consecutive blundering, has not been able to ‘verify,’ as he terms it, the same papers twice over, and yet to preserve the mistakes which were made by Strype in 1694? We remit these questions to the serious consideration of the patrons and members of the Ecclesiastical and Parker Societies.”

It is but justice to the able writer of this review to acknowledge with gratitude the real and great service he has done to the cause of truth. Such a transaction as he has here exposed, should be held up to reprobation and put down. When two or three persons, with no pretensions whatever to meddle with any subject connected with ecclesiastical history, are doing such damage to the literary and theological character of the English Church, and creating obstacles and discouragements to the study of ecclesiastical history, by means of funds collected under the sanction of great and respectable names, and subscribed—by some, under the promises of being supplied with really correct and valuable editions—and by others, in the hope of advancing, by their money and their names, the interests of learning and theology, it becomes the duty of every one, to whom the real state of the case is known, to give publicity to it, and by every honest and honourable method to aid in discountenancing such proceedings.

COLLEGE OF ST. COLUMBA.

[THE following communication relative to the College of St. Columba in Ireland, has been received from a gentleman who is intimately acquainted with its management and circumstances. Any contributions entrusted to the Editor of the British Magazine, he will be happy to take charge of.]

It is now upwards of six years since the College of St. Columba was founded in Ireland, under the auspices of his Grace the Archbishop of Armagh, and the patronage of many of the bishops, nobility, and gentry of both countries.

The objects of the college, which have since been steadily adhered to, amidst many difficulties and discouragements, are twofold: First, to establish in Ireland, what has long been felt

to be a great want there, a seminary of education in which the system of the great public schools of England might be carried out, and similar advantages provided for the sons of the nobility and gentry : and, secondly, to give instruction in the Irish language, in connexion with this higher class of education, to such as should be willing to receive it, with a view to their future usefulness either as landlords or as clergymen in Ireland, in their intercourse with that large portion of the peasantry who speak the Irish language only, or principally.

In connexion with both these objects, it was further resolved, that the college should be placed in the closest possible union with the church, and that the religion of the church, as it is prescribed in our Prayer-Book and taught in our formularies, should be as far as possible put into daily practice within the walls of the college.

The attempts which have hitherto been made to recommend the Protestant religion to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, however praiseworthy and well intended, have often been desultory in their character, and calculated to give wrong impressions as to the true claims and discipline of our church. When a Roman Catholic is shaken in his allegiance to his own religion, he must be in great danger of falling into serious errors, if he should have nothing set before him except the vague idea of abstract Protestantism, which he has been taught from his infancy to regard as a diseased mass of uncontrolled and discordant ever-changing, private opinions. Many, it may be feared, are in this way induced to remain dissatisfied and unwilling members of the Roman communion, or else to adopt latitudinarian opinions, because they have not learned that there are any other claims to apostolic Christianity except those of the Church of Rome ; and they can see no intermediate resting-place between the superstitions in which they have been educated, and the wildest licentiousness of private judgment.

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, to exhibit to them the religion of our church as it is prescribed by our book of Common Prayer reduced to daily practice in a collegiate society ; and to be able to show them its conformity, not only to the rules and dictates of Holy Scripture, but also to the discipline and canons of the primitive church. For this reason the college has been named from St. Columba, the founder of so many churches in Ireland, that to distinguish him from other saints of the same name, he is commonly called in Irish Columbkille, or Columba of the churches. His churches, like every educational establishment of that period, were the great centres of light and learning to the barbarous nations amidst whom they were planted ; and they continued also for some centuries after the death of their

founder, to resist with singular steadiness the growing pretensions of the Roman see, and to maintain in opposition to papal dictation the peculiarities of the Irish national church.

For these reasons the name of Columba was chosen for the college, as asserting the claims of our church to communion with the ancient saints of Ireland; as doing honour to the memory of one who renounced the dignity, which belonged to him by birthright, and devoted himself to the self-denying labours of a missionary amongst the wild and savage Picts, who was distinguished by the foundation of numerous collegiate churches in various parts of Ireland and Scotland, which although often called monasteries, partook much more nearly of the constitution and character of the colleges of the Reformation; and which were, at all events, the means of disseminating an extensive knowledge of Christianity throughout the three kingdoms, and of resisting with success for many years the growing usurpations of Rome. To the institutions of Columba, not only the principal churches of Scotland, and many once celebrated religious houses in Ireland, owed their origin, but also in the north of England, Lindisfarne, York, and Durham.

The very title, therefore, of the College of St. Columba in some degree expresses the objects of the institution. To spread religious knowledge and practice, in connexion with sound learning, by means of the collegiate discipline; and to assert the claims of our national church, to be by succession the church of Patrick, Columba, Cuthbert, and Bede, in opposition to the more modern pretensions of the see of Rome.

The founders of the college, however, have no wish to put forth this claim otherwise than by such silent assertion of it, and by the consistent practice of our own holy and apostolic faith. They do not propose to make the students of the college controversialists. The Irish language is cultivated in the college, not as an instrument of controversy, but because the knowledge of it is necessary both to the landlord, and also still more to the clergy, in all those districts of Ireland where the peasantry speak Irish vernacularly. The knowledge of it is essential in conveying instruction, not merely on the subject of religion, but upon agriculture, and every other useful topic of information, to those who can speak or understand no other language. The knowledge of it is most useful in breaking down and obliterating those distinctions of race, of native and stranger, conqueror and conquered, Gael and Saxon, which have so long been the bane of Ireland.

In attempting to establish in Ireland a seminary of education, resembling in any degree the great public schools of England, no ordinary difficulties are to be overcome. The associations with which a venerable antiquity has hallowed the ancient seats of

learning in this country, cannot of course be created for a new institution. But no expense has been spared to connect with the college such elevating associations as it was possible to create; to surround its inmates with all the comforts and advantages of a collegiate society; to hallow their hours of study and devotion; to diversify their employments and amusements, and as far as possible to make the welfare and prosperity of the college an object of interest to all its inmates, that in after-life they may look back to the time spent within its walls with pride and pleasure.

The college has hitherto been situated in the County Meath, at a distance of about three-and-twenty miles from Dublin, in the mansion-house of Lord Boyne, which was temporarily rented for the purpose. But difficulties having arisen respecting a permanent lease of that mansion, and the distance from Dublin having been found by experience to be attended with some disadvantages, a house with about fifty English acres of land was purchased at the end of last year, in a most healthful and beautiful situation in the Dublin mountains, five or six miles distant from the metropolis.

The new house, however, was too small for the accommodation of the college, and it has been necessary to enlarge it by building a dormitory, a school-room, and a chapel. The two former buildings are now nearly completed, and will be ready for the reception of the college in September, when it is proposed to commence business in the new and permanent residence. But want of funds has prevented the erection of a chapel; and some temporary arrangement must therefore be made, by fitting up one of the parlours of the house for divine service, unless a sum of money sufficient for the purpose can be procured from the benevolence of the friends to this undertaking. The college is already in possession of many of the more costly necessities for fitting up a chapel; such as stalls, seats, organ, and bell.

The want of a suitable chapel on the opening of the college at its new abode will be a very serious evil, and must necessarily interfere greatly with the efficient carrying into effect of its objects. The regular daily service has hitherto had a most important effect in raising the tone of the whole body, teachers as well as students, above the level of an ordinary school. It has imparted to the institution a strictly religious and ecclesiastical character; and has given a most wholesome stimulus to the practice of psalmody and church music, the study of which has hitherto been cultivated in the college with great success. If it should become necessary to employ one of the ordinary rooms of the house as a place of worship, the effect of the chapel services will be greatly diminished.

Besides the necessity of obtaining assistance towards the building of a suitable chapel, the great expenses which the founders have recently incurred in the purchase of the house and lands, the erection of the new buildings, and the removal of so large an establishment, have of course greatly exhausted their available funds, and render it essential that an appeal should be made to the friends of the undertaking for the means necessary for carrying on the institution, and for its permanent endowment.

The circumstances of Ireland at the present moment are unfortunately extremely adverse to the success of such an undertaking. The nobility and gentry are impoverished by the great depreciation that has taken place in the value of all landed property; and what is perhaps worse, they are disheartened and discouraged by the great uncertainty that hangs over the security of that portion of their incomes which remains. This latter remark applies with peculiar force to the clergy. Although they are compelled by their professional duties to be ever present with the poor, and so are induced by their natural feelings to contribute voluntarily more largely than any other class of society to the relief of the necessity that surrounds them, they are nevertheless taxed by law with poors'-rates, more heavily than other landowners, and this taxation in many cases deprives them of the means of giving a liberal education to their children: whilst every year attempts are made in Parliament, by the enemies of the church, to confiscate still more of their property, and reduce them to absolute poverty, or dependence on state bounty. All these things throw an uncertainty and an insecurity over every species of property in Ireland, which must necessarily act unfavourably upon an attempt to establish such an institution as the College of St. Columba.

These peculiar circumstances, however, it is to be hoped, will not be permanent; but in the meantime, they form a strong motive to induce the friends of the church in this country, who are blessed with the means, to come forward and contribute to the support of the college, until it obtain such a stability as to be able to support itself. The Irish clergy and gentry will now be unable to send their sons for education to England, as they have hitherto done: they will be compelled, therefore, to give them a very inferior education, and in some instances, perhaps, will be unable to give them any education at all. In Ireland there are but few educational institutions of the higher class, to which a parent can send his son with full confidence. The endowed school of Armagh, which has recently been placed under an eminent master, and admirably fitted up by the munificence of his Grace the Lord Primate, is a distinguished exception; and it is a remarkable testimony to the excellence of the system established at St. Columba's, that the experienced and able Master of Armagh

school, after an examination of every similar establishment, made St. Columba's his model in the arrangement of his dormitories, and in many other details introduced on the opening of that establishment under his superintendence. But there is ample room in Ireland for two, and more than two, such schools: and it is hoped the time is not far distant, when the Irish gentry will begin to see more fully than they have hitherto done, the great importance of a sound education, and will encourage and value the existence of such institutions amongst them. In Ireland it has been too much the habit to depend for educational institutions or endowments upon government or parliament; but it is well known that everything that is now done for education in Ireland by the state, or under the control of the state, is latitudinarian in its character. The new colleges, which are soon to be opened, with the aid of a Parliamentary grant, are essentially latitudinarian in their constitution. Religious instruction is only permitted, not provided for or enforced, by the regulations of the colleges. It is left altogether to voluntary exertions; and must be secured by endowments collected by each sect or denomination, and established in connexion with the colleges as a separate foundation. These institutions are moreover evidently intended more for the children of Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, than for the children of churchmen; and their principals have been selected by government exclusively from the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian parties. It is obvious, therefore, that no churchman can send his son to such institutions, with any confidence or security to his religious principles; and it becomes of the utmost moment to establish and sustain in Ireland a sound education on the principles of our church. Unless this be done, the Irish gentry will necessarily be driven to avail themselves, for the education of their children, of inferior schools, where they will imbibe only latitudinarian principles, subversive of all discipline and order in both church and state: and thus the evils under which Ireland has so long laboured, and which have reacted so seriously upon this country also, will be permanently increased, and left as an heirloom to future generations.

The College of St. Columba provides for the sons of the higher classes in Ireland a solid education, preparatory to the universities, the learned professions, and the army, in strict connexion with the church. A parent may feel the utmost confidence as far as human means can inspire him with confidence, that his child will there be brought up in the true knowledge and practice of the religion of our church, with all the advantages of the gentleman-like manners and independence of character, which are implanted by the discipline of the English public schools, and at an expense far more moderate than the Irish nobility and gentry have

hitherto been in the habit of paying for the education of their children in England. The whole college fees, including music, modern languages, drawing, &c., are only seventy guineas a-year. Exhibitions have also been established, which are given to the sons of those whose means are limited, and which have the effect of reducing this annual cost to fifty guineas. And ten scholarships have also been founded for the especial encouragement of the Irish language, which reduce the expense still further to thirty guineas. Scholarships of the value of thirty guineas per annum have likewise been founded for the encouragement of Irish, in the University of Dublin; so that a student educated at St. Columba's, if he devote himself to the study of the Irish language, with a view to future usefulness in the ministry, may not only obtain his school education for the moderate expense of thirty guineas per annum, but may also afterwards be greatly assisted in passing through the University of Dublin.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

THE following documents are reprinted from recent numbers of the *English Churchman* :—

“ THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER AND SCOTTISH EPISCOPACY.

“ *To the Editor of the Banner.*

“ Sir,—I will feel much obliged if you will allow the following letter to appear in an early number of your paper. A gentleman residing in Glasgow, but whose name I am not at liberty to mention, has written to the Bishop of Worcester with the view of prejudicing his lordship against the members of the Church of England in Scotland, who refuse to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Scottish bishops. This gentleman, however, alleges no specific charge against any of these members of the Church of England, except that a clergyman in Glasgow (myself, I suppose,) has offered an *extempore* prayer at the ‘ funeral of a Glasgow merchant!’

“ Men who attempt to influence the bishops of the Church of England by conveying to them, in a secret manner, imputations against English churchmen in Scotland, will discover that their labours produce results the very opposite to those which they anticipate. The Bishop of Worcester has allowed me to make public the answer which he has sent to this Glasgow gentleman. It is as follows :—

“ ‘ 24, Grosvenor Place, London, May 31, 1849.

“ Sir,—I have received your letter of the 28th instant, enclosing an extract from a Glasgow newspaper; and in reply to it I address to you the following observations :

“ ‘ The petition presented in the House of Lords was signed by six hundred heads of families, landed proprietors, merchants and others.

The grievance of which they complain is, that they are members, not of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, but of the Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, and that they are debarred from the benefit of having Episcopal offices discharged among them, because the Episcopal Church of Scotland will adopt a form of communion service which is not that of the Church of England, and to which they entertain strong objections, on account of its favouring, as they conceive, the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Now the only obstacle to complete union between the Episcopal churches of England and Scotland is the use of this form; and, in my opinion, it was an omission in the Act of 1792 not to have required from the Episcopal Church of Scotland the adoption of our Liturgy, as well as subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. Till such adoption has taken place, it is impossible to consider the Episcopal Church of Scotland in full communion with the Church of England. And why is this form, which entails such difficulties and differences, to be so pertinaciously retained? Either it is, or it is not, materially different in point of doctrine from our own form. In the former case you cannot complain of those who, being members of the Church of England, refuse to join a church which retains it. In the latter case, why retain an obnoxious clause when you profess that our own is nearly identical with it? And, be it remembered, the Scotch Episcopal Church have a power which we have not, of making what canons they think proper. In the dormant state of our convocation no change whatever can be made in our services; whereas the Scotch bishops form a synod which may at any time determine that the English Liturgy, in all its integrity, shall only be used in the services of the Scotch Episcopal Church. This certainly would be the most effectual remedy to the grievances of which the petitioners complain. The performance of Episcopal offices in Scotland by an English bishop, though I believe it would be quite as legal as the performance of them, as so often occurs in towns on the Continent frequented by the English, would necessarily be uncertain in time, and probably offensive to the Scotch bishops, towards whom, on the contrary, if they would only adopt our services, we should all be most anxious to adopt sentiments of brotherhood and kindness. With regard to the passage in the extract from the Glasgow newspaper, which you have sent me, that all objection to the obnoxious communion service should be removed, because four out of the seven Scotch bishops are English clergymen, educated at one of the English universities, holding English degrees, and ordained by English bishops, I am compelled to admit that among the clergy of our church there are so many entertaining Romanistic views (as has been of late evinced by such frequent conversions to the Roman-catholic faith,) that no security can be derived from this circumstance to those who profess themselves members of the reformed Church of England and Ireland.

“ ‘ I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ ‘ (Signed) H. WORCESTER.’

“ I need not trouble your readers with any comment on the above letter, or on the futile effort of the gentleman in Glasgow who

addressed the Bishop of Worcester.—I remain, sir, your faithful servant,

“ CHAS. POPHAM MILES,
“ Incumbent of St. Jude's, Glasgow.

“ 47, Guildford-street, Russell-square, London, June 4, 1849.”

It is very unpleasant to be obliged to make any remarks on the foregoing letter; but it is impossible to avoid feeling very greatly pained by the publication of such a document. We regret, and have long regretted, the existence of the Scottish office of Communion, not merely on account of our preference for the English form, but because we cannot but fear, that as long as it remains, a cause of contention will always be at hand for discontented spirits, and of scruple and perplexity for those who doubt the propriety either of using the particular expressions objected to, or of requiring the use of them from others, as a term even of occasional communion. For these reasons we have long regretted that this office is retained. But, however we may do so, the point we regret is, not that the Scottish bishops have not adopted our office—for they have adopted it—and our office is the one commonly and generally used in their churches—but that, along with ours, they have retained another, which—however piously designed, both by the compilers and by the Scottish church in adopting it—has afforded occasion for strifes and scruples, and is likely to continue to do so. We cannot imagine that the Church of England could insist on the Scottish church adopting “our services” as the condition of our adopting “sentiments of brotherhood and kindness” towards them. Such a condition no church could insist on without a flagrant breach of charity;—a degree of intolerance unrivalled by the Church of Rome itself: unrivalled indeed anywhere except by the tyrannical demands of the Solemn League and Covenant. We should be sorry, indeed, if the Scottish church were to suppose that any considerable number of persons in England ever entertained views so uncharitable, or would insist on conditions so unreasonable and unjust. But all this is beside the question. We have no need to inquire, whether we should “adopt sentiments of brotherhood and kindness” towards the Scottish church, “if they would only adopt our services:” and that for the best of all reasons, because they have adopted them long ago. The question is, whether we have any right to insist on the Scotch abandoning a form to which they are attached, and which they are accustomed to use on some particular occasions? whether we have any right to make their total disuse or suppression of this form the condition of our adopting “sentiments of brotherhood and kindness” towards them. This is the real and only question, and we trust there are but few persons who can find much difficulty in perceiving that it admits of but one

answer. To say that, till the adoption of our Liturgy has taken place, "it is impossible to consider the Episcopal Church of Scotland in full communion with the Church of England," is not a correct statement of the question in any way. They *have* adopted our Liturgy, and they *are* in full communion with the Church of England. These are facts and not contingencies. And whatever we may think of the expediency of the Scottish church *retaining* the use of their own peculiar office *on certain occasions*, that is the point objected to, and not their refusing to adopt ours, for they have adopted it. Nor have we refused to consider them in full communion with us on account of their retaining the occasional use of this form, for they are in full communion with us, in fact, and by the law of the land. And it would be very shocking if they were not.

In connexion with this subject, we subjoin a correspondence which has appeared in the number of the *English Churchman* for July 26th.

" SCOTLAND.—DIOCESE OF ABERDEEN.

" *To the Right Rev. William Skinner, D.D., Bishop of Aberdeen.*

" Right Reverend Father,—We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, your Reverence's dutiful clergy, desire to approach you with every feeling of cordial and affectionate respect.

" We have long witnessed with deep though silent sympathy, until at length silence on our part seemed to amount to a dereliction of duty, the reflections which have so very undeservedly been attached to your Reverence's name and character by a large portion of the community, unacquainted with the principles on which your Reverence's 'declaration' in the case of Sir William Dunbar was founded, and of the reasons which rendered this act of ecclesiastical authority on your part necessary.

" As this act of ministerial discipline has, in many quarters, been altogether misconceived, and most erroneously represented as a personal and vindictive proceeding, with which neither your clergy nor the church at large had any sympathy, we, the clergy of your diocese, feel called upon to declare that it was an authorized sentence of the church, which we, in Synod assembled, considered necessary, and as prescribed by her inherent laws, advised your Reverence to pronounce.

" Sir William Dunbar, in thus separating himself, was *ipso facto* excommunicated. It fell, consequently, to your Reverence officially to declare the fact, and the penalties which it involved.

" We are persuaded that every bishop is the centre of unity in his own diocese. It follows, therefore, that your Reverence and we, your clergy, considered Sir William Dunbar to be guilty of the sin of schism (else that sin has no existence) in renouncing his allegiance to you, and declaring his independence of the church to which he had vowed obedience, and that your Reverence was imperatively bound to declare to your faithful people, both clergy and laity, and to all the

bishops of those churches with which we are in communion, that the ministerial acts of the disobedient priest were 'without authority as being performed' apart from Christ's mystical 'body,' and in warning all who look up to you for guidance to avoid communicating with him in holy things, lest they should be partakers with him in what our principles constrain us to consider a heinous sin.

" We deeply lament that, at your advanced period of life, you should have been involved in an action of damages before a civil court, and we most heartily desire to tender to your Reverence our entire sympathy under the very trying circumstances in which the conscientious discharge of a painful but most necessary duty has involved you : and that your Reverence may long be spared to preside over a diocese, to the clergy and people of which you have endeared yourself by so many estimable qualities, is the devout prayer of, Right Reverend Father, your Reverence's dutiful sons in Christ, (Signed) John Cuming, Dean ; John B. Pratt, Presbyter, St. James's, Cruden ; William Christie, Presbyter, Buckie ; Nathaniel Grieve, Presbyter of Ellen ; William Webster, Presbyter, New Pitsligo ; P. Cheyne, Incumbent of St. John's, Aberdeen ; Charles Pressly, Presbyter, Fraserburgh ; William Walker, Presbyter, Monymusk ; George Hagar, Presbyter, Lonmay ; Alexander Harper, Presbyter, Inverury ; Gilbert Rorison, Presbyter, Peterhead ; William Robertson, Presbyter, Old Meldrum ; Alexander Low, Presbyter, Longside ; David Wilson, Presbyter, Woodhead ; Arthur Ranken, Presbyter of Deer ; Charles Grant, Presbyter, Meiklefolla ; James Christie Bishop, of Turiff ; James Smith, Presbyter, Fergie ; Alexander Cooper, Presbyter, Portsoy ; Alexander Bruce, Presbyter of Banff.

" REPLY.

" To the Very Reverend the Dean and Reverend the Clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen.

" My Reverend and well-beloved Brethren,—The address which you have recently, and with very kind consideration, transmitted to me by the hands of our justly respected diocesan clerk, demands and fully receives my warmest and most grateful acknowledgments. Vexatiously dragged as I have been before our supreme civil courts for an offence (if offence there can be proved) of a nature, according to the estimation of all churchmen, purely *ecclesiastical*, it is most consolatory to me to meet with the entire sympathy of my clergy under the very trying circumstances in which the conscientious discharge of a painful but most necessary duty unhappily involved me. And I very sensibly feel, and warmly acknowledge, your kindness, in endeavouring, by the address, to correct the misconception, and most erroneous representation, far too generally entertained, that my proceedings, in regard to the Rev. Sir William Dunbar, were wholly of a personal and vindictive nature, with which neither you, my diocesan brethren, nor the church at large, held any sympathy. And my best thanks are undoubtedly due to you for the readiness and perfect truth with which you here declare 'that it was an authorized sentence of the church, which you, in Synod assembled, considered *necessary*, and as prescribed

by her inherent laws, *advised* me, as your bishop and chairman 'to pronounce,'—and that I 'was imperatively bound to declare' to all the faithful of both clergy and laity, as well as to the spiritual rulers 'of those churches with which we are in communion,' that his ministerial acts were 'without authority, as being performed apart from Christ's mystical body.'

"It is my fervent prayer to the Divine Head of the church, in which I feel confident that you will not refuse devoutly to join, that an act mutually entered into by us for the support of His honour and glory, and without the slightest vindictive feeling to any individual, may in the end redound to the good of His one Holy Catholic and Apostolic church, in whatever difficulty it may for a time involve your always faithful and affectionate friend and brother,

(Signed)

" W. SKINNER,
Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus.

" Aberdeen, June 25, 1849."

Into the merits of this controversy we are not obliged to enter: but of one thing we are quite certain, that those who imagine that the *laity* of the Scottish church are opposed to their bishops and clergy in this dispute, are very incorrectly informed of the real feelings of the Episcopalians in that country.

IRISH LANDLORDS.

THE public are so well informed as to the faults and shortcomings of Irish landlords, that it is unnecessary for us to say anything on that side of the question. We know too well and too intimately how much of the difficulties of the Protestant church in Ireland must be ascribed to the misconduct of the Protestant aristocracy, and that the difficulties of the Protestant landlords is in no small degree to be traced to their own betrayal of that ecclesiastical establishment which is and has ever been the main bulwark of their properties, and the bond which unites the two countries to the Crown of England. But though there may still be a sad want of public spirit and true patriotism in the Irish aristocracy, there is, we trust and believe, a better spirit developing itself, and an increasing feeling of their responsibilities as men and as Christians. The following extract from an Irish newspaper will afford a gratifying example of liberality on the part of a nobleman whose generosity as a landlord is well known to the British public.

" LAYING THE FIRST STONE OF A NEW CHURCH IN THE PARISH OF
GUILCAH, DIOCESE OF WATERFORD.

" On Wednesday last [May 16th], though the misty state of the weather was rather unfavourable, the Marchioness and Marquis of Waterford,

accompanied by the Very Rev. the Dean of Waterford, and the following clergy and gentry from the surrounding parishes, namely :—The Rev. Mr. Stevenson, (an English clergyman), the Rev. G. S. Monck, the Rev. R. F. Medlicote, the Rev. J. Bourke and family, Rev. R. W. Shaw, Rev. B. Jordan, Rev. W. Darby, Rev. W. Parker, and the Rev. James Clelland, George Mara, Esq., and family, John Medlicote, Esq., and Miss Medlicote, Robert Shaw, Esq., Portlaw, and family, as well as many from a distance, and a considerable body of the farmers and peasantry of the immediate locality, assembled at Ballycahane. At three o'clock the ceremony was commenced by the Dean offering prayer, and reading a portion of sacred Scriptures, while the assembly gave the most silent attention. The stone, which was placed ready for being deposited, contained the following inscription :—

“TO THE GLORY OF GOD.

“Laid May, 1849, by George Wilson, aged 106 years ; erected by Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford ; the Hon. and Right Rev. Robert Daly, Bishop ; the Very Rev. Dean Ussher Lee, Vicar ; William Tinsley, Architect.

“The hoary and comparatively vigorous centenarian was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Shaw, one of the curates, down an inclined plane of planks into the foundation, where he was received by the architect, who assisted him, and the foundation stone was laid, being called after St. John the Evangelist ; and in the name of the Trinity, the three setting strokes were given to the block, under which a coin of Victoria had been deposited ; after which the assembly retired. The site, given by Lord Waterford, is in the centre of a gently rising ground, in the upper opening of a valley, through which the road from Portlaw runs towards Kilmacthomas, &c. From it may be seen many of the comfortable residences of Lord Waterford's tenantry, who will thus (by the munificence of her ladyship, at whose expense the sacred building is to be erected) have what they long wished for—an appropriate place in which to worship God, the only place for that purpose in the parish hitherto being a school-house. The church is to be in the plain, but appropriate and picturesque style of the latter part of the thirteenth century, having none of those frippery and ill-judged attempts at external ornament, too often offending the eye, even in the more modern structures in this country ; the external to be of plain hammer-dressed stone, with cut stone dressings ; the open framed roof of native oak.”

SCRIPTURAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

THE following is extracted from an Irish newspaper.

“The following is the petition of the clergy of Ireland, in reference to scriptural education, presented on the 21st ult., by Mr. Hamilton, and printed by order of the House. It bears the signa-

tures of 1632, out of the 2000 members of that body. The lay petition, which was presented at the same time, was signed by 64,157 persons :—

**“ ‘THE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED CLERGY OF THE
CHURCH IN IRELAND.**

“ ‘Humbly Showeth,—That in the last session of parliament your petitioners brought the state of the education of the poor in Ireland before your Honourable House, in the hope of obtaining relief from the hardship under which the Irish branch of the united church has so long suffered, and of which your petitioners have so often complained to your Honourable House.

“ ‘That, though they have failed of obtaining the redress which they then sought, yet, feeling undiminished confidence in the justice of their cause, your petitioners again humbly submit their claims, and the grounds on which they rest, to the favourable consideration of your Honourable House.

“ ‘That, on the announcement of the national system of education for Ireland, various grave objections against the adoption of it were forcibly urged by a great majority of the prelates and clergy, and a considerable body of the lay members of the church.

“ ‘That of these objections the weightiest was grounded upon the rule which was put forward as the distinctive principle of the system—viz., that in avowed concession to the usurped authority of the Church of Rome, the Holy Scriptures were to be excluded from the proposed National Schools during the hours of general instruction.

“ ‘That statements of these conscientious objections were repeatedly pressed upon the government, and also submitted to your Honourable House, in the hope of obtaining such alterations in the system as would enable your petitioners to act in co-operation with the State in the discharge of the important duty which rests upon them of educating the children of the poorer classes in their respective parishes.

“ ‘That, after such efforts had been persevered in at intervals, for the space of seven years, without success, a large majority of the bishops, clergy, and laity, having no longer any hope of obtaining the modifications of the national system prayed for, felt constrained to establish a society for the maintenance of schools conducted upon the principles of the church.

“ ‘That the primary object of this Society was to provide religious and general instruction for the children of the church ; but it was felt to be a duty so to frame its rules that, while this object was secured, the same advantages of general education, together with instruction in the Holy Scriptures, might be placed within reach of all.

“ ‘That your petitioners continue to entertain the same conscientious objections to the system of national education which led to the formation of this Society, and that they have had additional evidence

of the fitness of the Church Education Society to effect its important objects in the fact that, notwithstanding its continued exclusion from the share in the funds granted by Parliament for the purpose of education in Ireland, and the increased obstacles to the attendance of children at its schools, in consequence of the past and prevailing distress, it has now in operation 1859 schools, (supported altogether by voluntary contributions, principally from those whose means have suffered most diminution from the pressure of the times,) affording the benefit of religious and secular instruction to 116,968 children, being an increase above the numbers in attendance when your petitioners last addressed your Honourable House of 8841 children of the church, 1165 Protestant Dissenters, and 14,947 Roman Catholics.

“ ‘ That, whereas in England the members of the church are assisted by Parliamentary grants in maintaining schools more especially intended for the education of the children of the church, and the same liberality is extended to the schools of all other denominations, it is hoped that it will appear to your Honourable House to be inconsistent and unfair any longer to withhold similar aid from the schools in connexion with the Church Education Society for Ireland, in which the children of the church are instructed in her formularies, and scriptural education is given to all.

“ ‘ That your petitioners, therefore, pray that your Honourable House, taking the premises into consideration, will be pleased to devise means to relieve your petitioners from the grievance of which they complain, and to enable them to discharge with increased efficiency this most important part of their pastoral duty.

“ ‘ And your petitioners will pray.

“ ‘ JOHN TORRENS, Archdeacon of Dublin.

“ ‘ CHARLES LINDSAY, Archdeacon of Kildare.

“ ‘ HENRY IRWIN, Archdeacon of Emly.’

“ &c. &c. &c.”

That nearly 15,000 Roman-catholic children should have been added to the schools of the clergy in Ireland within the last year, is a fact which is less surprising to those acquainted with that country than it is gratifying to all who value the maintenance of the Protestant religion in Ireland, or the connexion of the two countries. We are no friends to wholesale schemes of proselytism, but it is our deep and settled conviction, in common with every well-informed person in this country, that on the scriptural enlightenment of the rising generation in Ireland, and the gradual absorption of the Roman-catholic population into the communion of our church, depends the salvation of that afflicted country. The claim of the clergy of Ireland to obtain assistance on the same terms and conditions on which—we shall not say their brethren in this country would receive it—but on which it is granted to every class of English Dissenters, Protestant and Roman Catholic, is so obviously reasonable and just, that it must sooner or later be admitted by all and acceded to by the legisla-

ture; the late debate in the House of Commons clearly proves that public opinion is steadily progressing in the right direction, and that men of sense are beginning to understand the duty and the interests of this country with regard to Ireland. The clergy of Ireland have only to persevere, under the guidance of their venerated primate, in maintaining, as far as their resources will admit, their system of scriptural and *really* united education, in laying their claims, their wants, and their successes, fairly and temperately, before the public and the legislature, and very soon their patient perseverance, under such discouragements as no body of established clergy have ever before received from a government professing the Christian religion, will meet with the recompence it deserves, and the acknowledgment it desires.

Meantime, the Irish clergy may rest assured that their friends in England are fully conscious that the interests of scriptural education *in this country* are intimately involved in the question now at issue in Ireland. Those who understand what is going forward, and what is further contemplated, are well aware that the latitudinarian system of national education established by the legislature in Ireland, is really intended by those who are so determined in upholding it, as an experiment—as the introduction of the point of the wedge—as the foundation for such a scheme of national education in England as shall dis sever religion from education altogether, and wholly disconnect the clergy from the schools of the poor, except as tolerated allies, as persons whose interference is permitted and may be refused at the pleasure of the secretary of a committee or commission. The cause of scriptural education will either triumph in Ireland, or be lost in both countries. One would suppose it never could have required much penetration to perceive this. At all events, the public are *now* beginning to understand the true state of the question, and in the end, it is obvious, that the service which the Irish clergy have done to the whole Christian church by the firmness with which they have resisted the domineering tyranny of nineteenth-century latitudinarianism, must be appreciated and acknowledged as it ought to be by all men.

That church education should have made the progress it has within the last year, is anything but surprising. The Irish clergy have not only gained immensely on the affections and confidence of the poor by their noble conduct during a season of great distress, but, from a variety of causes, the influence and power of the Romish priesthood have diminished, to an amount unparalleled during any former period. Of course the clergy have to contend against the entire weight of government influence. All that can be done to discourage their labours, and to discountenance every one that refuses to sacrifice his convictions,

is done. But still, under frowns and discouragements, the great body of the clergy have persevered, and the time cannot be far distant when the pertinacity of theorists, and the obstinate delusions of those who have so long endeavoured to govern Ireland through the Romish clergy, must yield to experience, and common sense, and public opinion.

One thing is certain, that the schools of the clergy are steadily progressing in the esteem and confidence of the lower classes of Roman Catholics. No less certain is it, that in their schools alone is there to be found anything that can be called united education. As far as united education is concerned, it is notorious that the national system in Ireland is a total failure.

THE ENGLISH ROMANISTS AND THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM

THE following letter from our friend Father Thomas appeared in the *Tablet* of July 7. It fully confirms all we have ever said of the real condition of English Romanism. Much noise, much display, a vast deal of theatrical performance, and all sorts of odd contrivances—raffles, bazaars, lotteries, and parties of pleasure—resorted to in order to raise money for *pious* purposes. But in spite of all these expedients, it is plainly a struggle for existence, and every now and then some one confesses, in the grief and bitterness of disappointment, how inferior they are in point of zeal and active benevolence and piety to those whom they despise and insult as heretics.

“THE CONVENT OF OUR LADY OF NORWOOD.—My dear ladies, young and old, Father Thomas can say nothing this week about this beautiful religious establishment—beautiful in itself, beautiful in its locality, beautiful in its purposes, and beautiful in its — nay, nothing more, if you please, because—because—one may say nothing about everything that is beautiful, though I don’t see any harm in it myself; nevertheless, there are beautiful things besides houses and trees, say what you will. This week one must look to one’s beautiful self, or to the beauty of beauties—St. George’s, which is a part, and a very large part, of one’s self, for next Sunday will be the Sunday within the octave of the opening of St. George’s, and the sermon will be preached by the Rev. Dr. Miley, of Dublin, and there will be much splendour and solemnity on that day at St. George’s. The 4th of July—the day of America’s independence—was the anniversary of St. George’s opening—and the year, the first of St. George, has to me been like thirty years—so many things have intervened; *so much worry, vexation, and bitter things that none may know; so much beating of the heart and heat in the head; hot cheeks and throbbing brain,* and therewithal much consolation, grateful feeling, and inward peace. This is man’s history, more or less, after some years have passed their

tides over him, if he have a little faith and faith's feeling, and heavy charges upon him. If we had more thought and generosity and right feeling in our body, St. George's would be no trouble to any one in a temporal way; but—but—but—there is a small chapel called St. Margaret's, near Oxford-street, and nearer to Portland-place, and the supporters of that chapel love to imitate us in every external, and are almost with us in internal; and, oh! that they were so quite, and that we in externals and internals were one, that thus all men might know us to be His own—and let us pray and be humble, that the Good Spirit may make it so. Well, there is a small chapel called St. Margaret's, and last week an Offertorium was made for the building of a new church, as the present chapel is too small; and what think you these men subscribed? What think you that they put into the plate as it was passed round the chapel? Fifteen thousand pounds! It may be beyond the mark somewhat, but not much beyond it—think of that. Next Sunday's, and last Sunday's, and even the day of St. George's opening, the Offertories will tell their value at the day of judgment, and a pretty telling it will be. St. George's will be a standing monument of what Catholic faith and zeal did do in the middle of the nineteenth century in Protestant England; but Father Thomas *will take especial care to tell the world that he was left to battle almost single-handed from the first to the last*, with a few noble exceptions, in the building of St. George's; and now that it stands out and up before the world—a monument—a speaking trophy—a pride and an honour to the Catholic body in the midst of mighty London, even now the niggard offering of one pound in the Offertory-plate on a Sunday is rarely given—a pound? *not half that sum—half that sum? not half that; nor half that, with rare exceptions.* Is this an encouragement for any daring spirit to plunge into the deep in future? Do a something for the body—something to drag the faith and worship out of obscurity, and make a strong effort to pull into open day and on high ground the truth and beauty of your religion. Raise a church—let it be vast, and grand, and comely—adorn it, and make it a place worthy of the sacred purposes of religion; emulate the old building and the old glories of old Catholic times, and what then? *Why, I will tell you what then—that they who could, and who ought, to have assisted you munificently—to have assisted you in building it, as the St. Margaret's Chapel people are assisting the clergy there, and who did not?—will admire your church, and perhaps not even that—and the next thing, will not assist you, after all that you have done, then, or now.* I don't care who says nay—St. George's was a great undertaking—a national work—a building that, if men had large minds and hearts, ought to have enlisted the sympathies of the Catholic public and commanded support. *St. George's has not been sustained, not supported, and is not—it might go on, or it might stop; it might be what it is—the glory of Catholicity in this London, or it might be its shame. What matters?—who cares?—it is not our affair.* I will turn on this subject, and turn again and again—not so much in anger as in sorrow. My days may be few—any way, not very, very many—and let us hope that means may be left for continuing the celebration in St.

George's, when such a being as Father Thomas shall be no longer on the earth; let means be bequeathed—'to the trustees for the time being of St. George's Roman-catholic Church, St. George's-road, St. George's-fields, Southwark, in the county of Surrey;' let every one before he or she dies remember St. George's; and then, come what may during his life, the prospect of what shall be when he is no more will cheer and keep up that worry and plague.

"FATHER THOMAS."

THE CATHOLIC OATH.

THE following letter is to be added to those we have already reprinted from the *Tablet* :—

"To the Editor of the *Tablet*."

"Sir,—In citing last week the evidence of Sir Robert Peel in support of a strict interpretation of the Catholic oath, I quoted merely those passages which had reference to the 'omission' and the 'one or two verbal alterations,' whereby he had rendered the oath 'more stringent' than the former one of 1793. For the further information of your readers, and more especially of those who may have been under an impression that Sir Robert Peel did not intend the oath to be any restriction upon members of Parliament, or any security for the Protestant establishment, I beg to submit to them the following additional extracts :—

"'On Monday, March 23, 1829, in a former part of the same debate in committee on the oath, an amendment was proposed to add to the clause, "*I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement of property within this realm as established by the laws,*" the following explanatory words, "*including the glebe lands, tithes, rents, and other hereditaments of the Protestant Established church.*" And Sir Robert Peel replied—

"'I think the introduction of the proposed words quite unnecessary. If the honourable member deems the ecclesiastical as well as lay property of the church not sufficiently secured by the declaration, let him go a little further, and he will find the words—"And I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment as settled by law within this realm." As far as words go, *these afford ample security; and the insertion of the proposed amendment would only have the effect of weakening the declaration.*'"

"In discussing the subsequent clause which has just been quoted, viz., 'And I do hereby disclaim, disavow,' &c., amendment was proposed to insert therein the following words :—'*And I do solemnly swear that I will not directly or indirectly attempt to subvert the present church establishment,*' &c. And Sir Robert Peel, objecting to the amendment, observed, 'According to the form as it stands, the Roman Catholic declares that he will defend to the utmost of his power the settlement of property as established by law, *so that the words include ecclesiastical, and other, property.* In the next clause he is called upon

solemnly to swear that he never will exercise any privilege to which he is or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in this kingdom. It seems to me that coupling the declaration he makes first, with the oath he afterwards takes, it is sufficient.' And he presently afterwards added, 'I beg to ask whether the oath, as it stands now, is not sufficient, recollecting that it is to be taken by *members of Parliament, for we are now only speaking of it in that view.*'

"To these expressions of his sentiments in 1829 may I subjoin the following, which he delivered in 1834. On Tuesday, March 11, of that year, Mr. O'Connell moved for a select committee of the House of Commons to consider and report on the oaths which were taken by members of that House, and signified that his object was to obtain a satisfactory explanation of the Catholic oath. And Sir Robert Peel, after a few preliminary observations, proceeded as follows:—

"'I must also express my great regret at this question having been agitated at all. I do think that if it had been foreseen in the year 1829 that within five years after the passing of the Act which removed from the Roman Catholics all the disabilities under which they laboured, an attempt would be made to repeal this oath, and that by a Roman Catholic of such weight and influence as the honourable and learned gentleman, the difficulties which existed to the passing of the Relief Bill would have been greatly increased. After having prevailed on the people of England to agree to that bill, strong as their objections were to it; after having prevailed upon the House of Lords, which had on several previous occasions expressed their decided objection to it, also to concur in it, *because they considered the oaths to be tendered to Roman Catholics valid securities against the dangers*, or at least as securities diminishing the dangers, which they apprehended, nothing could be so unwise as to check the course of liberal concession on the part of the people; which we should do if they found that within five years of the making of this compact, it was to be set aside for such reasons as the honourable and learned gentleman has advanced. . . . I am unwilling to involve the House in any theological controversy; but I rest my objection to this discussion partly on the grounds of feeling, and partly on principle. . . . Recollecting all that passed in 1829 when so many people were reconciled to Catholic emancipation *under the impression that these oaths gave security*, and fearing that now *to break faith with them* would have the effect of checking any liberal view of similar claims, I must resist the disturbance of a settlement come to only five years back.'

"I remain, &c. &c.,

"Mawley, June 26, 1849."

"THOMAS GREEN."

THE POPE'S HEALTH AT PUBLIC DINNERS.

AMONG the most recent topics of dissension among the English Roman Catholics, one of the latest is the curious question, whether the Pope's health should be given at their public dinners

before or after the health of her Majesty. This, like most of their perplexities, seems to have originated with the converts, whose zeal, like that of most neophytes, seems to give no small trouble to their friends. We need not say that this party insist on having the Pope's health proposed first. But the heat and bitterness with which they have taken up the question may be gathered from the following editorial article, which appeared in the *Tablet* of July 7th. They certainly seem as if they were determined to write down the character of their communion for loyalty, discretion, and common sense. Who could be so uncharitable as to suppose them to be so very silly and so little to be trusted as they describe themselves to be?

"We are compelled to return again to a subject which we trusted had been sufficiently discussed for the present, at least, in our impression of last week. A public dinner at Greenwich for a charitable purpose furnishes matter for most serious reflection. The chairman at that dinner was a layman, but there were many priests present, and also not a few heretics. According to the report it appears that the chairman proposed in the first place, 'the health of the Queen and the royal family,' and at the same time 'signified his intention of making the prefatory speeches to the various toasts as brief as possible, *and of not calling on the ladies to rise to respond to any toast but that of her Majesty.*' This was a fitting preparation for what followed: his lordship then gave, 'the health of his holiness the Pope.' Such is the account of a public charity dinner, held for Catholic purposes, presided over by a Catholic, and frequented by Catholics, men and women.

"We are most unwilling to say anything of that dinner—for no words can convey the deep indignation we have felt—or of the chairman, or of the company, where what appears like an insult has been offered to the supreme pastor of the church. That dinner is ever to be lamented, for in one particular it has shown the unreality of our profession, and the slight inroads into our hearts which the Catholic temper has been able to make. We seem to be at war even with the Holy See. It was, surely, sad enough to see the second place given to the successor of St. Peter, but still more melancholy is it to contemplate the noble chairman's forgetfulness of his relation to that successor, when he called upon those around him to rise at the name of her Majesty, and to sit down at the name of the supreme spiritual ruler of the world.

"We are now surely come to a point below which we can scarcely go, and we are therefore not without strong hopes that these things will soon be changed for the better; that we shall get rid of public dinners, balls, raffles, and bazaars: expedients for collecting money, but not handmaids of charity. Certainly, the way in which we deal with the Pope's name at these public entertainments is one most urgent reason why they should be discontinued: that is a reason on the very surface, which all can see. But there are also most grave reasons founded on theological and moral considerations, which have

driven, or kept away many from these entertainments ; while some of those who attended them did so confessedly with a view if possible of correcting the evil. Those, too, who have had recourse to them, did so because they had tried other means of raising money for their necessities and had failed ; few, we believe, defend them on principle.

“ Now it is no great credit to us that we cannot contribute to a charitable work without the worldly excitement of a public dinner. Are we Catholics or heathens ? If this be true of us we have reason to be profoundly abased, and to hide ourselves for very shame. We are said to be generally so dead to the voice of charity, that we require to be excited to do our duty by those things which are, not unfrequently, occasions of sin. This is the meaning of charity dinners when expressed in ordinary language. We are therefore only repeating the arguments which are used in defence of these public dinners, balls, and bazaars ; they come to this, that the most considerate and charitable reasons which can be urged, in favour of the present way in which our public charities are supported and our churches built, condemn us as unworthy of the name of Catholic. This is the whole sum of the matter, and the less we try to disguise the fact the better it will be for us.

“ It is not any advantage to the church to find herself an object of contempt to heretics even in her external relations. Heretics hate her and fear her, but we do not see that it is just in us to expose her to their contempt. This is what we are doing in our public acts, and this is the light in which too many of the heretics regard us. They say of us that we are Catholics only because we come of particular families ; that Catholicism is in this country, whatever it may be abroad, like Judaism,—a question of race and not of faith : that it is dying away and becoming more worldly and less powerful every year. What answer can we give to these objections, or how are we in the slightest degree to break their force when they are thus urged against us ? The only one thing that we have gained by these negative denials of our Catholicism is the praise of the thoughtless and the profound contempt of all sensible men.

“ In fact, an educated heretic in this country cannot be brought to believe that we are sincere in our professions of obedience to the Holy See. We speak of what we well know. This is the result of our public conduct, and of the impressions which we have by our own acts contrived to make. This drinking of the Pope's health is one manifestation of unsoundness, perhaps also the most offensive, because the most unnecessary concession to the imaginary jealousy of English heresy.

“ No man now believes that we are disloyal or have any intention whatever of dethroning the Queen ; indeed, we doubt if this was ever seriously believed of us at any time. It is mere cowardice, or adulation of the monarch, that can wish to place the Queen before the Sovereign Pontiff, instead of giving him his true and his natural place. We understand, too, that this custom is of most modern growth, and that its introduction was opposed by all the bishops, and by many laymen whose opinions are deservedly held in respect. In fact, the noble

chairman at Greenwich is said to be the author of it, and we hope and trust, for the credit of English Catholicism, that he has now offered that slight to the Holy Father for the last time. It were far better, because the scandal would be less, to omit for the future at our public entertainments all reference to the Holy See, and to conduct ourselves there merely as men and women, hungry and thirsty, undistinguished by any external signs from the heretics who mingle with us. It is probably a less sin to make no profession of faith, than to make one which savours of Jansenism, and derogates from the authority of the Roman See."—*Tablet*.

MR. ALLIES AND THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

THE following article is reprinted from the *English Churchman* of July 26th :—

"We have hitherto studiously avoided taking any notice of Mr. Allies' interesting, but, on many accounts, very painful and unsatisfactory *Journal of a Tour in France*: for before we had had time to examine it, very positive rumours were afloat that the volume was to be made the subject of canonical proceedings against its author, on the part of his diocesan, and therefore we thought it best not to interfere in the matter. We were by no means surprised at these rumours, for there was much in the *Journal* which had the appearance of being almost written on purpose to provoke the Protestant spirit of Englishmen, while the most Catholic member of the Church of England could not but feel that Mr. Allies seemed to take a delight in placing his own church in an unfavourable, and, frequently unjust, contrast with the church in France. But it was evident that a man might do all this, and yet keep to the windward of the Canons and Thirty-nine Articles. In this experiment Mr. Allies has been singularly adroit and successful; not that we mean for a moment to charge him with any deliberate attempt of the kind, for the whole tone of the book is that of a man who honestly and freely puts down what he thinks and feels at the time. We only wonder that in revising the volume in this country it did not strike him that ninety-nine 'Protestants' out of a hundred would indignantly denounce him as a traitor to his own church, and as a Romanist at heart. Such persons will read with some surprise, and it may be suspicion, his acknowledgment and avowal contained in the following letter from the Lord Bishop of Oxford to the Archdeacon of Oxford.

" ' 61, Eaton Place, July 3rd, 1849.

" ' My dear Archdeacon,—I think it right that my clergy should know what has taken place between the Rev. Mr. Allies and myself; and as you are the most proper person by whom I can on this occasion act, I will thank you to communicate this my letter to them.

" ' I felt it my painful duty to censure Mr. Allies's volume as in my judgment contradicting the Thirty-nine Articles. My censure has drawn from Mr. Allies the following letter, which, (there being no

copies of the first edition remaining in his publisher's hands) is held by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and myself to be sufficient to allow me not to originate legal proceedings against him. Mr. Allies's letter is as follows :—

“ ‘Lannton, Bicester, May 15th, 1849.

“ ‘ My Lord,—I regret that anything in the book that I have published should appear to my diocesan to be contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, or calculated to depreciate that church in comparison with the Church of Rome ; and I undertake not to publish a second edition of the work.

“ ‘ I declare my adherence to the Articles, in their plain literal and grammatical sense, and will not preach or teach anything contrary to such Articles in their plain literal and grammatical sense. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's dutiful servant in Christ,

“ ‘ (Signed) THOS. W. ALLIES.

“ ‘ The Lord Bishop of Oxford.’

“ ‘ This letter of Mr. Allies, my dear Archdeacon, you will observe, applies to two distinct subjects.

“ ‘ 1st. As to the publication which I have censured, Mr. Allies regrets my censure, and now proposes not to publish any second edition. Under the circumstances which I have before stated as to the first edition, I treat this as if he had originally showed me his book, and on my expressing my disapprobation of it had, in deference to the opinion of his diocesan, abstained from publishing it. I accept this act of deference to my office on his part.

“ ‘ But 2ndly, I deem it my duty as bishop, in consequence of this publication having already taken place, to require an assurance that Mr. Allies will not, in his parish, teach contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England. As to this, I apply the same test which I have applied to other cases before. I ask Mr. Allies whether he, as the rule of his teaching, accepts in conjunction with the Prayer-Book the Articles of the Church in their plain literal and grammatical sense. By this letter he assures me that he does so, and I accept this his assurance.—Believe me, my dear Archdeacon, yours faithfully,

“ (Signed) S. OXON.

“ ‘ To the Ven. the Archdeacon of Oxford.’

“ While we desire to abstain from saying anything which could re-open the matter which has thus been closed, we cannot help observing, on general grounds, that it appears to us that an unsatisfactory and dangerous principle is avowed by the Lord Bishop of Oxford as his rule of action in this case. His lordship asserts that in dealing with a book of which the author refrains from publishing a second edition, in consequence of his disapprobation, he treats the matter in the same way as he would a case in which the author had shown him the *manuscript*, and, on his expressing disapprobation, had refrained from publishing it *at all*. This, we repeat, appears to us a most dangerous principle and precedent. If we recollect right, at the time of the memorable ‘Hampden’ discussion, a good deal of stress

was laid upon the fact that he had not published a second (or third edition) of an unsound book : and if this rule is to be laid down, we shall have an inundation of heretical and dangerous publications. Most heretics would be content with a first edition—especially as there is no rule laid down as to the number of copies—and would think their object cheaply gained by the mere nominal punishment of abstaining from the doubtful experiment of a second edition.

“ If the author of a book has plainly rendered himself liable to ecclesiastical proceedings, or a formal public censure of his bishop, a distinct acknowledgment of error, and a recantation, should alone restrain his lordship’s hand—the number of copies, or editions, is beside the question. If the author has *not* incurred either, silence is the only politic, as well as the only just course.”

One really does not well know what to say on such occasion as this. The distinction which the Bishop of Oxford has made is so strange, and it is so improbable that the case will not rest where it is, that it seems better to abstain from any remarks on it for the present.

The effect, however, of such proceedings as these on the minds of the Roman Catholics cannot but be injurious. We are very reluctant to enlarge on this part of the subject. But certain it is that the Romanists regard Mr. Allies and some others who have not yet seceded from our communion, as Romanists at heart, Romanists in their sympathies, faith, and devotions, Romanists in their private practices—in fact, Romanists in everything whatever but in the one point, that they still retain their position as clergymen of the Church of England. In Mr. Allies’ case,—judging either from the work he has published, from the terms of scorn with which he has written of the English Church, or from his avowed communion with their public worship while he was on the Continent,—judging, in fact, from every particular, and from the general tone of his writings and his acts, it seems difficult to imagine what other conclusion they could come to but this, that he is a Romanist in everything except actual secession from our communion.

With regard to the letters published by the *English Churchman*, we cannot feel that matters have yet arrived at such a stage as to enable one to offer any useful opinion, or, indeed, that the facts of the case have been sufficiently explained. Enough, however, has been published to furnish the Romish party with weapons wherewith to wound our church. We could not expect such a transaction to be suffered to pass unnoticed, and accordingly we find in the number of the *Tablet* just published (July 28th) the following as an editorial article.

“ DR. WILBERFORCE AND MR. ALLIES.

“ Our readers have probably not forgotten the controversy to which the publication of a book by Mr. Allies recently gave rise. We find

that it has come to an end. Mr. Allies retains his opinions, but has promised not to propagate them, and Dr. Wilberforce, the bishop of the heretical see of Oxford, has also promised not to prosecute him before Sir Herbert Jenner Fust. A good deal of correspondence has evidently taken place before this result was brought about, and many anxious consultations on both sides must have taken place before the belligerent parties were reconciled. The reconciliation, after all, is only on the surface, and both parties seem conscious of it. It is merely an armistice, and not a peace intended to last for ever. The terms of the treaty are extremely curious, and furnish us with another instance of 'uniformity,' when people are contented with that instead of unity. One thing is marvellously prominent, and it is rather strange that so prudent a man as Dr. Samuel Wilberforce should have been betrayed into it. It is this: Mr. Allies has made a certain declaration on the subject of his delinquencies, which on the face of it is not sufficient, and his charitable bishop accepts it, but takes care to tell the world that it is unsatisfactory, by putting on it an interpretation which we very much doubt to be a true one. This act on the part of the bishop calls the attention of the world to the letter of Mr. Allies, and will have the effect of bringing on himself the reproach of having neglected his duty: possibly of re-opening the dispute. If the sense in which he understands the letter of Mr. Allies be the true meaning of that letter, why did he not require Mr. Allies to write to that effect? Mr. Allies has made a submission which is no submission in words, and has insinuated a recantation which he has not made in express terms, but which is so made as to appear honest to one party, while to another, more profoundly versed in the secrets of his school, it will appear simply a mystification of the simple-hearted bishop, and a plain declaration, that he still maintains the very opinions for which he has made himself liable to censure."

[The editor of the *Tablet* goes on to quote the letter of the Bishop of Oxford, as we have reprinted it from the *English Churchman*, and then proceeds.]

"It is clear from these letters that they are not the only ones in which the subject has been discussed. We should like to see the letter of Dr. Wilberforce to Mr. Allies, requiring the recantation which is not yet made, for such a letter must exist, it being impossible to believe that Mr. Allies wrote because he had been told that his 'diocesan' was dissatisfied with his book. He does not retract his book, and expresses no sorrow for its publication. His regret is, that Dr. Wilberforce should have been pained by it; and, out of tenderness for his 'diocesan,' he undertakes not to republish it. That is all that Mr. Allies promised to do. It is like a man who has plundered his neighbour, and, on being told that his neighbour dislikes such proceedings, undertakes not to repeat the burglary or the felony, but without expressing any contrition for what he had done, or promising restitution.

"Dr. Wilberforce seems, from his letter, to have desired only one result—that he might not be at the expense of prosecuting Mr. Allies

—when he found that he had an excuse just sufficient to admit such an issue, he seems to have been satisfied. As for the subscription to the Articles, that is nothing; for what can be the meaning of those documents, when their ‘literal and grammatical sense’ are acceptable to men of such different views as Mr. Allies and the present Archbishop of Canterbury? The whole proceeding is, in our opinion, an eminently discreditable one to all parties concerned.”—*Tablet*.

NOTICES AND REVIEWS.

Of God; or of the Divine Mind, and of the Doctrine of the Trinity, and also of Pantheism, in a Series of Letters to an Under-graduate. By a Trinitarian. Oxford: Vincent. London: Rivingtons. 8vo. Pp. 110.

WITHOUT pledging oneself for the correctness of every expression, or even of every view, contained in this volume, it will be found to contain many passages and thoughts well deserving the consideration of the student, and still more of those clergymen whose circumstances and position bring them into intercourse with the more religious class of Unitarians. The following passage is an extract of some length from the Seventh Letter, in which the writer discusses the doctrine of the Unitarians under two heads: first, the practical character and import of our difference from them, in the worship of Christ: and, secondly, this statement to be made of the theoretical difference between our doctrine of the Trinity, and their doctrine of God. We have transcribed the passage because it shows so clearly, how little pretension there is for speaking of the doctrine known as Sabellianism, as being the same as the doctrine of the Trinity received by the Church of England. The volume, it should be observed, is stated to bear frequent reference throughout to a work published by Professor Norton, a Unitarian in America: and the argument in the following extract should be taken in connexion with the statement regarding the Sabellian theory made by Professor Norton, which it seems impossible to deny; that the doctrine of a Trinity of aspects or relations, “is nothing more than simple Unitarianism, disguised, if it may be said to be disguised, by a very improper use of language.”

“I think that I have proved to you quite incontestably in my two last letters that Christ is God, and therefore that same one God whom we all acknowledge. On this point, I think that I have said enough, and also that I have both sufficiently shown the value of this doctrine itself, and cleared away the objections to it.

“And yet there is a class of Christians who, although they may humble themselves, and I trust do humble themselves before God with not less thankfulness than our own for the revelation in Christ, yet do not, or cannot, receive the doctrine that he who was man, was also God, and, as God, the direct object of adoration and prayer. It is impossible not to desire to trace, as far as we can, the bond which unites us with, no less than the difference which severs us from, men not less sincere than ourselves in our common

worship of the one Supreme. By the tracing out of this bond, we may also learn to distinguish with the more exactitude that line which must of necessity exist somewhere between the little which we know, and the much which we do not know, of the Divine Being, within which line we all desire to walk, and beyond which it is vain to try to advance.

But this difference divides into two heads. 1. The first, the practical, which is in the worship of Christ. 2. The second, the theoretical, which is in the sense which we ascribe to the words, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the doctrine of the Trinity. For that there is a sense in which a doctrine of the Trinity may be held in common both by us and the Unitarians has been already observed. Both these heads I shall treat of in their turns.

“1. In respect, then, of the first head, the difference is this: that *we*, holding as much as they can hold, God to be one, yet recognise and worship that one God in Christ, or Christ as God, or God in that manifestation of his own self. *They* throw themselves before the same God in the same devotion and humility, and with the same thankfulness for the revelation by Christ, and the perfection of his personal example; but yet forbear to give to Christ himself the title of God, or to address their prayers personally to him. *We*, when we come to lie on the bed of death, shall pray to God in the words of the first martyr—‘Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.’ In our ordinary devotions we intreat the same Redeemer, by his agony and passion, for mercy and grace. *They*, on the contrary, disclaim these expressions as improper and even offensive, and interpret the language of St. Stephen as merely an impassioned exclamation, not to be brought into precedent as the correct or authorized language either of faith or of prayer. At the same time, however, *they* recognise, or may recognise, as fully as we do, that same mercy and loving-kindness of God, in which this same Redeemer came into the world, and suffered for sin. If they do not address themselves to Christ as God, they may yet, and do, pour themselves out in thankfulness to God, with pious and particular reference to his goodness in Christ. They will not, or ought not, to say, ‘O Christ, save us.’ But yet they will thank God for sending Christ, and for exhibiting in him that manifestation of holiness, by the imitation of which we may be made like unto himself. I do not think this difference a slight difference. I think, as I have already shown you, that the right of addressing Christ directly as God is a right of consummate value and importance to our poor human nature and weakness, and that if we were without it, much of that devotion, of which we see the groundwork only in Christ, would be lost in the transfer to another and different being. Neither yet do I see the least force in that only argument which the Unitarians produce on their side, namely, that it is impossible to conceive the existence of two natures in Christ. Doubtless it is impossible either to understand or believe anything of the physics or metaphysics of any inscrutable process by which the two natures may have been united in him; but it is in the same manner impossible to comprehend the process in which the prophets were inspired, or in which the union exists between the soul and the body. But there is not, on this account, any difficulty in recognising the *fact*, as in the one case, so also in the others.

“Though this, however, be, I think, clearly so, it is not the less certain that no error of good men ought ever to be approached or regarded, either with the disposition to exaggerate, or without the feeling that God in his goodness gives always to the honest and pure heart some means of escaping every evil consequence which it may tend to produce. The Unitarian does not worship Christ as God. I think, as I have said, that he is wrong in not so worshipping him. He does not take the best way of testifying, or rather of acquiring, an adequate, as far as any human sense can be an adequate, sense of the obligations which we are under to God, and of what he has done for us. But still the great end of all is to acquire, as far as may be, that sense itself. The means, important as they are, are nevertheless means only, and not the end

itself. If the Unitarian pour himself out more fully and freely before God in thanks for his goodness ; if he appreciate more and more humbly than we, the need of redemption ; if he learn to imitate what he thinks the human example of our Saviour better than we imitate what we acknowledge to be the Divine ; he is the better Christian than we, the better servant of both our God, and of our Lord.

"This truth is not in any degree the less certain, even though he does not own Christ to be what he is, and though his faith has swerved in its expression from that consecrated language both of antiquity and of Scripture, which we will not desert. This, like so many others, is one of those cases in which equity of mind, and vigour of step, and sincerity of purpose, may much more than make up for taking a narrower path, or a path which affords us not so much help on our way. Do not let us, therefore, while we keep steadfastly to our own path, imagine that our ends, and even all our best spiritual sympathies may not agree. Sorry as we are to lose from our communion such men as Lardner and Taylor were, or as Mr. Norton is, we cannot, while they think themselves barred from joining with us in the worship of Christ, wish them to stay in it, or to come over to it. Assuredly, also, we cannot desert that worship ourselves. But they still may be, and are at heart or in spirit, both our own brethren and brethren of our Lord, united with us in the same desire of truth, and of worshipping the Almighty one in the right way—a desire which is in itself the surest bond of love, no less than the provocative both of love and of good works.

"2. I now come to my second head,—namely, that of the sense in which we use the words, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the doctrine of the Trinity. One sense, certainly, in which these words are used, is a sense in which, if we go no farther than that sense, the doctrine of the Unitarian concurs with our own. I, of course, mean that sense which I explained to you in my last letter, or in which the Trinity is called a modal Trinity, and said to coincide with Sabellianism, and in which the persons are accounted of as merely the names of different relations or characters in which that confessedly one God who sustains them all exists to his creatures. No agreement can be more perfect than that of the Unitarians with ourselves, in acknowledging in God an original principle of life, action, creation, goodness, justice, and power. We also agree in acknowledging, that the Divine goodness and power were eminently, most eminently, displayed in our Saviour Christ ; and this with miraculous attestations of his authority. Both we and the Unitarians look, or endeavour to look to him, as indeed I observed sufficiently under my last head, and to the Divine perfections evidenced and emblazoned in him, as our guide and pattern of the life which conducts us to that future union with God to which we are taught to aspire. And we also agree in holding, that the same Divine Spirit which displayed or evidenced itself in the life of Christ, lives also and acts, and is ever present with our own minds in every good thing which we think or do.

"In this doctrine we agree—a doctrine not altered in the least by our merely giving God the title of God the Son, when speaking of him specially as putting himself forth in act, or as acting in Christ ; or by speaking of him as God the Holy Ghost, when we speak of his moral influence on our hearts. But this difference, thus merely giving or forbearing to give, the title of God to the several aspects or characters, or relations in which we regard him, is plainly, while we are aware that this is our whole meaning, merely verbal or nominal. It still may be, and I think is a difference of moment. Words, as I have before observed to you, often are, and in an eminent degree, when we speak of God, of very great moment indeed. They are so in this case, and I have not a doubt but that our words are the best. But still a difference, which is merely nominal, does not alter in any case the theory of it, and so, accordingly, I believe that all Unitarians account of this doctrine of a modal Trinity as in

substance wholly coincident with their own. We, therefore, and the Unitarians go together in the doctrine of the Trinity, so far as this exposition or explication of it goes, in which we so far agree—namely, in looking up to God in all these three relations and characters, as the original principle of life and salvation, as the redeemer and sanctifier. And to this I add that all the practical applications of the doctrine are contained in this explication of it in which we agree. The whole intention of the doctrine, as far as it has a moral intention, is, and can only be, to impress on our hearts and minds the moral import and value of these relations. And it is, moreover, a doctrine which personalizes *all* the relations which we owe to God, or which we can be conceived to owe to him. ‘He cannot be more than these to us; he cannot be less.’ And if Scripture teaches us anything more of either the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost than nature can teach, it still is only as it affects our sense of these relations that even the teaching of Scripture on this head can be of any moral benefit to the soul. I might prove this by a thousand citations from the most considerable Trinitarian writers, if it could be for a moment doubted that so it must be.

“What is there then which remains? We have seen quite clearly that we may both make out for ourselves, and that the sacred writers make out for us also on authority, that division or personalization which I have described of our own relations to God, or of God’s to us. We have seen, also, that we both may and do aptly and reasonably divide or personalize all these relations to God into our relations to him as he is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as stated before. What is it, then, which remains to be added to this doctrine, or have we to add anything to it? To this I answer, and, as I think, no less clearly, that over and above these personalizations of character or attribute, or of God’s relations to us, and ours to God, the sacred writers plainly recognise, and therefore teach, that there exists also a real foundation for these same personalizations in the nature of God, or in the relations *inter se* of the powers and energies of the Divine mind. Of *what* these relations are in themselves, we can be taught nothing, any more than of *what* that infinite mind is in which they inhere. If God be incomprehensible, so must be his internal relations also, and what we cannot comprehend or understand we cannot believe. And this is the more evident, because it is, I suppose, allowed that if they exist, they must necessarily come in somewhere between Tritheism and what is popularly called Sabellianism, and yet it is impossible to take up *any* definite or intelligible ground between the two.

“Nevertheless, though it is thus certain that we cannot define these internal relations of the Divine mind, it is not less certain, on the other hand, that the sacred writers do teach clearly that such relations exist. Without entering into the learning of the case, a learning which has been often greatly misused, nothing can be plainer than that the relations of God to his word, of the Father to his Son, of the sender to the spirit which he sends, are, if Father, Son, and Spirit be but the one God, to be accounted of not as relations of man to God, or of God to man, but as existing in God. They are relations analogous, not to those in which we, as servants or disciples, are placed to a human master or teacher, but to the separate acts or energies of the master or teacher himself in thinking what he thinks, or doing what he does. And what the sacred writers teach us on this subject is, that those same personalizations of those acts, or energies, or attributes, or characters, which I have stated before, have their root in his real essence. This is all, this is our whole case. Neither yet, I believe, is there any Trinitarian, who ever contends, with any real meaning, for anything else.”—(p. 59.)

We beg again to repeat that we should not choose to pledge ourselves for everything in this volume, either of language or opinion. But it is written with very great ability and much thought, and well deserves the consideration of men of mature judgment.

The Sinfulness of little Sins. A course of sermons preached in Lent. By John Jackson, M.A., Rector of St. James's, Westminster. London: Skeffington. Small 8vo. Pp. 164.

MR. JACKSON states that these sermons were published at the request of some who heard them, but against the judgment of the author. We can fully enter into Mr. Jackson's feelings of diffidence and distrust, as probably there is no class of harmless writing, a greater proportion of which it would have been desirable to withhold from the press than Sermons. In this instance, however, we are glad that the author suffered his judgment to be overruled, as he has been induced to give to the public a volume of discourses which, without any pretension to rise beyond the simplicity of parochial sermons, will be found to contain no small quantity of practical truth, expressed in a most clear, impressive, and affectionate manner.

Bagster's Polyglot Bible. English Edition.

MR. BAGSTER has just published a very beautifully printed edition of the Bible in octavo size. It is stated to be, in a larger form and type, an exact reprint of his smaller editions, and has been published under the idea that persons whose sight has begun to experience failure, will find it a gratification to possess in a larger type an exact fac-simile of the book in which they had been accustomed to read, and to which habit had given them facility of reference. The idea is a good one, and the typographical execution of the book does credit to a press deservedly celebrated for the beauty and accuracy of its work.

Scripture Lands: being a visit to the scenes of the Bible. By the Rev. W. J. Woodcock, St. Agnes, Nassau, New Providence. London: Longmans. 8vo. Pp. 318.

THIS is a very entertaining journal. The author landed at Beyrout, and passing through Damascus and Tiberius to Jerusalem, from thence diverged to the most remarkable places in the Holy Land. To those who take an interest in the present circumstances of Judæa we can safely recommend this volume. The author's views of the traditions of the holy places are quite those which we should take ourselves. In a city where one must burrow through forty feet depth of dust and rubbish before one can find a foundation for a building, it is not very easy to understand how any one can pretend to discover in such a mass and accumulation of ruins the sites and localities of antiquity.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS,

LAUD AND WILLIAMS.

It would not be possible, within the compass of a single article, to give even a sketch of the lives of these two eminent prelates; nor, were it possible, would such an undertaking quite fall within the province, which we have marked out for ourselves in this series of papers. Our object, therefore, will be to select such incidents in the lives of these prelates as may serve to illustrate the history of their times, and to exhibit their characters.

John Williams was born at Aber-Conway, in Caernarvonshire, on the 25th of March, 1582; and at the age of sixteen was admitted at St. John's College, Cambridge. Laud was his senior by several years, as his birth took place in 1573. A life of Laud is quite out of the question in this place; but it will be necessary, in order to estimate fairly the proceedings of these two illustrious men, that their respective ages should be borne in mind.

Williams's progress at the university was most satisfactory. He took the degree of B.A. in 1602; but he did not enter into holy orders until his twenty-seventh year. He appears to have been a diligent student of the writings of the Fathers. "Great was his diligence in them: marvellous was his devotion to their volumes. These were the casting counters, with whom he reckoned all the *items* of Christian truth. The least stood for a pound, the best for an hundred. These were the champions that first took the field to fight the Lord's battel, all of them the worthies of David, whereof the stoutest had lifted up his spear against 800, and chased them. These were after the Apostles the first-born sons of the *New Jerusalem*, to whom, by the blessing of primo-

geniture, God had given the double portion of wisdom, and his spirit. Mr. Williams remembered, and would remember others of it, when they needed such advice, that a disciple of the Church of England must be their disciple, and would often cite out of the Canons concluded in Convocation, *An. 1571*, ‘That preachers should teach nothing in their preaching which they would have the people religiously to observe, but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the *Old Testament* and the *New*, and that which the Catholic Fathers and Ancient Bishops have gathered out of that doctrine.’ This is our Directory.”*

It may be doubted whether a ready assent will be given in the present age to Whitaker’s view, as given by Hacket, of the writings of the Fathers: yet the following passage is so important and so beautiful, that no apology need be given for the quotation. Alluding to their doctrinal writings, he says: “In any of which, when many of them consent, we may well presume, that the Spirit of Christ breathed in them. For the martyrdom of some, the humility, self-denial, and sanctity of them all will attest, that they intended the truth; and one point of success, that those who gainsaid them never took root or prospered, will persuade you that they found the truth.”†

Williams sat in Convocation as Archdeacon of Cardigan in 1613; but his first preferment appears to have been in Suffolk. In 1611, he became rector of Grafton Regis, in Northamptonshire, on the presentation of the Crown: and of Waldgrave, in the same county, in 1613. Besides these preferments, he obtained prebends in several cathedrals. At Waldgrave and Grafton he became celebrated as a preacher, taking his part also in a combination lecture at Kettering. In this work he was very diligent. “It was his judgment, that rude unordained dunces would in the licentiousness of some tumults, thrust into our pulpits, (and is it not come to pass to the very pricking of our hearts?) if the true professors did teach them by their negligence, to fill up the time with babling and vacuity of matter, like them that jangle the bells to no tune, and are never out, because they were never in. Therefore, for his part, he never set husks or orts, but his dainties before the people. Which expectation likewise did promote, for his church was thronged every Sunday, with the gentry especially, of all the neighbouring parishes.”‡

By the interest of the Duke of Buckingham, Williams was promoted to the Deanery of Salisbury in 1619.§ At this time he

* Hacket’s *Life of Archbishop Williams*, part i. 15.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. 34, 35.

§ When the King resolved to promote Williams to the deanery of Salisbury, the latter was at Lincoln, “and could not be heard of in a fortnight.”—*Life by Philips*, 49. This is an instance of the slow mode of communication between London and the provinces at that period.

was chaplain to King James, with whom he was a considerable favourite. In the year 1620, he was instrumental in reclaiming the daughter of the Earl of Rutland from the Church of Rome, to which she and her family were attached. Williams was appointed by his Majesty to this work, when a marriage was in contemplation between the Marquis of Buckingham and this lady. "She easily perceived," says Hacket, "that conjugal love would be firmest and sweetest when man and wife served God with one heart, and in one way, and were like the *two trumpets of silver made of an whole piece*. Num. x. 12."* They were married by Williams, who, as Hacket remarks, was indebted to this union for his subsequent rise in the church and the state. "The negotiation in this marriage, said the negotiator often unto me, was the last key-stone that made the arch in his preferment."† To preserve the lady in the faith, King James proposed to Williams that he should draw up a small manual of devotions for her daily use. The suggestion was a wise one, because she had been accustomed to the use of similar books in the Church of Rome. Accordingly, Williams compiled a book, of which "Twenty copies were printed and no more, and without the author's name, (in a notion common to many,) *By an Old Prebendary of the Church of Lincoln*."‡ The copies were sent to the Lord Marquess, and being no more, are no more to be found: for I have searched for one, but with lost labour. I can truly say I have seen one, and read it about thirty years since, which being in a negligent custody, is miscarried." Hacket, however, had the MS. from which it was printed; and it appears to have been his intention to have given it at the end of the Life of the Archbishop. This purpose was frustrated, probably because the life was not published until 1693, and because the little volume had been previously put forth with additions in a separate form. The work in its present form is a singular jumble as to the arrangement, though a valuable little volume: for while it professes to be the production of Archbishop Williams, it contains references to authors who flourished long after that prelate's death. The editor, it seems, made certain additions, without distinguishing between them and the original materials. Its plan is indicated by Williams, in his letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated November, 1620. It was divided into three treatises. "The first to furnish her how to speak unto God by invocation. The second, how to speak unto herself by meditation. And the third, how to speak unto those *Romanists* that shall oppose her, by way of answer and satisfaction. Prayers are the most necessary for the obtaining, principles for the aug-

* Ibid. 42.

† Ibid. 43.

‡ It is singular that Philips, who professes to derive his materials from Hacket, calls him a *Prebend of Windsor*; while Chalmers says a *Prebend of Westminster*.

menting, and resolutions (in these days) for the defending of her profession. The prayers I have translated from ancient writers, that her ladyship may see, we have not coyned a new worship or service of God. Of the rest I received my best grounds from his Majesty, and such as, I protest faithfully, I never could read the like in any author for mine own satisfaction."

This letter, as it was doubtless shown to the king, must have been very agreeable to his Majesty, who prided himself on his theological attainments. Williams declares that he had never met with such arguments in any author. He was himself a man of consummate abilities; and, therefore, the incense thus offered must have been very grateful to the monarch, at whose suggestion he had compiled the book. In the letter, he expressly mentions, that twenty copies only were printed, "and as many of them to be suppressed, as your honour shall not command and use."*

Williams was now in high favour at court, and his promotion was rapid. In 1620 he became Dean of Westminster, a preferment which he coveted on account of its conveniency in his particular circumstances. His application to Buckingham is regarded by Hacket as a precedent in such matters. "I observe out of these lines, a precedent for suitors and candidates of ecclesiastical promotions, that he neither extorted his place by importunity, nor invaded it by imprudency, nor lick'd it out of the dust by flattery, nor bargained for it by simony, or the mollifying term of gratuity; in a word he did not dishonest himself for it with any indignity. He carried it as he wished, not being griple of profit, as he confessed, but fond of convenience."† The step, however, furthered his advancement. "That which was the lodging of a Dean, became in the current of one year, the house of the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the palace of the Bishop of Lincoln."‡ His sudden advancement astonished many persons: but his conduct as Lord Keeper was a justification of the royal opinion of his abilities. His other preferments were retained by the royal favour: so that Heylin's observation was

* Ibid. 43.

† Ibid. 44.

‡ Ibid. 47. "All stood expecting," says Fuller, "who should be *Bacon's* successor in the *Chancery*. Sure he must be some man of great and high abilities, (otherwise it would seem a *valley* next a *mountain*,) to maintain a convenient and comely level in that eminent place of judicature." "The king's choice produced not so much dislike as general wonder. Some cavilled at Dr. Williams, his age, as if it were preposterous for one to be able for that office before ancient, and as if one old enough for a *bishop* were too young for a *chancellor*. Others questioned his abilities for the place. Could any expect to reap law, where it was never sown. Yet some of these altered their judgments, when considering his education, who for many years had been *house chaplain* (yea, more than *chaplain*, intimate friend-servant,) to the old Lord *Edgerton*. His parts were eminent, who could make anything he read or heard his own, and could improve anything that was his own to the utmost. Considering all disadvantages, he managed his office to admiration." —Book x. 89.

not inapplicable. It was expected that the Deanery of Westminster would have been bestowed upon Laud. "There was a general expectation that he would have been made Dean of Westminster, in the place of Williams; who having been sworn Privy Councillor on the tenth of that month, and nominated to the see of Lincoln, was on the tenth of July honoured with the custody of the Great Seal of England; but Williams so prevailed at court, that when he was made Bishop of Lincoln, he retained this deanery in *Commendam*, together with such other preferments as he held at that time: that is to say, a prebend, and residentiary place in the cathedral church at *Lincoln*, and the rectory of *Walgrave*, in *Northamptonshire*, so that he was a perfect diocese within himself, as being *Bishop, Dean, Prebend, Residentiary*, and *Parson*: and all these at once."^{*}

As lord keeper, Williams's influence with the king was at this time most powerful: and it will be necessary in this place, in order to carry out the plan contemplated in these papers, to consider the question, how far Laud was indebted to the Bishop of Lincoln for his appointment to a bishopric. His promotion has been adduced repeatedly by Laud's enemies as evidence of his ingratitude to Williams. Before this time, however, and when Williams was in no great place, Laud was known to, and appreciated by, King James: consequently he was not introduced at court by the influence of Williams. Hacket's account is as follows: "The see of St. David's did then want a bishop, but not competitors: the principal was Dr. Laud, a learned man, and a lover of learning. He had fastened on the lord marquess to be his mediator, whom he had made sure by great observances. But the Archbishop of Canterbury had so opposed him, and represented him with suspicion (in my judgment improbably grounded) of unsoundness in religion, that the lord marquess was at a stand, and could not get the royal assent to that promotion. His lordship, as his intimates know, was not wont to let a suit fall, which he had undertaken: in this he was the stiffer, because the archbishop's contest in the king's presence was sour and supercilious. Therefore he resolved to play his game in another hand: and conjures the lord keeper to commend Dr. Laud strenuously and importunately to the king's good opinion, to fear no offence, neither to desist for a little storm. Accordingly he watch'd when the king's affections were more still and pacificous; and besought his Majesty to think considerately of his chaplain the doctor, who had deserved well when he was a young man in his zeal against

^{*} Heylin's *Life of Laud*, 80. Philips says, "Never was there, I believe, a diocese more compleat, or better fill'd, in all the several degrees of dignity and office." *Life*, 77. The remark is strictly true; for Williams was a most active bishop, and a most laborious parish priest.

the millenary petition : and for his incorruption in religion, let his sermons plead for him in the royal hearing, of which no man could judge better than so great a scholar as his Majesty." Hacket then relates a conversation between the king and the lord keeper, in which the former objects to Laud, as a man of "a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well." As Williams pressed his suit, the king yielded in anger, saying, "Then take him to you, but on my soul you will repent it. So the lord keeper procured to Dr. Laud his first rochet, and retained him in his prebend of Westminster, a kindness which then he mightily valued."* Philips remarks upon this narrative, "But how two men so great and so good should break out into open enmity is a mystery to me at present."†

Other representations of the matter must not be passed over in forming our estimate of these transactions. "This promotion of him to the see of St. David was done by the endeavours of Dr. John Williams, fearing if he had not the said see, he would have been Dean of Westminster, which the said Dr. Williams kept in commendam with the see of Lincoln : whereby he showed himself more a politician than a friend."‡ "Some ascribe his advancement to the mediation and *disinterested* solicitation of the foresaid lord keeper at the duke's motion : and thence take occasion to aggravate Laud's ingratitude, for endeavouring to supplant and ruin his benefactor. However, it is really more probable, that Bishop Williams did it not so much out of kindness as to serve his own ends."§ That Laud expected Westminster is evident from his diary. "The general expectation in court was, that I should then have been Dean of Westminster, and not Bishop of St. David's."|| Alluding to Hacket's statement, Wharton says : "I question not Bishop Hacket's veracity, or that Archbishop Williams did indeed relate this to him. But then Williams will be found strangely to have prevaricated, when he pretended that Laud owed that preferment to his kindness, and thereupon taxed him of ingratitude." Wharton then mentions, that Williams used his interest to send Laud to St. David's, in order that he might himself retain Westminster. "But whatever may be in this matter alleged against Dr. Laud, I am sure no art or colour can defend that bitter revenge of Archbishop Williams ; which prompted him to move earnestly in the House of Lords, that the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury (then a prisoner in the Tower) might be sequestered : which by his importunity he obtained, to the great prejudice of the church, and no small infamy to himself. I do not pretend to justify the whole proceed-

* Hacket, 63, 64.

† Life by Philips, 79.

‡ Woods, *Athenæ*. Ed. Bliss, iii. 123.

§ Biog. Brit., art. Laud.

|| Wharton, *Diary*.

ing of Archbishop Laud, during the whole course of his power and government, against Archbishop Williams. I do rather lament it, as the great misfortune, both of themselves and the church at that time: that two such eminent prelates, equally endued with extraordinary learning, wisdom, and greatness of mind, should be engaged in constant opposition and enmity to each other, at first raised by mutual distrust and emulation, and ever after kept up and fomented by reciprocal injuries, and false representations on both sides.*

Undoubtedly both were in error. Both were ambitious, and each was jealous of the other; and distrust and envy were the consequences. It would be unjust to attempt to depreciate one at the expense of the other. Let the truth be stated: and let the blame of their mutual animosities rest upon both. In this respect Hacket is unjust towards Laud: for he regards the conduct of Williams as unimpeachable. There is, however, no other authority to confirm Hacket's statements—statements made to him by Williams himself, who, without intending to deceive, was probably under the influence of such strong prejudice against his rival as to take a very mistaken view of his own case and conduct. It is more likely, that Wharton's view is the correct one.†

It will be seen, however, that Williams and Laud became bishops at nearly the same time. James evidently intended to promote Laud. If, therefore, the particular bishopric of St. David's was bestowed at the suggestion of Williams, it does not follow that Laud owed his promotion to anything except to his own merits and the royal favour, since his Majesty would speedily have raised him to some other dignity. There was so much to admire in both these prelates, that their differences cannot be contemplated without regret. It will, however, be seen in the end, that they understood each other better: their mutual sufferings producing a better understanding between them.

Philips expresses an opinion, which appears to me to afford a key to their differences. "I am apt to believe that if the truth were known, Buckingham might be accountable in a great measure for the differences between Laud and Williams: who in all probability, when he was disgusted with the lord keeper, might engage Laud against him for the speedier and more effectual accomplishment of his own revenge in the ruin of Williams."‡ Some notices occur in the Diary, which render this notion probable.

* Wharton. *Preface.*

† The slander of Roger Coke is too gross and too absurd to be noticed in these pages: though, as far as his story goes, it quite overturns the notion that Laud was in any way indebted to Williams.

‡ Life by Philips. *Preface.*

Thus Laud alludes to letters received from Buckingham from Spain, during the prince's visit to that country. Under the date of October 3rd, 1623, we meet with this entry. "*Friday*, I was with my lord keeper : to whom I found some had done me very ill offices. And he was very jealous of Lord B.'s favour." On the *fifth* of October, the prince and the duke landed at Portsmouth. On the 31st of October, Laud writes : "I acquainted my Lord Duke of Buckingham with that which passed between the lord keeper and me."*

It is evident from other passages, that Buckingham and Williams were estranged after the business of the Spanish match. Thus, under December 15 : "On *Monday* morning, I went about business to my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*. We had speech in the shield gallery at *Whitehall*. There I found that the lord keeper had strangely forgotten himself to him ; and I think was dead in his affections." "*Decemb.* 27, *St. John's Day*, I was with my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*. I found, that all went not right with the lord keeper, &c." Under January 11th, we have the following : "My lord keeper met with me in the withdrawing chamber, and quarrelled me *gratis*." "*Januar.* 14, I acquainted my Lord Duke of Buckingham, with that which passed on the Sunday before, between the lord keeper and me." On the 18th of February, Laud writes : "My Lord Duke of *Buckingham* told me of the reconciliation and submission of my lord keeper : and that it was confessed unto him, that his favour to me was a chief cause."†

Laud was evidently troubled at this misunderstanding with Williams : yet it by no means follows, that his distress arose from envy at the lord keeper's favour with the king. The fact of his recording his dreams relative to Williams, only proves, that his mind was disturbed on the subject : but his uneasiness may have arisen from the reflection, that Williams was become his enemy, and might injure him with the king. In December he writes : "Sunday night, I did dream that the lord keeper was dead : that I passed by one of his men, that was about a monument for him : that I heard him say, his lower lip was infinitely swelled and fallen, and he rotten already. This dream did trouble me."‡ Soon after, we find an entry, which appears to indicate that Williams must have been conscious of having acted unjustly towards Laud. Or should this view be rejected, the lord keeper must have acted with insincerity. It is under March 17. "Lord keeper his complimenting with me." Again on March 29th, 1624. "*Easter Monday*, I went and acquainted my lord keeper with what I had said to my lord duke. He approved it, and

* Wharton, *Diary*, 7.

† Ibid. 8, 10.

‡ Ibid. 7.

said, it was the best office that was done for the church this seven years."^{*}

That Laud was in communication with the duke during his absence in Spain, is proved by the Diary. Heylin, moreover, mentions that Laud was made his friend, "from whom he might receive advertisement of all occurrences." It was insinuated that Laud was a spy employed by the duke; but, on the other hand, it is pretty certain that Buckingham's enemies took advantage of his absence to endeavour to prejudice the royal mind against his favourite. The Spanish match was unpopular with the people; and it was easy to throw the odium on the duke. Heylin states that Williams was in the plot against Buckingham; and that misunderstanding had arisen is clear from Laud's Diary. "Of all which practices and proceedings Laud gives intelligence to the duke, and receives back again directions in his actings for him. From hence proceeded the constancy of affection which the duke carried to him for ever, after the animosity between Laud and Williams; the fall of Cranfield first, and of Williams afterwards. Laud by his diligence and fidelity overtopping all."† Heylin afterwards proceeds: "It was not long before Buckingham found the truth of such informations. Hereupon followed an estranging of the duke's countenance from the Lord Keeper Williams, and of his from the Bishop of St. David's, whom he looked upon as one that stood in the way betwixt him and the duke." He also adds, that the compliments alluded to in the Diary "had more ceremony than substance in them;" and that the "wound was only skinned, not healed; and festred the more dangerously because the secret rancour of it could not be discerned."‡

Lamentable as were these differences, it cannot but be admitted that the blame must not be cast on Laud alone. Williams was jealous and irritable on the subject of a rival in the affections of the Duke of Buckingham; and this feeling led to suspicions of Laud. It is remarkable, that in Williams's letters to the duke, in which he makes the most humiliating submission, he never alludes to Laud, though he enumerates the causes which had led him to form his, as he admits, erroneous conclusions respecting his patron. These letters may be taken as evidence against the supposition that Laud laboured to accomplish his ruin. "Not presuming," says he, under date of February 2, 1623, "to write unto your grace, being so offended at me, but resolved with sorrow and patience to try what I was able to suffer, without the least thought of opposition against your absolute pleasure, his highness hath encouraged and commanded the contrary, assuring me (which I cannot repeat again without tears) that, upon his

^{*} Ibid. 10, 11.

† Heylin's Laud, 107.

‡ Ibid. 112, 113.

credit, your grace neither did, nor doth conceive any such real distast against me, but did onely suspect I had conceived his highnesses mind in that full manner which his highness himself is now fully satisfied I did not." He begs the duke to receive his soul "in gage and pawn," assuring him that he "never harboured one thought" against his grace. After various statements contradictory of certain rumours, he begs the duke's pardon "for suspecting so true, real, and noble a friend." "Yet," says he, "that I may not appear a very beast, give me leave once to remember, and ever after to forget, the motives which drew me so to do." He then enumerates the causes of his suspicions; and though six are specified, there is no allusion to Laud. If, therefore, Williams suspected Laud, he did not act sincerely, for he declares that he has revealed all his thoughts.* Long after this, in 1624, he presses the duke to take the office of lord steward, then vacant, and the letter is couched in terms of the most abject, not to say impious, flattery. "I would humbly recommend unto your grace this opportunity to be neerest unto the king in your young, your middle, and your decreasing age—that is, to be on earth as your piety will one day make you in heaven, an everlasting favourite."†

Before we proceed in our narrative it may be desirable to notice an instance of Williams's affection and service to the Church of England. Williams procured a translation of the English Liturgy into Spanish and French, in order that the character of our worship might be known to the people of those two nations. Hacket's account is so interesting, that it would be unwise not to give it entire. "When the eyes of all our kingdom were set upon the Infanta of *Spain*, he took into his house, as it is formerly remembered, a Spaniard by birth, and a scholar, *John Taxeda*, by whose conversation he grew expert in the Spanish grammar, in the Castilian pronunciation, and in the knowledge of those authors, that in ten weeks he could not only understand the most difficult writers of that nation, but was able to entreat with the ambassadors without an interpreter. Now, when the glorious nuptial torch was in election to be lighted from the neighbour kingdom of France, he endeavoured to make himself expert in that quaint and voluble language; and by parling often with a servant whom he had listed into the check of his house for that purpose, a Frenchman, that was continually at his elbow, in three months he was as ready at it to read, write, or speak as he that had lyen Liegier three years for it at Paris. And to evidence that he had a public soul in everything, where he put his finger, as he had caused a translation of our Liturgy out of Latin into

* Cabala, 298, 299.

† Ibid. 306.

Spanish, to be finished by *Taxeda*, and printed at his own costs: so to go no less in his preparations for this French association, he encouraged a most able divine, Mr. Delaun, minister of the French church in Norwich, to turn that excellent Liturgy into his country language, which was effected, and the accurate translator both commended and rewarded.* In a previous page Hacket is more particular. Alluding to the journey to Spain. "With this fleet some precious ware, never seen, no nor heard of in Spain before, at least among the Laicks, was transported thither: the Liturgy of our church, translated into the Spanish tongue, fairly printed, by the procurement and cost of the lord keeper. The translator was *John Taxeda*, the author of the treatise called *Hispanus Conversus*, a good scholar, once a Dominican, whom his patron that set him a work secured to our church with a benefice and good prebend. He studied this translation day and night till it was ended. He that writes this was often at his elbow to communicate with him, when he put questions how to proceed. But the Lord Keeper, himself, with other overseers, that had perfectly learn'd the Castilian language, perus'd it faithfully, and, if there were not aptness in any phrase, corrected it. With his majesty's privity and great approbation, two copies of it were carried, religious tokens, the one to his highness, the other to my lord duke, as the best and most undeniable certificate that a particular church can show, to vindicate the right profession of their faith from all scandals, and to declare their piety in all Christ's ordinances squared, and practised by a public rule after the beauty of holiness."†

Williams presented a copy of the French Liturgy to the French ambassadors, who came over to arrange the treaty of marriage with the Princess Henrietta Maria. They were induced to enter the abbey on the assurance that "nothing of ill relish should be offered before them." "While a verse was plaid, the lord keeper presented the ambassadors and the rest of the noblest quality of their nation with our Liturgy, as it spake to them in their own language: and in the delivery of it used those few words, but pithy, that their lordships at leisure might read in that book, in what form of holiness our prince worshipp'd God, wherein he durst say nothing savoured of any corruption of doctrine,

* Hacket, 209.

† Hacket, 126, 127. I subjoin the titles of the two books: "La Liturgie Angloise; ou le Livre des Prières Publiques, de l'Administration des Sacremens & Autres Ordres & Ceremonies de l'Eglise d'Angleterre. Nouvellement traduit en François par l'Ordonnance de sa Mageste de la Grande Bretagne. A Londres, Par Jehan Bill, Imprimeur du Roy. M.DC.XVI. Avec Privilege de sa Mageste. 4to.

"Liturgia Inglesa; O Libro del Rezado Publico, de la Administracion de los Sacramentos, y otros Ritos y Ceremonias de la Yglesia de Inglaterra. 4to. Augustæ Trinobantum. CIQ.IQI.IXIIV."

much less of heresie, which he hoped would be so reported to the Lady Princess Henrietta.”*

It is evident from the date of the French book that the translation was effected some years before the negotiations for the marriage of Charles I. Hacket, however, says it was done at Williams’s cost. Having previously printed the book, he used it on this occasion; and probably the translator was rewarded after his patron became lord keeper. Williams mentions the Spanish book himself, in a letter to the duke. “Because I have heard that they have, in those parts, a conceipt of our church, as that they will not believe that we have any Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer at all, I have (at mine own cost) caused the Liturgy to be translated into Spanish, and fairly printed: and do send you by this bearer a couple of the books, one for his highness, the other for your grace, not sending any more, unless your grace will give directions. His majesty was acquainted therewith, and alloweth of the business exceedingly. The translator is a Dominican, a zealous Protestant, and a good scholar; and I have secured him to our church, by a benefice and a good prebend.”† The value of this service is fully admitted by Heylin. “By the prudent care of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, the *English Liturgie* was translated into Spanish; so many copies of the book then printed being sent into *Spain*, as gave great satisfaction to the court and clergy. The work performed by a converted Dominican, who was gratified for his pains therein by a good prebend, and a benefice, as he well deserved. And this I must needs say was very seasonably done; for till that time the *Spaniards* had been made believe by their priests and Jesuits, that when the English had cast off the Pope, they had cast off all religion also.”‡ Yet in another work Heylin speaks disparagingly of this same act, insinuating that Williams’s conduct was not so disinterested as his admirers were disposed to believe. Fuller had mentioned the fact as an evidence of Williams’s love for the Liturgy; and Heylin snarlingly remarks: “If this be true, it makes not onely to his honour, but also to the honour of the English Liturgy, translated into more languages than any Liturgy in the world, whatsoever it be. But I have some reason to doubt that the Liturgy was not translated at the charges of Bishop Williams. That it was done by his procurement I shall easily grant: but whosoever made the bill of charges, the church paid the reckoning. The Dominican fryer who translated it being rewarded with a benefice and a good prebend, as the bishop himself did signifie by letter to the Duke of Buckingham. And as for the printing of the book, I cannot think that it was at his charges

* Hacket, 210.

† Cabala, 309.

‡ Heylin’s Laud, 104, 374.

neither, but at the charges of the printer : it not being usual to give the printers money and the copy too."

There was no ground for such a surmise on Heylin's part ; for we have the positive testimony of the bishop to the fact, that the printing was done at his expense. But Heylin further insinuates, that he could not have been such an honourer of the Liturgy as Fuller would have his readers to believe, because from 1635 to 1637, in consequence of a dispute at Westminster, he never attended divine service at the abbey, though he was dean of the church ; and because he never attended the chapel in the Tower during his imprisonment from 1637 to 1640. He further mentions, that Williams countenanced those who vilified the Liturgy ; and from these facts he would infer that he did not deserve Fuller's praise as an honourer of the Liturgy.*

Williams's success in reclaiming Buckingham's wife from the Church of Rome has already been mentioned. At a somewhat later period he seems to have been engaged with Laud in the conference with Fisher, which was undertaken at the king's request in consequence of the wavering state of the duke's mother. "His majesty," says Hacket, "was superintendent." At the first meeting, White was the champion against Fisher. "Another meeting was prepared, wherein the lord keeper entered the lists with Fisher ; because he had advised to those disputes he was willing to be active, as well as consultative. The lord keeper exposed not his part in print. The third that contended with the Jesuit was Dr. Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, who galled Fisher with great acuteness, which the false *Loiolite* traduced, and made slight in his reports." Alluding to the edition published by Laud in 1637, Hacket says : "Whereupon the bishop, for his just vindication, corroborated all that he had delivered with very strong enlargement, paying his adversary both with the principal and interest : and divers years after finish'd it with an *Auctarium*, which hath rendered it a master-piece in divinity."† Laud's conference was published in 1624, at the end of White's book, under the initials of his chaplain, Richard Bayly. Fisher had put forth his account, and Laud consented to the publication of his own share in the conference. Williams is alluded to by Fisher in such a way as to confirm Hacket's account, though no formal statement of the part which he undertook is published. White also mentions the presence of the lord keeper.‡ Heylin merely states that his lordship "put in a word or two sometimes ;"

* Heylin's Examen, part i. 274-5.

† Hacket, 172.

‡ A Replie to Jesuit Fisher's Answer to certain Questions propounded by his Most Gracious Ma^{tie} King James. By Francis White, D. of Div. Deane of Carlisle, Chaplaine to his Ma^{tie}. Hereunto is annexed a Conference of the Right R. B. of St. David's wth the same Jesuit. London: 1624. Fol. See Preface ; and the Third Conference, p. 2. Heylin, 116.

but the evidence derived from the printed works proves that he took a part in the previous conferences.*

Though the Duke of Buckingham was evidently resolved to remove Williams from his high office, and from the royal presence, yet he could not effect his purpose during the life of King James. But the king's life was terminated in 1625. It would be foreign to our purpose to expatiate on the character of this sovereign. "He was infinitely given to prayer, says Sir Ant. W., but more out of fear than conscience. That's Satan's gloss upon a good text."† Williams was appointed to preach the funeral sermon. As an illustration of Williams's style and character, we give a few extracts from this singular production. It was published under the title of "*Great Britain's Salomon*:" and consequently was very laudatory of his majesty.

Solomon and King James are compared in various particulars, some of which are calculated to excite a smile. "Solomon was learned above all the princes of the east. So was King James above all princes in the universall world. Salomon was a writer in *prose* and verse. So in a very pure and exquisite manner was our sweet sovereigne King James."‡ "In his *style* you may observe the *Ecclesiastes*, in his *figures* the *Canticles*, in his *sentences* the *Proverbs*, and in his whole *discourse*, *Reliquum verborum Salomonis*, all the rest that was admirable in the eloquence of *Salomon*."§ Williams alludes to the version of the Psalms which goes under the king's name, though a portion only proceeded from the royal pen. "He was in hand (when God called him to sing *psalmes* with the angels) with the translation of our church psalmes, which hee intended to have finished, and *dedicated* withall to the onely *saint* of his *devotion*, the *Church of Great Britaine* and that of *Ireland*. This work was staid in the one and thirty psalme."||

We may gather the lord keeper's views of church matters from this sermon: nor will they be found to differ materially from those of Archbishop Laud, though at a later period the former gave some countenance to such as were disaffected to the church. He tells us that James's patronage extended to the *doctrine*, *discipline*, and *maintenance* of the church. "And of this affection to these three he gave a full demonstration, by that he had spent *three moneths* in *this kingdome*. To the *doctrine*, by the translation of the Bible against the *Papists*. To the *discipline*, by the conference at *Hampton Court* against the *Novellists*. And to the *maintenance*, by remitting all *Sede-Vacantes*. Yee house of *Levi* praise yee the Lord, for this mercy of his endureth for ever."¶

* Heylin, 95.

§ Ibid. 41.

† Hacket, 225.

‡ Ibid. 42. It was probably completed by Williams.

§ Great Britain's Salomon, 38.

¶ Ibid. 46.

We are informed that James received "the hierarchie" of bishops "as a government received from *Christ* and his *Apostles*." Williams is as severe on the Scottish system, or the Presbyterian discipline, as Laud. "God Almighty was pleased," says he of King James, "that this great king should be bred for a while in that new *discipline*, that he might learne in times to come how hee should not discipline the church of Christ."* The following passage is not a little flattering. "So that as *Constantine* the great did nick-name *Trajan*, *Herbam Parietariam*, a wall flower, because his name was engraven on every wall: so shall æmulous *posteritie* terme King James, *Herbam Chartaceam*, a paper flower, when they read his glory in all *writers*. And as one saith of *Plinius*, and *Tacitus*, that they were *Literarum nomina, non hominum*: so will it be a question amongst *critiques* in the ages to come, whether this name of *James* doth more properly note an eminent *king* or an eminent *scholler*."†

The last comparison was in the funerals of the two kings. And here Williams takes occasion to compliment the new sovereign, Charles I. "And I must say lesse of the *last of all*, prevented therein by the *magnificence* of his *magestie*: because, for any thing wee read in the *Scriptures*, the *funeral* of the first came nothing neare the stately funerals of our second *Salomon*. Shall I say, therefore, of my present master, that he is a great and hopefull king? All that is true: but I leave it to another that hath time to enlarge it." Then, after an allusion to the magnificent funeral, he says: "And yet, with due reverence to his *magestie*, I must be bold to say, that all this is nothing to that *honour* which God hath done to the *funeralls* of his *father*. So *deare in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints*. For God hath provided another *statue* yet to adorne the *exequies* of our late soveraigne. I doe not meane this artificial *representation* within the *hearse*: for this shows no more than his outward bodie, his cloathes and ornaments. But I meane that *statue* which (beyond all *former presidents of pietie*) *walk't on foot* this day after the *hearse*, a *breathing statue* of all his *vertues*. This God hath done for him, or rather for us. For as he hath made a lively *representation* of the *vertues* of *Salomon*, in the person of King *James*, so hath he done a like *representation* of the *vertues* of King *James* in the person of King *Charles* our gracious soveraigne."‡

The sermon was published shortly after the funeral; nor were there wanting persons to subject it to severe criticism. "Some auditors who came thither rather to observe than edifie, cavill than observe, found, or made faults, in the sermon, censuring him

* Ibid. 50, 51.

‡ Ibid. 75, 76.

† Ibid. 61.

for touching too often, and staying too long on a *harsh string*, making eloquence too essential, and so absolutely necessary in a king." Alluding to his language, Fuller says: "Expressions which might be forborn in the presence of his sonne and successour, whose impediment in speech was known to be great, and mistook to be greater. Thus it is easier and better for us to please one God, than many men with our sermons."*

Still it was evident that Williams would not retain the same place in the affections of the new king as he had held in those of his father. He was now "dayly descendant in the king's favour."† The first affront was the refusal to allow him to take his place as Dean of Westminster, at the coronation. His letter to the duke on this occasion affords a painful instance of weakness in a great man. "Being come hither, according unto the duty of my place, to do my best service for the preparation to the coronation, and to wait upon his majesty for his royal pleasure and direction therein: I do most humbly beseech your grace to crown so many of your grace's former favours, and to revive a creature of your own, struck dead onely with your displeasure (but no other discontentment, in the universal world,) by bringing of me to kiss his magesties hand. I was never hitherto into the presense of a king by any saint besides yourself: turn me not over to offer any prayers at new altars."‡ All, however, was unavailing. Williams was excluded; and shortly after was deprived of the great seal. That his fall was owing to Buckingham, though he suspected Laud, is evident. "The *Bishop of Lincoln* fell now, *through the duke's* into the *king's displeasure*."§ Buckingham had long since disliked him: and probably there may be truth in Fuller's statement. "Disclaiming to be a *dependent* (as a *pent-house*) in the duke's favour, and desiring to stand an absolute structure on his own foundation at court, he *fell*."|| "However, his bruise was the less, because he fell but from the first loft, and saved himself on the second *floere*. Outed his lord keepership, but keeping his bishoprick of Lincoln and deanerie of *Westminster*, though forced to part with the king's *purse*, he held his *owne*, and that well replenished."¶ His fall would have been delayed had the life of King James been protracted. "With whose death," says Hacket, "the day of the servant's prosperity shut up, and a night of long and troublesome adversity followed."**

* Fuller, book xi. 118.

† Cabala, 310.

‡ Ibid. x. 90.

† Ibid. 121, by mistake 109.

§ Fuller, xi. 125.

¶ Ibid. xi. 125.

** Hacket, part i. 228. Wilson says of the bishop: "Though he were composed of many grains of good learning, yet the height of his spirit (I will not say pride) made him odious even to those that raised him: happily because they could not attain to those ends by him, that they required of him." Complete History, ii. 751,

On the 15th of October the great seal was required of him, simply on the ground that King James had resolved to continue it in the same hands only three years. At the same time he was requested to confine himself to his bishopric. This was, of course, a banishment from court: for the duke was evidently fearful of his influence unless he was removed to a distance. Accordingly he retired to his palace at Bugden; and for the next few years was occupied in the business of his diocese. Heylin admits that Williams's removal was owing to the duke. "The Lord Keeper *Williams* stood upon no good terms with the duke in the life of King *James*: but he declined more and more in favour after his decease. The duke had notice of his practising against him in the last Parliament, and was resolved to do his errand so effectually to the king his master, that he should hold the seal no longer." Heylin also admits, "As he fell, so Laud ascended."* Yet it is clear that the duke's enmity was the cause: nor is there any evidence that it was fostered by Laud. It should be mentioned that Williams positively denied the charge of practising against the duke in the last Parliament.†

Being removed from the court, and from the chancery, the bishop had leisure to superintend his large diocese. At Bugden he lived in great splendour, his hospitality and munificence affording topics for general conversation in the neighbourhood. It would seem that Williams having been so long accustomed to a court life, could not endure retirement. Hence his palace was generally filled with visitors. In a former paper on Visitation Articles, some account has been given of Williams's proceedings in his diocese after his banishment from the court; and therefore the subject need not be resumed. One thing, however, may be mentioned, because it appears to show that his enmity to Laud either was not at the time very strong, or that he had the art of concealing it. Laud's zeal in repairing St. Paul's church is well known. To accomplish his object the clergy were appealed to, and the bishops, in their visitations, were accustomed to press the subject. In the year 1634, Williams addressed his clergy in his own peculiar style, in favour of the object. "Should this minster still remain (as of late it did) a great heap of mouldering stones, or rather a little mountain of dust and rubbish, were our churches in the inner places of this isle never so well repaired, as I doubt it much, yet would strangers out of error, and seminaries out of rancour, possess the world, that since the Reformation

* He may be said to be one of infinite subtlety and sagacity: and what gave a singular advantage to his activity, was the great happiness of his constitution, which never required above three hours sleep in twenty-four." Echard, ii. 17

* Heylin, 133, 134.

† Hacket, part ii. 17—20.

God's houses in England are become the habitations of dragons and a court for owls. That when *Pater Noster* had reared them up to touch the heavens, *our Father* hath pulled them down to the dust of the earth." He asks, whether they were to become a reproach. "And thus it must needs be, unless these great fabricks reared at the first for the main of the work, by indulgences and superstition, be repaired again by the bountiful devotion of king and people." He adds, "The care of our metropolitan hath been such, that your contribution may be so minced and distributed to years and half years, as that it shall become very easie and portable."*

The death of the Duke of Buckingham took place in 1628; and sometime previous a reconciliation had been effected between him and the Bishop of Lincoln.† Hacket insinuated that Laud was the cause of their estrangement. Buckingham had threatened "that of all he had given him he would leave him nothing." But as the duke died in 1628, the continuance of the royal displeasure is attributed to Laud. "Of all men Bishop Laud was the party whose enmity was most tedious, and most spiteful against his great benefactor, Lincoln. He battered him with old and new contrivances fifteen years: his very dreams were not without them, as they are enrolled in his memorials, drawn out with his own hand: I will touch that fault, that great fault, with a gentle hand, because of that good which was in him: because in other things, I believe, for my part, he was better than he was commonly thought: because his death did extinguish a great deal of envy."‡ Hacket says that Williams was charged with being a malignant, "because he gave entertainment at his board, to such as carried a grudge to the lord duke's prosperity."§ A commission was framed, before the death of the duke, to examine into the bishop's conduct as lord keeper, with a view to a censure in the Star Chamber. Nothing, however, came of the matter at this time. Hacket repeatedly alludes to Laud as the cause of Williams's troubles. "Could he so soon forget him, that first made him a bishop? And in twelve years could he not forget an injury if the other had trespassed against him?"||

From the particulars already detailed respecting Laud's elevation, it will be seen that he did not owe his promotion to his first bishopric to the disinterested friendship of Williams, who, if he did interfere, merely endeavoured to divert his majesty from one

* Hacket, part ii. 60.

† Though the circumstance has no connexion with this article, yet, as possessing some interest, I may mention, that I have a copy of "*Peacham's Compleat Gentleman*," which once belonged to Felton, the Duke's assassin, and contains his autograph. It is written at the end of the volume. "*John Felton vicessimo secundo die Junii 1624.*" The volume once belonged to Mr. Grignon. It was sold at Craven Ord's sale in 1830.

‡ Hacket, part ii. 64, 65.

§ Ibid. 67.

|| Ibid. 84.

preferment to another. It is clear that these prelates pursued a different line of policy. Nor is it improbable that Laud may have considered Williams's conduct in his diocese as injurious to the interests of the church. Something of this kind is even hinted by Hacket. "Many did suspect that there was small hope to unite these, because the one was hard wax, the other soft: Bishop Laud would not connive at the Puritans, nor seek them with fair intreaties, but went on to suppress the ringleaders, or to make them fly the kingdom. Bishop Williams perceived that this made the faction grow more violent, to triumph against justice, as if it were persecution, that the cutting of some great bonghs made the underwoods to grow the faster. His way to mitigate them was to turn them about with the fallacy of meekness."*

Before the duke's death, Williams was admitted to kiss the king's hand; and the conversation with his majesty was the occasion of his subsequent troubles in the Star Chamber. He recommended some indulgence to, or connivance at, the Puritans as a matter of policy. The king assented to the course proposed by the bishop, who shortly after mentioned the circumstance to Sibthorp and Lamb. The conversation was afterwards reported to the king, and it was resolved to proceed against the bishop for revealing the royal secrets. The information, however, was ordered for the present to be sealed up: and nothing further was done in the business during nearly ten years.†

While Williams's enemies were employed in getting up charges, he became involved in a controversy respecting the situation of the communion table. Hacket attributes to Heylin much of the odium that fell on the bishop on this account. "Among all devices to thrust him under water, that was sinking already, none was hatcht of more despiht and indignity, than a book published by a bluster master, *Ann.* 1636, called *A Coal from the Altar*, to defame a letter sent nine years before by the bishop to some divines of the neighbourhood of Grantham, to resolve a doubt upon the site of the communion table or altar, as the Vicar of Grantham call'd it, from whose indiscretion the contention began. If ever any had a wolf by the ear, the bishop was in that quandary upon this provocation. Gladly he would have made his peace with the king, to which he came near twice or thrice, but at last utterly lost the sight of it: it behoved him, for

* Ibid. 86. Philips, 202, 203. Philips says: "Laud was a man fit for primitive times, but Williams to comply with the weakness of his own: the one being fit to govern saints, the other to deal with men, the difficulter task of the two." 204.

† Life by Philips, 197—199. "Some years after, a breach being made between him and Lamb, Lamb complains of him to some great men about the court for revealing the king's secrets. The bishop was conceived to be too popular, and thereby to promote the puritan interest. This information was laid hold of as a means to humble him. Though the bishop about two or three years since had lost the seal, yet he was thought to have taken the purse." Heylin's Laud, 163.

his safety, not to make them his enemies, who were to be his judges: chiefly not to trespass against the likings of Archbishop Laud, who could draw the king with one hand farther than all the lords in the court with their whole arm.*

Hacket then details the particulars. Nine years before a letter had been sent by the bishop to the Vicar of Grantham. The vicar in 1627, had removed the communion table to the east end of the chancel. Previous to the civil wars the table was placed in different parts in different churches. At Grantham the people complained on the ground that they could neither hear nor see the minister: and at first the bishop directed that no removal should take place without his sanction. At length the vicar and some of the parishioners appeared before the bishop at Bugden. The bishop entertained them at his palace; and, viewing the matter as indifferent, he prepared a letter, which was delivered to an alderman, who had, it seems, headed the parishioners. In this letter the bishop decided that the table should stand at the east end, "not altar-wise but table-wise," when it was not used: but when it was used, in that part of the church in which the minister could be best heard by the people. A longer letter was soon after sent to the clergy who conducted the weekly lecture at Grantham, in order that they might consider the subject, the vicar forming one of the number. They were at liberty to take a copy, but the matter was not to be made public. It is stated by Hacket, that the contents of the letter had been quoted with approbation in Parliament, and that it had been read before the king when the case of St. Gregory's church had been decided some years before, and nothing it seems was said to the prejudice of the bishop.

This letter was published by Heylin in 1636. "The plot was, to pop out this pamphlet, when the bishop's cause in Star Chamber was now ripe for hearing."† Such is Hacket's account. Heylin published his "*Coal from the Altar*," with the letter from the bishop. Heylin affects to believe, that the letter could not be the bishop's, because "he hath been generally reported to bee of extraordinary parts in poynt of learning, and of most sincere affections unto the orders of the church. For my part, I should rather thinke that it was writ by Mr. Cotton of Boston, who meaning one day to take sanctuary in New England, was willing to doe some great act before his going; that he might be the more welcome when he came amongst them."‡ Heylin endeavoured to prove, that the reformers intended, that the table should

* Hacket, 99, 100.

† Hacket, 101.

‡ A Coal from the Altar; or an Answer to a Letter not long since written to the Vicar of Gr. against the placing of the Communion Table at the east end of the Chancell: and now of late dispersed abroad to the disturbance of the Church.—P. 3.

stand at the east end of the church, according to the practice at that time in the royal chapels, and in some cathedrals. Williams' letter was too moderate for the times. He considered the east end the most decent situation for the table, "when it is not used, and for use, too, where the quire is mounted up by steps, and open, so that he that officiates may be seen and heard of all the congregation."

We have seen that the bishop did not intend his letter to be made public: yet the title-page of the "*Coal from the Altar*," states that copies had been dispersed. By whom were they dispersed? He "sends it unto some divines of the lecture, by them to be dispersed and scattered all over the country."* Here Heylin is unjust to Williams, since, if we may believe Hacket, he was no party to the dispersing of the letter. Under the year 1636, Heylin says, speaking of Laud's Visitation, "It was not long before he came to understand, that a great part of the opposition, about the removing and railing in of the holy table, proceeded from a letter written from the Bishop of Lincoln to the Vicar of Grantham: which, though it was written some years since, and had long been dead, yet now it was revived again, and the copies of it scattered in all parts of the kingdom." Some of them came into the hands of the Bishop of Norwich, "and an advertisement, that they were ordinarily sold among the booksellers in *Duck Lane* in written copies."† Heylin then tells us, that an answer was deemed necessary. The result was the "*Coal from the Altar*."

Though the bishop did not wish his letter to be circulated, and was probably annoyed at the circumstance, yet he could not sit still and leave the "*Coal*" unanswered. "This bishop and his estimation was shot at, and he must be tempted what he would do by a provocation in print. They were none of the bishop's worst friends that wished him, when he read the *Coal*, to look no more after it. He that answers a calumny, keeps it alive, he that will not, starves it." Then Hacket adds, "he published a little tractate, called *The Holy Table*, under the name of a *Lincolnshire* minister."‡ There is a form of a licence for the publication, signed by the bishop.

* Heylin's *Laud*, 162. Williams details the particulars of the letter in the "*Holy Table*." In his character of a minister he says: "We did conferre with the said vicar at two several dayes, especially about the contents of this paper."—P. 11. In another work, Heylin is more explicit. "He had no sooner heard that there was a purpose to regulate the standing of the Communion Table, according to the pattern of the mother cathedrall, and the royal chappells: but he presently set himselfe against it, dispersing copies of a letter pretended to be written by him to the Vicar of Grantham, and published his book called the *Holy Table*, full of quotations, but more in number than in weight." *Examen*, part i. 277.

† Ibid. 295.

‡ Hacket, 104. *The Holy Table*, name and thing, more anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, than that of an Altar: written long ago

That the bishop viewed the practice as a matter of indifference, is evident from his own conduct: for at that very time, in his private chapel, and also in the Cathedral at Lincoln, the table was placed *altar-wise*. "Williams, at that time Bishop of Lincoln, had placed the table of his own chapel in the state of an *altar*. The table stood in the same posture in the cathedral church of Lincoln: and in the collegiate church of Westminster, of which he was dean."* One of Heylin's biographers says, "All this while the bishop (as it must be confest being a man of learning) writ against his own science and conscience: so dear is the passion of revenge." Then the state of the chapel, and the cathedral, and Westminster Abbey is mentioned. "By all which, the bishop needed no further refutation of his book, than his own example."† The bishop confesses to other practices, which prove, that he had no inclination towards the Puritans, though he may have connived at their irregularities from motives of policy, or, as some say, in opposition to Laud, whose conduct was quite the reverse. Thus the bishop defends the practice of bowing at the name of Jesus. "Let him bow as often as he pleaseth, so he do it to this blessed name."‡

Heylin was commanded by his Majesty to answer the book; and accordingly published his "*Antidotum Lincolniense*."§ No reply was published; but Hacket informs us: "The bishop, I know, was making his notes ready to vindicate his book, and was resolved, as the Italian proverb runs, to give his adversary cake for bread. He was prevented by his cause in the Star Chamber, which was brought to hearing in the same month that the *Antidotum* came abroad: a censure passed upon him, which was executed with that rigour, that all that he had, even his books, were seized, and he deprived of his library: he could not fight without his arms: or how could the bell ring out, when they had stolen away the clapper?"|| Hacket intimates, that the knowledge of the fact, that his books were seized, encouraged others to appear against the bishop. "Even sorry clerks came into the

by a minister in Lincolnshire, in answer to D. Coal, a judicious Divine of Q. Maries dayes. Printed for the Diocese of Lincoln. 1637.

* Heylin's Laud, 269. Also Heylin's Observations on the History of the Reign of Charles I. Published by H. L., Esq. 136.

† Barnard's Life of Heylin. 8vo. London: 1683. 170, 171. The bishop admits this in the "Holy Table," &c. Speaking of the Vicar, in his assumed character of a minister, he says: "Against the which he conceived the rubricks to be apparent, but his Lordship's opinion to be very indifferent, because he observed (as he said) the Table in his Lordship's privat chapell, to be so placed, and furnished with plate and ornaments above any he ever had seen in this kingdom, the chapel royal only excepted."—P. 12. Williams deals somewhat in sarcasm in this book. Thus, Wren, Bishop of Norwich, is compared to "a *Wren* mounted on the feathers of an eagle."

‡ Holy Table, &c. 99.

§ Heylin's Laud, 312. Barnard's Life of Heylin, 170.

|| Hacket, 109, 110.

lists, when they knew they should not meet the champion. Amongst these was a doctor. He thrust out his '*Altare Christianum*,' to revile his master and his patron." According to Hacket, the bishop had protected Pocklington against a magistrate, made him his chaplain, and promoted him to a stall in Lincoln Cathedral. He also procured him the post of king's chaplain. "In those black days, when the bishop was overclouded, this man strikes at him with all the force of his no great learning: want makes men busy and industrious; the man wanted preferment, for he would not have been so fierce, if he had been full."^{*}

Soon after Heylin's reply to "*The Holy Table*," the bishop's cause was heard in the Star Chamber. Nor is it improbable, as Hacket intimates, that the publication of the Letter to the Vicar of Grantham was intended by Heylin to render him odious to the court, by representing him as disaffected to the church, of which he was a prelate. For ten years the matter had slept. We have seen, that a conversation at his palace had been reported some years before at London. Fuller, speaking of his retirement, after his removal from office, says: "Here we leave him at his *hospitable table*, where sometimes he talked so loud, that his discourse at the second hand was heard to London, by those who bare no good will unto him."[†] "Lamb marked the revolution of the times, saw the bishop discarded, and observed, that he might pluck himself into a better fortune, sooner by being his enemy than his friend."[‡] The Star Chamber sentence was one of the most severe which that court had ever inflicted, and the most unjust. A heavy fine was levied, and the bishop was committed to the Tower. "Now," says Hacket, "I must bring his boat to the Tower wharf, the worst landing place in all the river."[§] "My pen must now go with my good master to his lodgings in the Tower, whither in my person I resorted to him weekly."^{||} Here he continued until 1640.

^{*} Hacket, 110. Pocklington mentions the situation of the Table in the bishop's private chapel. He further adds: "Besides the *altar* so furnished there are to be seen many goodly pictures, which cannot but strike the beholders with thoughts of piety and devotion at their entrance into so holy a place: as the picture of the Passion, and likewise of the holy Apostles, together with a fair crucifix, and our *Blessed Lady*, and Saint John set up in painted glasse in the east window just over the *Holy Table*, or Sacred *Altar*, and as I remember about the same time that this letter was written."—*Altare Christianum: or, the Dead Vicar's Plea*, 87.

[†] Fuller's, book xi. 125.

[‡] Hacket, 112.

[§] Ibid. 110.

^{||} Ibid. 126. Heylin says, that his best friends concurred in the censure of the court, but it appears, that they did so, in the hope, as it was so severe, that it would be mitigated. Life of Laud, 323. He further mentions, that the bishop "never went unto the Chappel of the Tower to attend the divine service of the Church, or hear the sermon there, or receive the sacrament, as all other Protestant prisoners had been used to do: but kept himself only to his private devotions to which [his nearest servants were not often admitted; which whether it gave the greater scandal to the Protestants, Puritans, or Papists, it is hard to say." Ibid. 324.

But he was not permitted to remain quiet even in his prison. He was called upon to disavow his book. As usual, Hacket attributes these proceedings to Laud. "There were very good things to be found in the L. archbishop, but his implacable spight against a bishop, his raiser, and now become a spectacle of pity, was unpardonable."* Hacket imagines, that Laud was so annoyed at the book, that he took steps against the bishop in consequence. It does not appear, however, that anything was done with the book. But it was alleged that the bishop had, in a note, reflected on Laud, calling him "The little great man." The troubles in Scotland commenced soon after, so that Williams remained in quiet in his prison. No justification can be pleaded for these harsh proceedings. Nor can Laud be screened from the charge of acting with severity. But then, it must be remembered, that the archbishop imagined, that his proceedings in his diocese, inasmuch as they encouraged the Puritans, were injurious to the church. He probably thought, that he should save the church by removing the Bishop of Lincoln from his diocese. At the same time, he was not the bishop's only enemy. There were others about the court, who, dreading his influence, laboured to prevent his restoration to the royal favour. Hacket, indeed, appeals frequently to Laud's Diary as an evidence of his fears of the Bishop of Lincoln. January 14th, 1626, Laud writes: "I dreamed that the Bishop of Lincoln came, I know not whither, with iron chains. But returning loosed from them, leaped on horseback, went away: neither could I overtake him."† The truth is, they were jealous of each other. "All authors agree, that Williams was not less haunted by Laud, whose very person he affected to despise, if we may believe Lord Clarendon: and it is evident, that their mutual animosity first helped to ruin each other, and then served to ruin the church. The case seems to be this: Laud heartily hated Williams for his want of zeal in the cause of the church, according to his notions: and Williams heartily despised Laud for his want of wisdom and policy in any cause."‡

It is curious to observe, that Williams, during the days of his power, was exposed to the charge of Popery. It seems that the rumour had no other foundation, than his conduct as a wary politician, though it proves how readily the Puritans caught at anything to fasten, if possible, the charge of Popery on the bishops. King James wished to grant some indulgence to recusants; and

* Ibid. 129.

† Wharton, 38.

‡ Biog. Brit. art. Williams. Fuller intimates that his favour to the Puritans arose out of his antipathy to Laud. Heylin remarks upon this, that it was like the Earl of Kildare, who burnt a cathedral in Ireland, in the time of Henry VIII., because the bishop was in it. Heylin further insinuates that antipathy to the king was the cause of his leniency to the Puritans. Heylin's Examen, i. 276.

Williams was required to pass writs authorizing the judges to release the imprisoned Papists. With the writs, the bishop sent a letter, on which Wilson remarks: "To let the judges see how well he was pleased with this command, he corroborates their authority with this letter."* The letter affords no ground for such an insinuation, being a simple explanation of the King's intentions. Yet it seems that the charge had no better foundation. Fuller says, that "he hated Popery with a perfect hatred:" upon which Heylin alludes to the above charge, though he must have known that the bishop had no inclination towards Rome. "There is a muttering of some strange offer which he made to King James at such time as the prince was in Spain, which declared no such perfect hatred unto that religion. Nor was he coy of telling such whom he admitted unto privacies with him, that at the time of his greatness, he was accounted for the head of the Catholic party."† Heylin also refers to his endeavours to get Dr. Price promoted, who afterwards died a professed Papist. In another work, Heylin alludes to the charge, in connexion with *The Holy Table*, and asking, why the bishop stickled in the matter, says, "he loved to fish in a troubled water, that being a man which considered only his own ends, he went such wayes as most conduced to the accomplishing of the ends he aimed at. Being in power in the time of King James, he made himself the head of the Popish faction, because he thought the match with Spain, which was then in treaty, would bring not only a connivance to that religion, but a toleration." Heylin does not believe that he was inclined to Popery; but that he acted from motives of policy, both towards the Papists and Puritans.‡

However, the charge of Popery was circulated. "He was traduced for a favourer of the Church of Rome: nay, so far, by a ranting fellow about the town, that he was not far from receiving a cardinal's cap from Rome for his services."§ The bishop deemed it necessary to defend his conduct in a letter to Lord Anan. Alluding to the offence taken at the royal clemency, he says: "As the sun in the firmament appears unto us no bigger than a platter, and the stars but as so many nails in the pummel of a saddle, because of the elongement and disproportion between our eyes and the object: so is there such an unmeasurable distance betwixt the deep resolution of a prince, and the shallow apprehension of common and ordinary people." He then says: "for as much as concerns myself, I must leave my former life, my profession, my continual preaching, my writing, my private endea-

* Complete History, ii. 750.

† Heylin's Examen, part i. 273, 274.

‡ Heylin's Observations on the Historie of Charles I., 137, 138.

§ Philips, 237.

vours, and my actions, to testify what favour I am likely to importune for the Papists in their religion." He mentions that he was not called to give counsel in the matter, though he would have advised the same course "without the least hesitation:" and then, in defence of the king, he adds: "This argument fetcht from the devil's topicks, which concludes a *concreto ad abstractum*, from a favour done to the English Papists, that the king favoureth the Romish religion, is such a composition of follie and malice, as is little deserved by that gracious prince, who, by word, writing, exercise of religion, acts of parliament, late directions for catechising and preaching, hath demonstrated himself so resolved a Protestant."*

Bribery was also charged upon Williams, as lord keeper, and with as little reason as the charge of Popery. It was a foul slander. Weldon alleged that he exceeded Bacon, one part of the money being taken by himself, the other by his servants. In a letter to the duke, dated in 1622, he declares, that he had examined minutely the accounts of his officers, and assures him, that "they have maintained themselves by the greatness of pains, and not the greatness of their fees. The lord treasurer was the author of the charge: and Williams solemnly declares, that he "either invents these things, or hath taken them up from base and unworthy people."†

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that the statements of Weldon respecting this bishop were slanderous and unjust. "In Bacon's place," says he, "comes Williams, a man on purpose brought in at first to serve turnes, but in this place to doe that which none of the laity could be found bad enough to undertake."‡

In the year 1640, the king was induced to set the bishop at liberty, and to receive him into favour. The parliament moved his Majesty to that effect. The day after his liberation, he officiated in the Abbey, as Dean of Westminster. "Never," says Heylin, "was man more honoured for the present, both by Lords and Commons, his person looked upon as sacred, his words deemed as oracles: and he continued in this height till having served their turn against the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Strafford, he began sensibly to decline, and grew at last

* Cabala, 293, 294. Williams alludes to the Instructions relative to Preachers, for which no little odium fell upon Laud. The fact is, that Williams was more concerned in the business than Laud; and it is evident that he fully approved of the measure. In his letter to the Bishop of London, dated September 3, 1622, he says: "No godly or discreet man can otherwise than acknowledge that they do much tend to edification, if he take them not up upon report, but do punctually consider the tenor of the words as they lie, and doth not give an ill construction to that which may receive a fair interpretation." See the Letter in the Cabala, 112.

† Cabala, 292.

‡ Weldon's Court and Character of King James, &c., 129.

the most hated man of all the hierarchie.”* We shall see presently the truth of Heylin’s statement. “He was wise enough to foresee the change, and prepare himself for it: for I remember, that congratulating him for the high esteem to which he had attained in both Houses of Parliament: and representing to him the many opportunities which he had thereby of doing service to the king and good to the church; he told me that he did not think that the parliament had any better affections for him than for the rest of his brethren; that the difference between them stood only thus, that some of them might be more hated than he, but that he was not more beloved than any of them: and finally, that all the courtesie he expected from them, was that which Poliphemus promised to Ulysses—that is to say, to eat him last after he had devoured his fellows. How truly this was said, the event hath proved.”†

Some reflections have been cast upon Williams for his conduct with respect to the Earl of Strafford. Four bishops were sent to the king by the parliament to inform his conscience, among whom was Lincoln. It was assumed by some, that he owed Strafford a grudge. Heylin intimates, that Strafford had delayed his journey to Ireland for a term or two, in order that he might “have a fling” at the bishop in the Star Chamber; and he tells us, that the Earl of Dorset informed him, when it was proposed to send Williams to an Irish bishopric, that he refused to go, alleging that he had managed to “hold out against his enemies here for seven years together, but he should there fall into the hands of a man who, once in seven months, would finde out some old statute or other to cut off his head.”‡ It was said that the Bishop of Lincoln suggested a scheme for obtaining back the king’s promise to the earl. This charge, however, is refuted by Heylin, who remarks, that the author of the History of the reign of Charles I. could not have received his information from the primate Usher, since his Grace had said, that he knew nothing of the contents of the paper; nor yet from the Bishop of Lincoln, who would not accuse himself. Heylin rejects the whole story, and

* Heylin’s Observations on the History of King Charles, 217. Rushworth remarks, he “wrestled through these difficulties, and close imprisonments; was at last set at liberty, and called by the king’s writ to sit in the House of Peers, and after that was advanced by the king, and restored to all his ecclesiastical dignities and functions.” Part ii. 449.

† Ibid. 217, 218. The House of Lords had issued an order, shortly after the parliament had assembled, that the service of the church should be performed in the usual manner. The order was renewed and printed in 1641. Williams was one who voted for the order. Some peers, however, dissented. On this circumstance, Nalson says: “Happy was it for the bishops that only the Bishop of Lincoln of all the bishops was then present, otherwise the whole nation had rung of it, that they were the only obstructors of the intended reformation.” Nalson, ii. 485.

‡ Ibid. 242.

with good reason, as it appears.* The question is discussed by Hacket, who calls Pym one of Strafford's accusers, "*Homo ex argillâ, et luto factus Epicuræo* ; as Tully said of *Piso*, that is in Christian English, *a painted sepulchre, a belly god.*" "The bloody part were the godly in their own language, they, and no others. All that came from them was pretended to be for reformation and common safety, but as different in event as numbers that are even and odd. Hypocrisie dwells next door to virtue, but never comes into its neighbour's house. What justice was that which was thrown by for ever, which plaid its part so ill, that the very actors hiss'd it off the stage, and provided by their own vote, that it should be seen no more?"† He intimates that the mob were resolved on his death in case the king had not yielded, and that on this ground his Majesty gave way. Hacket assures us, that the paper presented by Williams to the king, which was supposed to contain reasons for yielding to the execution, was his advice against the scheme for permitting the parliament to sit until it should dissolve itself.‡

The Bishop of Lincoln took part in various committees on the question of religion. As the Convocation did not act, a committee of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons were nominated a committee on the affairs of the church. By them a sub-committee was appointed, which met at the bishop's lodgings. The result of their deliberations was a pamphlet of proposals, which, however, were not adopted, because greater changes were in reserve, the meeting being scattered by the bill against deans and chapters.§ Undoubtedly, Williams imagined, as the current was so strong against some of the ceremonies, that he should do good service to the church by concessions. He soon saw his error: for every concession led to still further demands.

For some time after his liberation, he appears to have entertained a feeling of resentment against Laud. Thus he was very earnest to get Laud's jurisdiction sequestered and placed in the hands of the archbishop's officers. The Lords yielded at Williams's solicitation.||

His Majesty became aware of the bishop's good feeling towards the church: and as he was popular at the time with the Puritan

* Heylin's Examen, part ii. 119, 120. Parr's Life of Usher, 46.

† Hacket, 149, 150.

‡ Ibid. 162.

§ Heylin's Laud, 443—445. Hacket, 146. Undoubtedly, at first, he was willing to oblige the parliament in many points, though he soon found that he could not continue to support them in their wild proceedings. Thus, in November, 1640, it was voted, "That at the receiving of the communion next Sunday, it was the desire of the house that the communion table may be removed into the middle of the church." Williams replied, "that it should, and that though he would do greater service to the House of Commons than this, yet he would do as much for any parishioner in his diocese." Nelson, i. 537, an error for 563.

|| Wharton, 183.

party in parliament, he was appointed to the Archbishopric of York. The step was wisely taken; yet Williams soon fell under the same reproach, with the disaffected, as the rest of the bishops.

We have seen that Heylin's feelings were very hostile to the Archbishop of York; so hostile, indeed, that he has, in various instances, done him considerable injustice. Some curious passages occurred between these two opponents, subsequent to the bishop's enlargement, which cannot well be omitted, since they are so characteristic of both. They are detailed in an amusing way. Soon after the bishop's release, he attended the Abbey church, when the sermon was preached by Heylin. Certain words displeased his lordship, and the following strange scene occurred. "At the speaking of which words, the Bishop of Lincoln, sitting in the great pew, knocked aloud with his staff upon the pulpit, saying, *No more of that point, no more of that point, Peter.* To whom the doctor readily answered, without hesitation, or the least sign of being dashed out of countenance, *I have a little more to say, my Lord, and then I have done.*"* Heylin himself relates the same circumstance with some additions. Thus he tells us, that on reaching his stall, the bishop requested a sight of the sermon. The same day, in the evening, Williams sent for Heylin to come to his lodgings, which he declined, offering, however, to meet him in any public way. Williams then returned the sermon with a very civil message. Heylin sent the sermon to White, the chairman of a committee, before whom he had appeared: and it was declared that it contained nothing objectionable. The bishop must have acted hastily in the matter.

* Barnard's *Life of Heylin*, 193. Williams, even at an early period of his connexion with the parliament, found it difficult to act under his new masters. "The Bishop of Lincoln, who had formerly been so great a favourite of the Commons, yet was a bishop still, and therefore, upon any little false step contrary to their sense, more liable than another person to fall under their displeasure, which happened to be on this occasion: the Commons, it seems, had a great mind to try the *extempore* talent of *Marshall* and *Burgess*, being men of renown in that way of treating God Almighty and their auditors with prayers that were not tied to any set form, whereby the spirit was stinted, and the candle of men's parts put under a bushel, as the phrase of the times went. Now, my Lord of Lincoln had, it seems, compiled a set office, as had been usual upon the like occasions, for the Service of the Day of Thanksgiving: at this the Commons took great distast, and, at their first meeting, they fell upon this debate, the result of which was, *that this House doth declare, that the Bishop of Lincoln had no power to set forth any prayer to be read at the Publick Thanksgiving, and that no minister ought to be ingaged to read the said prayer.*" Nalson, ii. 476, 7. Hutton, curate of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, was afterwards complained of to the House of Commons, "That on the Day of Thanksgiving, he would not suffer any one to preach but himself. 2ndly, That instead of preaching in the afternoon, he only read the Bishop of Lincoln's prayer." Ibid. 497. Clarendon says: "The House of Commons celebrating that day in the chapel of Lincoln's Inn: because the Bishop of Lincoln, as Dean of Westminster, had formed a prayer for that occasion, and enjoined it to be read on that day, in those churches where he had jurisdiction, which they liked not; both as it was a form, and form'd by him; and so avoided coming there." I. part ii. 293.

Nor is it improbable, that he was ashamed of his conduct : for some time after, the sub-dean persuaded Heylin to call upon his lordship. On inquiry, Heylin found, that the request came from the bishop. The result was a reconciliation. He says, " After some previous expostulations on the one side, and honest defences on the other, they came by little and little unto better terms, and at the last, into that familiarity and freedom of discourse, as seemed to have no token in it of the old displeasures : the bishop in conclusion accompanying the doctor out of the gallery, commanding one of his servants to light him home, and not to leave him till he brought him to his very door. After which time, the doctor never saw him more (except at church) till his second commitment to the Tower : whither the doctor going on some other occasion, resolved to pay unto him the homage of a dutiful attendance, lest else his Grace, (for then he was Archbishop of York,) hearing that he had given a visit to the rest of the bishops committed at the same time for the *protestation*, might think the former breach between them was not well made up."^{*}

Heylin was charged by Hamond L'Estrange with servility to Williams after his release. This he indignantly denies. After the meeting of the Long Parliament, Heylin retired into the country : but his retirement was regarded by some persons as a flight from England, and wagers were offered that he would no more appear during the session of parliament. To stop the clamour he repaired to London, and appeared in Westminster Hall in his canonical dress. " To the Bishop of Lincoln, then released from imprisonment, he gave no attendance at all, in his private lodging or elsewhere, till meeting him one day in Jerusalem Chamber, where the prebends were then met together, he gave him, in as few words as might be, the common civility of a complement for his return unto the college."[†] This appears to have been the only meeting between them until the reconciliation subsequent to the sermon in the Abbey.

Williams was too sound a churchman to be led into the course of the Long Parliament with respect to Presbytery, though he was at first flattered by the leaders of the House of Commons. He understood Presbytery, and did not hesitate to speak his mind. " It was apparent, that the Scotch were at one end of the fray in the North, and the Presbyterians about London at the other end of the fray in the South. Our wise churchman knew that he that fears the worst prevents it soonest : therefore, he did not lose a minute, to try all his arts, if he could quench the flame amongst the heady Scots." " Let all ages remember, that this sprung from no other occasion, but that the king invited them to

^{*} The Observer Rescued, &c., 58—65.

[†] Ibid. 55, 56.

prayer in publick, in such a form of Liturgy as himself used, putting no greater burden upon their consciences than upon his own." The truth was, the parliamentary leaders mistook their man. "They that did intend to employ him in their faction, did repent in one day, that ever he came among them."* The bishop persuaded Henderson not to quarrel with the English church, which had never altered its form of government. But "they looked upon their own work, that they had dethroned bishops in Scotland, and so long as England kept up that dignity, it cried shame upon their confusion: and if bishops lived at Durham and Carlisle, so near to their borders, they suspected the like would creep in again at Glasgow and Edinburgh. So, in fine, our bishop perceived that he dealt with men that made no scruple to shift from promise and to break faith." Hacket adds, that "some of the chief lords of that knot, made him such offers of honour and wealth, if he would give way to their alterations, that they would buy him, if his faith had been saleable, with any price."†

We now come to the bishop's Protestation. It has been often censured as an unwise step: and Williams has been condemned for rashness. But it probably saved the prelates from the appearance of cringing to the Commons, who, whether they had protested or not, were determined on their overthrow. There was a fear lest, in consistency, they should be obliged to sanction the few changes proposed by the committee, of which the bishop was chairman; and to break up that committee, they were resolved to put down bishops. Deering, therefore, was induced to bring in a bill to take away bishops, he being the tool of the Presbyterians, and not intending to go with them against the church.

* Hacket, 140, 141. A curious book was published in 1641, in which Williams is concerned. "Two Lookes over Lincolne; or, a View of the Holy Table, &c., discovering his erroneous and Popish tenets, and doctrine: and under pretence of defending the cause of religion shamefully betraying the truth and sinceritie thereof. A Petition exhibited in all humilitie to the judgment of the most worthy Defenders of the Truth, the Honourable House of Commons in Parliament, against the said Book, and especially 51 Tenets therein. By R. Dey, Minister of the Gospel. London: 1641. 4to." Dey says in his *Petition*, that the book was most probably written, but most certainly approved and licensed by John Williams, Bishop of Lincolne." P. 1. He calls upon the House to demand answers, from the bishop, to the points annexed to his petition. In a preface, he gives an account of the *Letter to the Vicar of Grantham*, the *Coal from the Altar*, the *Holy Table*, &c., and the *Antidotum Lincolnense*. To prove the authorship of the "*Holy Table*," the writer appeals to internal evidence. It is mentioned in this account, that the book was corrected in the press by Dr. Holdsworth. St. James' Liturgy is said to "be as unlike St. James, as Bishop Williams an honest minister." P. 28. He charges the bishop with yielding up "the whole controversy, and more than all too," by his admissions. P. 25. He says, "though I might rather have petitioned against one of Canterburies chaplains, who heavily afflicted me in the Universitie, or against London's officers, who have injuriously wronged me of my living: yet digesting mine owne injuries, I have rather become a humble supplicant in behalfe of the truth and doctrine of Christ." P. 32.

† Ibid. 143, 144.

There can be no doubt, that the rabble were encouraged by the Presbyterian members, who only waited for an opportunity to attack the bishops. The apprentices assailed the bishops on their way with the cry of *No Bishops*.* Petitions were presented on the same subject, and the utmost encouragement was given to the petitioners. This is evident from the various diurnals and papers of the period. A few instances will satisfy the reader of the truth of the charge. "This day againe many hundred of citizens flocking to the Houses called earnestly upon the members as they passed by from their houses, to suppress bishops, crying aloud, noe bishops, calling them the limbes of Antichrist."† "The Bishop of Lincoln, now Bishop of York, coming along towards the Lord's House, observing a youth to cry out against bishops, all the rest being silent, stept from the Earl of Dorset, and laid hands on him: which the citizens observing, withheld the youth from him, and about an hundred coming about the bishop, hemm'd him in that he could not stirre, and then all of them with a loud voice cryed out, *No Bishops, no Bishops!*" This was on the 27th of December. "This evening many of the citizens and apprentices that came to the Parliament House, being detained in Westminster Abbey, and examined before the Bishop of York, the rest of the apprentices came in a great company to relieve those that were detained; but the doors being locked, many were much hurt by the Bishop of York's men."‡ In consequence of these tumults, the bishops abstained from attendance in the Lords. The result was a petition to the king, protesting against all acts made during their absence, which, as they alleged with great truth, was forced, inasmuch as they could not proceed in safety on account of the mob. "No day passed, wherein some petition was not presented against the bishops, as grand grievances, causing the decay of trade. In so much, that the very porters (as they said) were able no longer to undergoe the burden of Episcopall tyranny. But hitherto these were but *blunt petitions*, the last was a *sharp one*, brought up for the same purpose, by the armed

* Ibid. 179. Heylin's Land, 459, 460.

† Diurnal Occurrences from the 29 of November to the sixth of December, 1641. London: 1641. P. 3.

‡ Diurnal, &c., from Dec. 27 to June 2. P. 2, 3. Vicars has the effrontery to say that the apprentices acted peaceably, and to attribute the tumult to the bishops. "The honest apprentices being sensible of their masters sufferings by those distractions, and general decay of trade." Then he says that they petitioned parliament: "which act was so modestly and orderly managed that the parliament received their petition most courteously. After whom, the porters, pinched with extreme poverty, were thereby necessitated, and by God's providence thousands of them stirred up to petition, &c. Now what an admirable effect these petitions produced, to add to this catalogue of parliamentary mercies this subsequent passage shall clearly demonstrate to the godly reader." He then mentions the concourse about the Abbey; but says that the apprentices were "very modest in their carriage and well-spoken young men;" and that they went "very civilly and peaceably to Westminster." God in the Mount, p. 57.

apprentices.* Fuller states, that they were obliged to shelter themselves from the stones: "who otherwise on *St. Stephen's Day*, had gone *St. Stephen's way*, to their graves." He then tells us that eye-witnesses informed him of the manner of the tumults. The apprentices rushed into the Abbey: the doors were closed in order to preserve the organ and monuments from the rabble: and then much confusion ensued outside the church. The Protestation was hastily drawn up: and Fuller says of the other bishops, "most of them implicitly relying on the conceived infallibility of the Archbishop of York in point of common law."† The next day the Protestation was read in Parliament. "At the reading whereof the Anti-episcopal party much triumphed, that the bishops had gratified them with such an advantage against themselves, which their adversaries might wish, but durst not hope for heretofore."‡

At this time Williams was as unpopular as any of the bishops, because he was resolved to defend the church. "The Archbishop of York was now so much declined in favour, that he stood in as bad terms with the common people as the other did. His picture cut in brass, attired in his Episcopal robes, with his square cap upon his head, and bandileers about his neck, shouldring a musket upon one of his shoulders, in one hand, and a rest in the other: together with which a book was printed, in which he was resembled to the *decoy duck*, (alluding to the *decoyes* in Lincolnshire, where he had been bishop,) restored to liberty in design, that he might bring more company with him at his coming back; and a device ingraven for the front of the book, which represented the conceit: and that not unhappily."§

* Fuller, xi. 185. Fuller speaks of the various opinions respecting the apprentices, "some terming it a tumult; others calling it courage, zeal, &c., some admiring them as acted with a public spirit above their age and education; others condemning them much, their countenancers more, their secret abettors most of all." He gives this diversity as a reason, for confining his account to matters of fact. The relations also, he says, were different: "Though surely what a parliamentary chronicler writes thereof must be believed." He then quotes Vicars: "Now, see how it pleased the Lord it should come to passe: some of the apprentices were again affronted, and a great noise and hubbub fell out. Others watched the bishops, who durst not come to Parliament for fear of the apprentices, and therefore intended to have come by water. But the apprentices watched that way also: and as they thought to come to land, they were so pelted with mud that they durst not land, but were rowed back." Thus the writers of the party at the time, when they were not become ashamed of the act, but gloried in it, admit, that the bishops were in danger. Their protestation was, therefore, justifiable. Laud mentions, that "the people came in multitudes and clamoured for the ousting of the bishops," and that petitions were brought from divers counties, which were ready framed for the people. With the bishops they joined in the petitions the Popish lords, to make the former odious.—Wharton, 187.

† Ibid. 186.

‡ Ibid. 88.

§ Heylin's *Laud*, 461. *Examen*, part i. 269, 270. Clarendon, who disliked Williams, speaks of him even before this time, as not being beloved by any one. Alluding to the Star-chamber sentence: "He was sentenced, and fined; committed to the Tower, without the pity or compassion of any, but those who, out of hatred

In the tract entitled "*The Decoy Duck*," Williams is represented as decoying his brethren into the Tower. Three sorts of decoys are mentioned, and then it is said, "But in this our witty age, there is found out a fourth sort of decoyes: to wit, a bishop decoy, who was highly fed at Bugden." They are represented as swimming in the river. "So on they swam in a stately manner, diving and ducking and pruning themselves: not regarding what arches were over their heads or what bridges they swam under, still looking forwards: at that very instant the floud-gate of the aforesaid river was clapt too, and a net flung over their heads: then they all began to quack, and to make such hideous cries, what with their quacking and their wings, that it was heard even like an echo round about the country." When the owners of the place asked why they came: "They all quacked and said, our brother *Bugden Duck*, hee protested hee would bring us to a safe place, and wee his brother ducks thinke hath done so indeede: then quoth the owners of the river, he hath played the *decoy duck* with you all, and hath not onely brought in you, but himself also in the same danger."*

No conduct on the part of the bishops would have prevented the fall of their order; and, therefore, it was better that they should unite in a protestation, because it served to develope the principles of their enemies. The conduct of the Parliament to the bishops, in committing them to prison, may be appealed to as one of the first fruits of Presbyterian tyranny in England.†

to the government, were sorry that they were without so useful a champion." Clarendon, I. part ii. 345. Clarendon says: "He carried himself so insolently, that he became much more odious universally than ever the other archbishop had been." Ibid. 350. He also says, that hatred to Williams caused the Commons to revive the bill for the removal of the bishops from the Lords. Clarendon's prejudices evidently led him to speak unjustly of Williams.

* *The Decoy Duck*: together with the *Discovery of the Knot in the Dragon's Tayle*, called, &c. Printed at London, 1641. The rest are represented as saying, that the bishop shewed himself "A plaine Arch Decoy Duck." Then, in reply, and in evident allusion to Laud: "I never heard said the owners, of but one Arch Decoy Duck, before that was ever taken, but hee came in all alone, and brought no body with him but himselfe: but this your Captain Decoy Duck, hee hath brought in good store, five couple, and one odde duck besides himselfe." The owner at last says: "Come you must go with my poulterer, come leave your ducking, diving, and bowing, and your cringing to me: doe not take me for an altar."

† Laud says of the protestation: "Perchance it was unseasonably delivered: and perhaps some words in it might have been better spared." Wharton, 184. Whitelock admits the tumults: "They offered many affronts and violence to divers of the bishops." He also mentions the triumph of their enemies: "Divers of their adversaries were much pleased with this unadvised act of the bishops, being (as they wished) a way prepared by themselves to be set aside, and removed from the House of Lords." 53. Rushworth admits all the facts as I have stated them. See part 3, vol. i. 463, 465. He admits that they threatened to pull down the organ in the abbey. Clarendon unhesitatingly condemns the protestation. He says of the bishops: "They suffered themselves implicitly to be guided by the Archbishop of York, who was of a restless and overweening spirit, to such an act of indiscretion, and disadvantage to themselves, that all their enemies could not have brought upon them." I. part ii. 345.

The bishops were committed to prison by the usurpers of the powers of the sovereign and the oppressors of the people. When the end was gained—namely, their exclusion from Parliament, most of them were set at liberty. But a most important event took place during their imprisonment. This was the reconciliation of Laud and Williams. “Our archbishop had now more neighbours than he desired, but not more company than before, it being prudently ordered amongst themselves, that none of them should bestow any visits on him, for fear of giving some advantage to their common enemy. But they refrained not on either side from sending messages of love and consolation unto one another: those mutual civilities being almost every day performed betwixt the two archbishops also, though very much differing both in their counsels and affections in the times foregoing.”* These two great men probably now understood each other for the first time. “There soon arose a fatal opposition between these two eminent prelates, raised by mutual distrust and emulation, and ever after fomented by reciprocal injuries and false representations on each side. So that they never seemed rightly to have known each other. By means of this opposition, Williams has been frequently charged with *Puritanism*, as also Laud was also with *Popery*: both which accusations we believe were really and equally false, but neither of them groundless.” “Upon the strictest examinations, we sincerely believe, that both were great and pious men, zealous Christians, and hearty lovers of the ornamental, as well as the essential parts of the Established Church: but by reason of the dissensions formerly hinted at, they never could come to a just understanding and knowledge of each other. To conclude all in the phrase of the Scriptures, *Laud* had always the innocence of the dove, but not so much the wisdom of the serpent. *Williams* had very much of the latter, but we have reason to fear, not the full perfection of the former.”† It is observed by Philips on their reconciliation: “So that whatever the former scene of their life was, the concluding act was nothing but peace and love: a signal instance, both in Buckingham and in Laud, of the good providence of that God, which *maketh men to be of one mind.*”‡

The triumph of the Presbyterians over the bishops was so evident, that it was celebrated, not only in lampoons, but in grave histories, which remain to the everlasting disgrace of the party by whom Williams was imprisoned, and Laud cruelly murdered.§

* Heylin's Laud, 461.

† Echard, ii. 17, 18.

‡ Philips, 279.

§ Some of the Lords said: “That there was *digitus Dei* to bring that to pass, which they could not otherwise have compassed.” Clarendon, I. part ii. 353. Clarendon says: “The indiscretion of those bishops, swayed by the pride and passion of that archbishop, in applying that remedy at a time, when they saw all forms

After relating the tumults, and casting the blame on the bishops, Vicars profanely proceeds in the following strain: "Now, see herein, good reader, a most notable overpowering impression of Divine providence, and learn hence so much wisdom as not to despise seeming contemptible things. 'These lordly and lofty prelates, (among whom, and a prime one too, was that supercilious arch-prelate of Yorke, Bishop Williams,) took foul scorn and high indignation, at this affront by boys and 'prentices, thus to be debarred from Parliament—being stung with discontent, they vowed revenge: and thereupon gathered together into their secret conclave, and assisted, no doubt, with some Jesuitical influence, they contrived and contracted a piece of mischief, which they wholly intended against the happy and successful proceedings of the Parliament; but our good God diverted it to their own further ruine and destruction.'" After the mention of the protestation, and imprisonment of the bishops, he proceeds: "Thus was the Parliament most happily freed of twelve of them at one clap: and thus, I say, (ever blessed be the Lord our God for it,) that which the Parliament long desired, and the well affected people over the whole kingdom, so long and so unanimously petitioned for, but could not well tell how to accomplish it, God hath made themselves agents and actors of, to their own just shame and sorrow, but to the high content and rejoicing of all God's faithful children. And, certainly, if ever, here was a most visible print of God's overpowering providence, crossing these prelates craft, paying them in their own coin."* He rejoices repeatedly in a similar strain. Alluding to the bill for their removal from Parliament: "It having pleased the Lord, our most wise God, first to catch them in their own nooz, to entangle

and rules of judgment impetuously declined: that they should in such a storm, when the best pilot was at his prayers, and the card and compass lost, without the advice of one mariner, put themselves in such a cock-boat, and to be severed from the good ship, gave that scandal and offence to all those who passionately desired to preserve their function, that they had no compassion, or regard of their persons, or what became of them." Ibid. 354, 355.

* Vicars, *God in the Mount*, 58—61. He repeats his expressions of joy: "It having pleased our gracious God to remove this mountainous work out of the way of our worthies in parliament—a thing so long desired, yet so hard to be effected: yea, almost impossible (as things stood) had not the prelates themselves done it." P. 64. The moderate bishops are charged with a "Laodicean temporizing coldness and security," and denounced as "no lesse than downright antichrists." He expresses his grief that "the very best of them hath not to this very day given the least point or expression of true repentance." He says, they wish to "be thought great clerks, rare disputants against Popery in words onely (yet often juggling with us therein, too.)" Then, alluding to Bishop Hall's *No Peace with Rome*, he adds: "One of their most moderate wise men of peace (Bishop Hall, a most fierce but fruitlesse stickler for Diocesan Episcopacy) since his being in prison, hath not been ashamed, with his accustomed rhetorically glorious, smoothlye painted phrases, to daub over his great guilt of conscience. He should have had no peace with *Rome* as well as he wrote of the *No Peace of Rome*." 61, 62.

them in their own snare, whereby their persons were (even by themselves) first sequestered from the Parliament by law, they being fast locked up in prison in the Tower. And thus on that happy fifth of February was the church of God most mercifully freed of that pestilential disease, the antichristian tyranny of our English prelates. And now let the godly reader consider the admirable justice of our wise and most holy God, meeting them full in their own wayes and workes. They, who being lords in Parliament, yet could seldome or never find a heart or voice for Christ; have now no voice or place in Parliament. Thus Goliath is slain with his own sword, and Haman is hanged upon his own gallows.*

After the commencement of the war, Archbishop Williams retired into Wales. The reports which were circulated by his enemies, of falling in with the Parliament during the war, are without foundation. They need not be detailed in this paper: but the reader may peruse a satisfactory refutation in Bishop Hacket's life of the archbishop, and also in Philips.† His sorrow for the death of the king was so great, that he ever after rose at midnight, "kneeled on his bare knees, and prayed earnestly and strongly one quarter of an hour before he went to his rest again. The matter of his prayer was principally this, *Come Lord Jesus, come quickly, and put an end to these days of sin and misery.* So much I learnt from himself and so report it." The archbishop became much dejected after this: seldom inquired for news, "except that sometimes he would lift up his head, and ask what became of the king's tryers, *Baanah* and *Rechab*, especially *Cromwell* and *Bradshaw*, looking for some remarkable judgment from God to come down upon them."‡

The archbishop survived his majesty rather more than two years. "Two years and almost two months, he consumed in a sequestered and forlorn condition, scarce any witness could tell what he did all the while, but that he prayed, and sate at his book all day and much of the night."§ "This holy father had completed the just number of 68 years. He was weary of life in those hateful times, therefore death came welcome to him: and the more welcome, because he lamented his own condition, that

* Ibid. 70, 72.

† Rushworth gives circulation to the rumour of his uniting with the parliament in Wales. Thus, after quoting Laud's dream, previously mentioned, he says: "The interpretation of this dream may (not unfitly) be thus applied; his chains might signifie the imprisonment of the Bishop of Lincoln afterwards in the Tower; his returning free, to his being set at liberty again at the meeting of the parliament; his leaping on horseback and departing, to his going into Wales, and there commanding a troop in the Parliament's service: and that Bishop Laud could not overtake him, might portend, that himself should become a prisoner in the same place, and be rendered thereby incapable to follow, much less overtake him." Vol. i. 421.

‡ Hacket, 226.

§ Ibid. 227.

he could contribute nothing to raise up the ruins of the church and kingdom."*

We have already seen how he managed some things during the ascendancy of Laud, yet after all there was no great difference between them in their views, nor yet in their conduct at the close of life. Hacket says he was "a punctual observer of the ancient church orders, whereof he was a governor, and a great decliner of innovations, holding to it, that what was long in use, if it were not best, it was fittest for the people." In his last sickness Hacket says that he was attended by the nearest clergyman: and we are informed by another writer, "Notwithstanding the world's opinion of his principles, he continued so exact and strict to the rules of the Church of England, that in his last sickness, wanting a regular Presbyter to give him the sacrament, absolution, &c., he purposely ordain'd an honest and pious servant of his own to administer to him in these holy offices."†

Hacket admits, in summing up his character, that he was not meek in his temper. "Yet I concur with others who knew this lord, that choler and a high stomach were his faults, and the only defects in him. And it had been better for him, if he had known a meek temper, and how to be resisted. Otherwise his virtues were super-excellent. A great devotee to publick and private prayer, there did not live that Christian that hated revenge more than hee, or that would forgive an injury sooner."‡ "Of all English divines," says Fuller, "since the Reformation, he might make the most experimental sermon on the Apostles' words, *by honour and dishonour, by ill report and good report.*"§ Probably it will be observed that Hacket's admission is sufficient to account for the estrangement and misunderstanding between Williams and Laud. But when troubles overtook them, and the church was in danger, their animosities were forgotten: all misunderstandings were cleared up, mutual jealousies vanished, and each saw and appreciated the other's talents, integrity, and piety.||

THOMAS LATHBURY.

* Ibid. 229.

† Echard, ii. 700.

‡ Hacket, 229, 230.

§ Fuller, xi. 227.

|| In a concluding note, mention may be made of two matters, which could not be so well introduced in the previous pages. Bernard, the biographer of Heylin, says, in the year 1683, of "*The Holy Table, Name and Thing,*" "but ever since, this mischief followed his book, that in most country churches to this day, the table is set at the hither end of the chancel, without any *traverse*, or rails to fence it: boys fling their hats upon it; country vestries write their parish accounts." 171. In the "*Devout Communicant,*" a popular book of the reign of Charles II., there is a plate representing the administration of the Lord's Supper, and the table is placed in the body of the church. This is singular, because for many years the uniformity relative to the situation of the table has been complete.

The other subject also arises out of Williams's book, "*The Holy Table,*" &c. For a long time, there has been much difficulty in deciding which of the Books of

"CATHEDRAL TRUSTS AND THEIR FULFILMENT."

MY DEAR SIR,—You have probably seen Mr. Whiston's pamphlet on "Cathedral Trusts and their Fulfilment." It has been very diligently circulated, I believe; and the circumstances connected with its publication cannot fail to call more than ordinary attention to its statements. They bear upon them all the appearance of those "stubborn things" which "you cannot deny." And the course which legal proceedings have been taking in regard to Mr. Whiston's position at Rochester, has hitherto been such as to leave, in great measure, out of the immediate range of the matter dealt with in the court of law, the question as to the correctness of Mr. Whiston's data and the conclusions he draws from them in regard to the whole body of our cathedrals. Whether any of those bodies will think it incumbent upon them, or fitting, to take any notice of statements put forth in the way in which Mr. Whiston's have come before the public, I cannot at all tell. But having read carefully Mr. Whiston's pamphlet, and having thought it right to refer to some of the documents which he quotes, I am anxious to communicate to you some of my results; for I know no publication which, from its early days, has applied itself more diligently and advantageously to the examination of "facts" in these matters than the British Magazine. I intend to confine myself to the case of the metropolitical church; for it comes in for a due share in Mr. Whiston's attack; and all churchmen of the province may well, I think, feel some interest in knowing whether all is indeed as would appear from his documents and inferences. I have consulted the statutes of Canterbury cathedral,

Common Prayer of 1549 was actually the first. Usually, however, the Book dated in May has been so regarded; and it has been thought that the Book dated in March was published last, and that, according to our reckoning, it would properly be March, 1550. The arguments in favour of the May edition were chiefly two, *first*, the difficulty of getting the Book ready sooner; and, *secondly*, the fact that the Act fixed the Feast of Pentecost, which, in that year, fell on the ninth of June, though a provision was made for an earlier use, in case the Book should be possessed. In a *Life of Jeremy Collier*, prefixed to a new edition of his history, published by Straker, in nine volumes 8vo, I have proved, by direct evidence, that the Book was used in London on Easter Day, which, in that year, fell on the 21st of April; consequently, the Book must have been printed before that day: and, therefore, the March edition must be the *first*, since the next did not appear till May. In addition to the evidence there collected, I may add, that Bishop Williams directly asserts, that the March Book was the first. Alluding to an epistle of Calvin to Bucer, Williams says: "It appears to me that this epistle to Bucer hath no date at all, and if we give it a date from the printer's *placing of the letter*, you shall finde it between November 19, 1548, and January 16, 1549, and consequently before the publishing of the first *Liturgie*, which was March 7, 1549." P. 143. This is decisive testimony. I refer the reader to the "*Life of Collier*" for the other evidence, which is of such a character that no doubt can any longer remain respecting the first edition of the Book of 1549.

and verified the references which he makes to Strype; and I confess myself a good deal surprised at some results of my investigations. I almost think I must have made some great mistake: certainly either I have, or Mr. Whiston has, to an important extent.

"Facts," according to the common saying to which I have alluded, "are stubborn things;" but then there are different modes of dealing with "facts." And one mode is this. Suppose King Henry VIII. to have given statutes to a cathedral, and suppose these statutes to have been corrected and confirmed by King Charles I., and suppose a very considerable variation to exist between the earlier and the later statutes, in regard particularly to the stipends of the inferior officers,—suppose those stipends to be generally less in the later statutes than in the earlier,—then if you will go to the *original* statutes, taking no notice of these alterations, or of the fact that the later statutes are those which are now in force, you will obtain results more calculated certainly to make an immediate impression upon the reader who knows nothing of all this, than to reflect credit on the fairness or carefulness of the writer. For example, Mr. Whiston tells us, at the opening of his pamphlet, (pp. 2, 3,) that "a general idea of the scope and nature of the cathedral establishments, as originally planned and settled by Henry VIII., may be formed from the first chapter of the old statutes of Canterbury, which is almost identical with the corresponding chapter of the statutes of all the other cathedrals of the new foundation." From these statutes, it would appear, he takes his list of stipends: he is, meanwhile, fully aware of the existence of later statutes given by King Charles I., and even of the minuter differences between them; for, in p. 100, he says, "In all the statutes of Henry VIII. which I have seen, the organist is the master or teacher of the choristers, and by *the statutes of Charles I.* at Canterbury, they are two distinct officers." He takes, nevertheless, no notice whatever of variations so essential as these; that a stipend which he states at 10*l.* is by the later statutes 5*l.* 2*s.*; another of 20*l.* is 15*l.* 2*s.*; another of 10*l.* is 6*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; another of 8*l.* is 4*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; others of 6*l.* are 2*l.* 18*s.*; one of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* is 3*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*; one of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* is 1*l.* 5*s.* Now, whether you compare a stipend of 1849 with one of 10*l.* in the reign of King Henry VIII., or with one of 5*l.* only, nearly a hundred years later, makes a very considerable difference; especially if it is to be contrasted with the income of a prebendary put at 40*l.* in either case. For, suppose a minor canon to have 5*l.* by statute, and now to receive 80*l.*, more than fifteen times as much as he did in the time of King Charles I., no very strong case would then be made out, in the comparison with the income of a dean who having, according to

Mr. Whiston, his income fixed at 300*l.* in King Henry's days, now receives, it would appear, not seven times as much as his original allowance. Or if a lay clerk receives now 40*l.*, it makes some difference, whether he is receiving less than five times what was his stipend in King Henry's days, or more than nine times that which was allotted to him in Charles the First's;—or, again, as regards the chorister, whether he has had his stipend rather more than doubled in the course of three hundred years, or whether it has been increased sixfold during the last two hundred. Of the fact of King Charles's statutes being those which are now in force at Canterbury Mr. Whiston is fully aware. "To Canterbury," he tells us, (p. 69,) "*fresh statutes* were given by Charles I., and to Ely by Charles II. Now the very title of the former," he goes on to say, "shows that Charles I. did not recognise any other principles of reformation than what were strictly *conservative*, and based upon the fulfilment of the founder's intention to the very uttermost. The title," as he observes, "is:—

" 'The Statutes of the Cathedral and Metropolitcal Church of Canterbury of King Henry VIII., as *they are confirmed* by the Most Serene King, Charles the First of that name.' "

And yet not one word does Mr. Whiston say, nor a single hint does he drop, of so essential a variation as had been made in the later statutes in regard to stipends. Nor does he take any notice of the fact that in the *body* of the statutes, and not the mere title, (or "the very title," as he describes it)—in fact, in the oath which the dean and canons are to take to observe the statutes—they are called "the statutes and ordinances of King Henry VIII. as they were *corrected, explained, and confirmed* by our most serene King Charles the First of that name." And he makes, meanwhile, detailed calculations resting upon data thus grossly incorrect. In fact, of the whole list of officers which he gives in his table, looking to those which, it appears, at present exist, we find but two or three whose stipends are given according to King Charles's statutes. It is to be hoped that this was negligence. But amidst apparent indications of familiar acquaintance with both sets of statutes, it is anything but creditable to Mr. Whiston, or calculated to produce confidence in regard to his statements and conclusions.

But we come now to the main point of the whole question. In regard to "endowments" Mr. Whiston lays down, that "the different amounts" in each case "were intended to meet exactly the various liabilities and expenditure of each church or college," (p. 8.) "It was not intended or contemplated that there should be any *divisible* surplus; nor any 'balance in hand' beyond what might be requisite for the great and extraordinary wants of each church. In proof of this statement," he says, "we may exhibit

the schemes for the foundation of the cathedrals or colleges of Canterbury and Ely." (pp. 9, 10.) "The summe totall of all the charges" to be allowed for being calculated, "the church" was "to have, if it please the Kynge's Majestie, in possession 254*l.* 3*s.* 11½*d.*" "It is plain, then," says Mr. Whiston, "that in the case of Canterbury, it was not the founder's intention that there should be any *surplus* whatever for the dean and chapter. The same remark holds of Ely, &c," (p. 11.) From these schemes he argues, "that no surplus either existed at first in the cathedral revenues, or was expected to arise afterwards, the rents and profits being exhausted, or intended so to be, by the stipends and apportionments charged upon them;" (p. 13;) and "that deans and prebendaries were not in the sixteenth century considered to be beneficially interested in their endowments, beyond the amount of their statutable stipends and allowances. What these stipends, &c. were," he says, "we will now show, from records *independent* of, and of *later date* than, the original statutes," (p. 22.) Thus from the Lansdowne MS., No. 683, intituled "Various lists in the time of Elizabeth," is quoted an "account of the values of the deaneries of the new foundation;" Canterbury at the head of them, valued as before, at 300*l.* And "in another MS. of the same collection . . . is another table of the values of the same deaneries, agreeing with the former . . . The stipends, however," Mr. Whiston goes on to say, "were not by the cathedral statutes absolutely *fixed* at the amounts given; for, strictly speaking, the decanal incomes arose from two sources, one a yearly payment called the 'Corpus Decanatus,' or the corporation or 'corps' of the deanery, and another, a daily payment called the 'Quotidian,' the yearly amount of the latter varying with the number of days of residence. The foregoing values are calculated on the supposition that residence was kept for a statutable year,"* (pp. 22, 23.)

Mr. Whiston then gives us, from another MS., a table showing "the annual payments, or 'corpora,' as well as the daily payments, or 'quotidians,' assigned to the deans and prebendaries of the new cathedrals." At the head of this list, Canterbury has for its dean "Corpus, 56*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, Quot. 13*s.* 4*d.*," making up 300*l.* per annum:—for the prebendaries, "Corpus, 17*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, Quot. 1*s.* 3*d.*;" making up 40*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* per annum. "The several cathedral statutes," as he further informs us, "decreed that for every day of non-residence not permitted by the statutes, the dean and prebendaries should respectively pay a fine equal in amount to their several 'Quotidians;' and that the total of such fines should, at the end of the statutable year, be shared for a

* That is to say, for ninety days.

dividend, in proportion to the residence of each, and the dean taking 16*d.* for a prebendary's 8*d.* This, indeed," he goes on to say, "is the *only* dividend recognised or mentioned in the cathedral statutes of Henry VIII., and is in them called the 'Communis Dividentia:—i. e., the dividend shared by the dean and chapter in common, in contradistinction to the separate sums appropriated to deans and prebendaries in their individual capacities." He adds, "*No other dividend of any kind is hinted at.*" (p. 25.) "Supposing, then," he says, "that the deans and prebendaries resided for the whole of a statutable year, the total amount of their yearly incomes would be the sums of their several 'Corpora' and 'Quotidians,' and nothing more." (pp. 26, 27.)

If this be so, that "no other dividend of any kind is hinted at" in King Henry's statutes, it is an important fact, should it appear that other dividends *are* hinted at and recognised in King Charles's. And, on referring to King Charles's statutes, we find that the very enactment concerning the fines, or forfeitures, for absence, of which Mr. Whiston speaks, expressly mention *other* dividends, falling under the same class and designation of "*communis dividentia.*" The words are as follow:—"Ex ipsâ autem dividentia,—viz., the division of the forfeitures or "*perditions,*" as they are commonly called, in the words of the statute, (*harum dividentiarum quæ vulgo perditiones vocantur,*)—"sicut et ex aliâ quâvis dividentia communi, volumus decanum duplum accipere, hoc est, si Canonicus residens pro portione suâ recipiat ex dividentia octo denarios, decanus recipiet sexdecim denarios." This puts an utter end to Mr. Whiston's supposed fact. Upon his theory, there *was* no other "common dividend" to give rules about; whereas, if in Henry's statutes there was no other dividend spoken of—(I assume the correctness of his statement)—and in King Charles's there *was* this provision and rule for the division of other dividends, what can be more clear than that such division was contemplated and expressly provided for? Granted that there may have been no surplus in the first instance, it would seem as if there *were* such surplus now, and a regulation given accordingly for its systematic division.

Mr. Whiston, however, has made a notable discovery of the solution of the question, which, as he observes, is "of some interest," how it came to pass that the statutable stipends were so largely increased. From a document contained in the register of Archbishop Parker, he tells us, "it appears that the increase was first attempted to be made by means which the archbishop conceived to be alike unjust and illegal—i. e., the appropriation by the deans and prebendaries, *exclusively*, of fines for the renewal of beneficial leases, probably granted by the monasteries, before the creation of the new cathedrals, and not terminable till some

years after. Thus in the injunctions given by him, October 7th, 1573, at his visitation of Canterbury Cathedral, we find the following:—"Whereas, great quarrellings and wranglings have always been stirred up between the dean and the prebendaries, while aiming at their own private profit, they one with the other have 'demised and to farm letten' manors, rectories, lands, and tenements of the said church, as many as possible, and also have shared and divided amongst themselves the fines which should, with more equity, have been laid up in the common chest: We do, under the pain and sentence of suspension aforesaid, forbid any 'money-catching demises' of that sort to be made henceforth, in any case whatever, until, in the judgment of ourselves or our successors, the church aforesaid shall become more rich, and the quarrelling therein be set at rest." "But," as Mr. Whiston goes on to say, "the archbishop went farther than this: for he 'evacuated the covetous decrees' of the dean and chapter by the following order: Item, 'We will that all the decrees of the chapter from the end of last May, made for the divisions of *fines*, be declared to be null and void, and cancelled, as *contrary to the intention of the statutes* aforesaid, and the advantage of the church.'"

"Such were the facts at Canterbury," says Mr. Whiston, "in Archbishop Parker's time, and they naturally suggest the inquiry, how it happened that there was so much quarrelling and wrangling for these fines, between deans and prebendaries, who now-a-days divide them without any difficulty, or unpleasant bickerings, and with whom the only question is as to the amount the lessees shall pay. It is easy to answer this," he says. "The statutes never contemplated the appropriation of any such fines by deans and chapters: the charters of endowment never mention them. Accordingly, on the receipt of a fine of 780*l.*, the Dean of Canterbury would say, 'I claim 300*l.* as my share; for the statutes assign me a yearly stipend of that amount, while they give you, the twelve prebendaries, 40*l.* each, or 480*l.* altogether.' 'True, Mr. Dean,' a prebendary would say, 'but have the goodness to remember that the statutes also say, that of the common dividend, the dean shall only take twice as much as a prebendary.' 'Yes,' would rejoin the dean, 'but this dividend was to arise from penalties incurred by non-residents, not from fines exacted upon renewals of leases, which the statutes do not recognise.' 'Very well, then,' would rejoin the prebendaries, 'if the statutes do not authorize us to take these fines, the less said on the subject the better: we cannot settle it by law, but we will put it to the vote here, without "calling in the stranger." ' Thus would the matter be arranged by a matter of votes; but not without the quarrel-

* Record XCII. in Strype's Parker.

lings to which the archbishop alluded, and which could never have arisen, had the statutes *provided* for the distribution of such fines upon the renewal or making of the 'money-catching' demises, to the great profit of existing deans and prebendaries, and the great damage and impoverishment of the church." (pp. 30—32.)

This is no doubt a very ingenious and interesting specimen of "imaginary conversations," and very "important if true:" highly satisfactory, indeed, it must appear to the uninformed reader to have discovered so clearly the history and origin of the "first attempt" which has been so successful ever since. It seems singular, however, it must be owned, on Mr. Whiston's theory, how Archbishop Parker came to contemplate the cathedral church becoming more rich; for it had its fixed revenues in money, and there was an end of it. It would seem, too, that he contemplated the taking of fines; which Mr. Whiston goes on to tell us, was a thing absolutely and expressly forbidden by the statutes; nor did the archbishop even shut the door upon division of fines among the dean and prebendaries, but only until, in the judgment of himself and his successors, the church aforesaid had become more rich, and the quarrelling been set at rest. The ground, as it would appear from the documents in Strype, on which Archbishop Parker evacuated the "covetous decrees," was that the dean and prebendaries had divided among themselves moneys "which should, with more equity, have been laid up in the common chest." It appears, in fact, that "the sum total of all the fines set, as they are recorded," was 750*l.* 4*d.* "Of this there was voted for the common chest no more than 26*l.* 10*s.*;" "for the dean and prebendaries, 723*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*" "These," in Strype's words, "were the decrees and orders made by the dean and chapter, which the archbishop did cancel, and make void by one of his injunctions. And whereas at that time the common chest of the church was very poor, the dean and prebendaries were very far from enriching it, as appears by the aforesaid account."*

Mr. Whiston's imaginary conversation, with its results, is somewhat difficult to be reconciled, it must be observed, with the facts to which he himself refers. It would seem to be his hypothesis, that the dean and prebendaries, finding out, in the process of their quarrellings, that what they were doing was contrary to their statutes, thought it best to make up matters among themselves, and hence the absence of quarrels ever since; whereas, from the "facts" it appears, that the matter duly came before the archbishop, and that he interposed a distinct injunction on

* Strype's Life of Parker, book iv. chap. 31.

the subject. Upon Mr. Whiston's view of the matter, it is certainly somewhat extraordinary that the archbishop did not forbid the taking of fines altogether, whether for the common chest or for any other purpose, instead of contemplating the continuance of a mode of proceeding upon which Mr. Whiston pronounces judgment as follows. He tells us that "in cap. vi. of the Canterbury and Rochester statutes, there is a clause of which the dean and chapter of Canterbury truly say,* that 'it sets forth the founder's will without any ambiguity.' It is as follows: 'We altogether forbid the alienation or pledging ('impignoratio,' putting into pawn) of any manor, land, rent, or tenements, or any other immovable possessions of our church; for we wish our church to get rich, and not to become poor.' Now the renewal of a lease for a large fine of ready money," he goes on to say, "is, in effect, a mortgage or pledging of property. For money is advanced by a lessee, who is repaid by the rents or returns of the estates leased to him, and instead of the leasehold property being taken out of pledge, it is kept 'impigneratum,' or in pawn, by successive renewals and fresh advances of money, without any prospect of redemption. But the spirit and intention of the prohibition just quoted, clearly forbids the exaction of large fines, for the renewal of such leases, and more clearly still does the reason alleged for the prohibition—viz., the wish that the church† (not a dean and chapter) should grow rich, which, it is well known, suffers materially in its pecuniary resources by such anticipations of its revenues," (p. 93.)

If Archbishop Parker took this view of the matter, or anything like it, it is certainly extraordinary that his injunctions were what they were: it would be extraordinary, too, if meanwhile he was taking fines of his own lessees, which there is no manner of doubt he was. His biographer certainly, in his comment on the archbishop's injunctions, referring, as he does, to the same statute with Mr. Whiston, regards it, it is clear, very differently. He says, "the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh injunctions, were to promote the public benefit of the church, and to enrich the common chest. And they refer to the statute called '*Dimissio terrarum et tenementorum ad firmam*, which chiefly provides against the granting of leases before the term be fully expired, and against the granting of any leases, or the commencing any law suit, or the like, by the dean, or any of the prebendaries, without the consent of the chapter. Also, that all things be acted for the benefit, and not for the damage of the church, with this clause added. *Pinguesscere enim ecclesiam nostram optamus, non macrescere.*" The good archbishop and his honest biographer

* Memorial, Nov. 26, 1836.

† *Pinguesscere volumus Ecclesiam.*

would have been equally amazed at Mr. Whiston's doctrine concerning fines on renewals. "The appropriation by deans and prebendaries, *exclusively*, of fines for the renewal of beneficial leases,"—*that* is one thing, and a thing which Archbishop Parker *did* condemn and prohibit; the taking of fines on renewal,—*that* is another, which he as distinctly contemplated and recognised.

But let us look a little farther, or rather a little farther back, into the history of Archbishop Parker and his proceedings, and we shall find that which would somewhat surprise a simple-minded reader of Mr. Whiston's pages. Three years before the visitation to which Mr. Whiston refers, there had been a visitation of the cathedral of Canterbury, and sundry "injunctions" given by the archbishop. One of these is as follows:

"V. That such as shall claim dividends for the time of their absence, as necessarily letted and absent, shall make sufficient testimony before the dean and chapter of the causes of their absence."

This to a reader of Mr. Whiston would sound rather strange; for the only "dividends," as Mr. Whiston would have him know, were the fines which were imposed by statute upon those who had *not* kept their proper residence, and which were to be divided among those who had. But here, it would seem, was a claim on the part of the defaulters for a share in the "dividends" of the forfeits which they were themselves to make. The mystery, however, may perhaps be somewhat cleared up by the information which Strype gives us in the next page as follows:—

"There was one particular quarrel now among the prebendaries, which the archbishop by his authority took care to put an end to. Which was concerning a controversy and demand of Mr. Dr. Rushe, Mr. Willoughby, and Mr. King, the Queen's Majesty's chaplains. The decree for the determination of which was made by the most reverend Father in God, July 24, and ran in this tenor: 'Whereas the said Mr. Rushe, Mr. Willoughby, and Mr. King, alleged, that during the time of their attendance as ordinary chaplains to the Queen's Highness, they were denied their *dividends of certain fines then taken for leases* past by the dean and prebendaries, being at home, and resident in the said church of Christ in Canterbury; forasmuch as the statutes of the said church do account such service a necessary impediment, and that the custom is confessed, that any canon in the same church being necessarily letted, as by sickness, or other commandment of superiors, ought to partake such dividends; the case so being, we think it good reason that every one of them, making first oath, that they were at that time in their said alleged service, be allowed their portions of the said fines, according to the rate of the same.'"

* Strype's Life of Parker, book iv. chap. 3.

It actually appears, then, that three years before the time to which Mr. Whiston's quotations refer—in fact, at the preceding visitation of the archbishop,—a question had been distinctly referred to him involving, as a fully recognised thing, fines taken for leases, and "dividends" of those fines shared by the dean and prebendaries; and, moreover, a "custom" duly established and confessed as to who were entitled to a share in "*such dividends*." And the archbishop, instead of denouncing and prohibiting, as might have been expected from Mr. Whiston's statement, "the unjust and illegal" practice, determined the question which had arisen in regard to the actual division, by his visitatorial authority. It is to be hoped, here again, that Mr. Whiston never looked to the history of the visitation of 1570, when he quoted and interpreted as he did the injunctions of 1573. It would have appeared difficult to overlook it, if he had merely referred to the index of the Oxford edition; where, under the head of "Canterbury cathedral," we find—"Archbishop Parker's injunctions for the cathedral church, ii. 23, his decree concerning a contest among the canons, 25," [the visitation of 1570] "the church visited by Archbishop Parker, 299, the oath taken by the dean and canons, 300; progress of the visitation, *ib.*, 308-313; injunctions given by the archbishop, iii. 309," &c. [the visitation of 1573.] But it was an unpardonable omission when Mr. Whiston was professing to discover to his readers by what means "*was first attempted*" what he would have them to suppose the archiepiscopal visitor reprobated and condemned; and when the records of this earlier visitation completely overthrow Mr. Whiston's hypothesis.

The fact is, I conceive, Mr. Whiston has been altogether misled by not recognising as existent what would undoubtedly appear to have been the established practice in our ancient ecclesiastical corporations—viz., the system of fines on renewals of leases. He thinks it appears "plainly that fines were not originally calculated upon as a source of income to cathedrals," (p. 34,) because in the documents enumerating the "lands and possessions appointed to" a "colledge" or cathedral, as Rochester, for instance, (pp. 34, 35,) it is calculated how much each manor, or rent, "ys worth clere by yere." "*All the possessions, spiritual and temporal, of the cathedral,*" he says, "are thus enumerated, through six folio pages, the worth of every possession being given 'clere by the yere.' There is no estimate of any other receipt, except what arises from rents or payments by the year."

But it is well known, these annual rents and payments—the whole, doubtless, which the cathedral received "by the yere"—were such as to constitute a very beneficial tenure to the lessee, and one which he was glad to hold on the term of paying a mode-

rate fine on the renewal of his lease. "One thing is worthy of notice," says Dr. Maitland, in one* of that very interesting series of letters, which appeared originally in the pages of the *British Magazine*, entitled "The Dark Ages,"—"one thing is worthy of notice, as showing that one eccentricity (I do not like to call it a fault, though it seems likely to be punished as a sin) of the church is not peculiar to modern times, but at least as old as the beginning of the twelfth century—namely, that these ecclesiastical landlords did not make so much of their property as they might have done, or as would have been made of it by the unprincipled and tyrannical laymen by whom they were surrounded, and too frequently robbed. I think we may infer, from Peter's way of alluding to their mode of dealing with their tenants, and those serfs over whom the law gave them so great a power,"—Dr. Maitland is referring to a letter from which he had just before given a long extract, written by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugny, in the early part of the twelfth century,—“that though, in one sense, very careful of their property, they were not careful, or had not the wisdom, to make the most of it. I do not remember,” says Dr. Maitland, “to have seen it assigned as a reason for taking away their property; but then (as philosophical historians say) we must consider the spirit of the age.”†

That the amount of fines taken by the new refounded cathedrals for some years may have been but small, is very probable; for it is said, that some of the monastic bodies, foreseeing what was coming, had made extraordinarily long leases just before the dissolution; but that the receiving of fines on renewals was never contemplated in the refounding of our cathedrals, is a thing which it is hardly possible to conceive. And out of these fines, clearly, was to be supplied “the common chest,” to which Archbishop Parker's injunctions refer, and in which the statutes of Canterbury order that there be laid up at least the sum of two hundred pounds, out of the clear surplus remaining over and above at the end of each year, when all payments were made; “in quâ cistâ,” says the statutes, “reponatur et custodiatur summa ducentarum librarum quam colligi volumus *ex his quæ clarè remanent et supersunt in fine cujuslibet anni*, ut semper summa illa ad minus maneat, et sit præstò ad necessitates Ecclesiæ nostræ (si quæ acciderint) sublevandas.” It would be difficult to explain, on Mr. Whiston's theory, from whence these two hundred pounds every year were to come; the statutes manifestly contemplate a surplus, and *out of this surplus* (“*ex his quæ clarè remanent et supersunt*”) a provision was to be made for casual and extraordinary necessities

* No. XXIII. published in July, 1837.

† The Dark Ages, reprinted from the *British Magazine*, p. 394.

of the church. This was simply and absolutely impossible, if, according to one of the conclusions which Mr. Whiston thinks he has "established," "the original revenues of these cathedrals were exhausted, or intended so to be, by the statutable charges, stipends, and apportionments for which the founders made them liable." Upon this theory, the revenues were just sufficient to cover the expenses; and there *could* be no surplus: the "common chest" *must* be empty. In fact, the expedient of the "common chest" was probably resorted to partly with a view to remedy the inequality of income occasioned by the revenues of chapter property not being fixed and certain. Thus in those years in which large sums were paid for the renewal of leases, a portion of the amount thus received would be laid by to meet the exigencies of less favourable years, and a sum might then be borrowed from the chest to make good the statutable salaries, and to maintain the customary division of fines.

With regard to another of Mr. Whiston's positions—viz., that the cathedral "statutes contain no provision, expressed or implied, that the deans and prebendaries should *exclusively* take a surplus," it may well be admitted; for the fabric and the common chest were first to be provided for; and that division of fines among the dean and prebendaries, which Archbishop Parker authorized when these objects were provided for, he condemned and prohibited when they had *not*. And as regards the remaining one of Mr. Whiston's three conclusions—viz., "that the deans and prebendaries of the new cathedrals had originally their yearly stipends, or their 'wages in bare money,' fixed, limited, and determined, as strictly and closely as any other members of their respective foundations," it would appear from the statutes that their stipends do not fall precisely under the same category with those of the other members. "The stipend of the deans and canons," as appears from the statute which Mr. Whiston translates from the Rochester book,—and it runs in the same form *mutatis mutandis* in the Canterbury,—has a special object—viz., the enabling them the better to keep up hospitality: it stands as something, *per se*, as compared with the stipends to be paid to the other members of the cathedral body. The statute runs thus in the Canterbury book:—

"We know that the virtue of hospitality is by far more acceptable [longè acceptissimam] to God; and that the dean and canons of our church may more easily practise it, We direct and ordain that the dean do receive every year for the corps of this deanery, by the hands of the treasurer, fifty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence of lawful money of England. And every canon shall receive for the corps of his prebend, by the hands of the treasurer, seventeen pounds six shillings and eight pence of lawful money of England."

The statute then goes on to ordain the daily allowances, or "quotidians," as they have been called above.

And this statute, it is to be well observed, is preceded immediately by one which is as follows :—

" De mensâ Canonorum.

"Statuimus et volumus ut singuli Canonici residentes seorsim habitent cum familiis suis, et bona (quæ ex nostrâ et progenitorum nostrorum liberalitate perceperunt,) in honestas impensas sic accommodent, ne aut diverticula avaritiæ causâ quæsisisse, aut in profusionem nimiam incidisse videantur . . . Porro si quis ex Canonicis sit qui præter Ecclesiæ stipendia quadraginta libras annuas certi redditûs aut ad eam summam (deductis oneribus) æstimati, non habeat aliunde, hunc ad familiam seorsim alendam cogi nolumus, sed ad mensam Decani vel alicujus Canonici, aut minorum Canonorum Ecclesiæ nostræ ambitum permittimus (cum eorum consensu) hospitandi facultatem. Quod si hujus conditionis plures fuerint, poterunt apud sui ipsorum aliquem communem mensam sustinere, qui omnes sic in communi mensâ convenientes pro uno tantum residente computabuntur, et ex communi dividentiâ tantam percipient quantum unus eorum qui seorsim familiam alunt; alios vero omnes qui communem inter se mensam non habent, sed ad alienam mensam comedunt, dividentiæ ejus quæ ex Decani et aliorum Canonorum absentia accrescit, participes esse omnino prohibemus. Per dividentiâ vero hic intelligimus quicquid pecuniarum secundum receptam hujus Ecclesiæ consuetudinem vel inter Decanum et Canonicos, vel alios inferiores ministros in fine cujusvis anni, vel aliter in solennibus Capitulis æqualiter dividi et distribui solet."

This statute seems to recognise a possessory right, on the part of the capitular body, in the goods of the cathedral incorporation, irrespective of the stipends assigned in the following statute for the better maintenance of the hospitality. And it puts beyond all doubt or question the recognition, in the statutes, of a common dividend *beside* that which might accrue from non-residence of any of the body. If two or more of the canons, not bearing the cost and charge of separate housekeeping, had a common table amongst them, they were to count as one in the participation of the common dividend, ("ex communi dividentiâ"); if, on the other hand, they in nowise contributed thus to a common table, but were merely guests at the table of one of their brethren, or of another body, they were in nowise to share in *that* dividend (dividentiæ ejus) which accrued from the absence of the dean and others of the canons. And by the dividend (the common dividend) was to be understood,—for so the statute expressly states,—"whatever monies, according to the received usage of this church, are wont to be equally divided and distributed, either between the dean and canons, or between the other inferior mini-

sters, in the end of each year, or otherwise in the solemn chapters." By the division "in the end of each year," was meant, I should conceive, the division of the fines for absence, ordered by the statutes to be made at that time: by the division "in the solemn chapters," twice a year, the division of fines on leases granted then, &c.

Thus much for the main points which Mr. Whiston thinks he has clearly established. Unless I am greatly mistaken, he has not established any one of them; and the mode in which he has endeavoured to establish them exhibits, amidst the appearance of reference to unquestionable evidence of documents, great unfairness, or misapprehension, (as, I think, has sufficiently appeared,) in the manner of dealing with them.

I have occupied, Mr. Editor, perhaps, too much space in your pages: but it was impossible to bring the case into smaller compass. I must only observe further, with regard to the cathedral school, that there is in Mr. Whiston's statements the same substitution as before of King Henry's statutes for King Charles's; and thereon is grounded the charge that the statutable allowance has been not merely not increased, but actually "cut down" from 4*l.* "to 1*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*" (p. 74)—this latter sum being, in fact, the sum named in the later statutes. Again, as regards the allowance for commons in hall, the provision made in King Henry's statutes appears to be omitted in King Charles's; while the continuance of the common table is, moreover, treated in the latter as a thing altogether doubtful.

It may be, or it may not, that the governing bodies of our several cathedrals have, in their successive generations, exercised wisely and justly, or far otherwise, the discretion vested in them: there may or may not have been, at this time or that, in any or in all of their members, selfishness, avarice, or indifference, a disposition to oppress and rob the poor, a disregard of oaths, or recklessness of incurring perjury:—though, I for one, should be slow to believe there *had* been this:—or it may be, that improvements might be carried into effect in the application of their funds; nearer approximations made to the realizing of the original design; inequalities or anomalies corrected, if in any part of these establishments any just cause for "murmuring" shall be found to have arisen, because any members of the body have been "neglected," or inadequately provided for, in the administration and distribution of their revenues. I am loth to believe that the deans and chapters of England, generally, however their own interests as individuals might be affected, would be unwilling, if appealed to in a becoming manner and in a proper spirit, to

listen to any reasonable complaint made to them; or to do their utmost, in the spirit of fair dealing between man and man, and of just and righteous dealing in the sight of God, to discharge faithfully the trust committed to them, and to fulfil both the letter and the spirit of the statutes of their founders. I do not take up my pen, or ask a place in your pages for any remarks of mine, as the advocate of deans and chapters, or of any of them: they have their visitors for their judges; and to the judgment of their visitors, I doubt not, they would be ready to submit themselves. But what I do feel strongly as a churchman, and what I think churchmen may well feel with me, is, that FACTS, indubitable and clear, should be forthcoming, before indiscriminate and unsparing obloquy is poured out upon the whole existing body of dignitaries of our cathedral establishments, involving together with them the whole body of the chief rulers and appointed guardians of those establishments, their archiepiscopal and episcopal visitors—for the times are spoken of as though they were long gone by when "episcopal visitors did their duty," (p. 66,)—and not only so, but involving also generations that are now laid in the grave. Among those who have been members of our cathedral bodies are men whose names occupy the most distinguished place, for piety and charity, as well as learning, in the annals of the Church of England; and whose bodies are now sleeping in her sacred resting-places; their spirits awaiting His judgment, in the thought of whom every soul of man, amidst all the solemn awe of His tribunal, and all the earnestness of the humble supplication that HE "remember not our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers," will, nevertheless, in its appeal from unrighteous and uncharitable judgment, take up the language of King David's prayer, "Let me fall now into the hands of the Lord; for his mercies are great; and let me not fall into the hand of *man*."

There are not wanting, I feel persuaded, among the dignitaries of our cathedrals those who would heartily rejoice to aid in carrying into effect any well considered and practicable schemes for realizing, as fully as possible, the objects for which our cathedrals were founded; taking care only that in no case, in an attempt to grasp a shadow, we lose the reality. Mr. Whiston himself admits that the question, "what *modifications* in King Henry's designs for cathedrals are now required to suit modern habits and usages, may, so far as regards matters of *detail*, be a question of some difficulty." (p. 26.) Not that I, for one, would resign the hope that, if only the ancient foundations be left to us uninjured, they may yet, in their latter days, amidst the awakening zeal for objects such as their founders had at heart, be enabled, through God's mercy, to realize more fully than they

have yet done, all that those founders contemplated; and "offices of piety of every kind, teeming over from them, flow from thence abroad far and wide to all the neighbouring places, to the glory of Almighty God, and the common welfare and happiness of the subjects of the realm."*

But when a man will take, for instance, the 1*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* of statutes of Charles the First's time, and turn it into the 4*l.* of King Henry VIII.'s, and then, multiplying this by fifteen, to meet what he supposes to have been the increase in the value of money, requires a dean and chapter, under pain of perjury, to spend 3000*l.* a year on the stipends of their scholars only,—for he tells them that this 4*l.* ought to be 60*l.* to them now;—and when we consider, further, that the 200*l.* allowed in stipends to the scholars at Canterbury by King Henry's statutes, does not form a tenth part of the "summe totall of all the charges;" it is difficult to see what result Mr. Whiston's statements can tend to, whatever his *intentions* may be, except to do the work, not of a reformer, but of a destructive. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, certainly, whom Mr. Whiston quotes, (p. 71,) when they "alleged that 'they recommended such measures as would leave a sufficient provision for the services of the churches, the maintenance of the fabrics, and the other objects contemplated by the founders,'" never recognised in the founder's statutes such requirements as these; or it were mockery to introduce in their act a proviso that nothing therein contained should be "construed to affect the right of any chapter, according to the statutes OR† customs of such chapter in force at the passing of this Act, to make *due provision* out of the divisible corporate revenues for the maintenance of the fabric, the *support of the grammar school, if any, and all other necessary and proper expenditure.*"

To support so sweeping an attack as that which Mr. Whiston makes on our cathedrals, his FACTS, as I have said, should be indubitable. I think I have shown sufficiently how little they are to be depended upon. And if the rest of his pamphlet generally, and of his tabular view in particular, corresponds with its first column, you will have some data for judging of its worth. I do not wish to charge Mr. Whiston with an *intention* to mislead and misrepresent; but he has taken for his motto "*Quis talia fando, temperet.*" In-temperate he has shown himself in the opinion of the Vice-chancellor's Court;—and temper is a dangerous guide at all times, even among "facts" and documents. It is easy to give the reins to virtuous indignation; but we know where it is written, "Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak,

* Preamble to the Charters of Incorporation, quoted by Mr. Whiston, p. 2.

† The capitals are Mr. Whiston's.

slow to wrath ; for *the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.*" HE who said "Thou shalt not steal," and "Thou shalt not covet," said also, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." And the warning of our Blessed Lord may well restrain our tongues and our pens, even in what we think a righteous cause, and where we verily suppose we have *facts* on our side, "With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you again."

I remain, &c.,

PRESBYTER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS.

SIR,—In the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval's "Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession," (*Rivingtons, London, 1841,*) at pp. 188-233, there is given a list of the consecrations of the English bishops from Archbishop Cranmer down to the year 1841. As I have since been enabled to discover some records of consecrations which were then missing, I have drawn out a table on Mr. Perceval's plan, which will exhibit to your readers all the links (so far as they are known) from Archbishop Warham to Archbishop Parker; and then the descent from Archbishop Parker to our present primates traced in one line.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

CLERICUS D.

PS.—Where no authority is given, Mr. Perceval's list is my authority, which was compiled from the Lambeth Register.

Name.	See.	Date of Consecration.	Names of Consecrators.
1. William Warham was consecrated to the see of London, Sept. or Oct. 1502, and translated to Canterbury, 1503.			
2. John Fisher (Fisher's Register at Rochester, p. 40.)	Rochester	25th November, 1504	{ William Canterbury, (Warham,) 1.
3. Robert Sherborn (Smith's Reg. at Lincoln quoted in Richardson's Godwin, p. 585.)	St. David's	Whit-sun-day, 1505	

Name.	See.	Date of Consecration.	Names of Consecrators.
4. Nicholas West (Warham's Register, p. 19, in Richardson, p. 271.)	Ely	7th October, 1515	{ William Canterbury, (Warham,) 1.
5. Henry Standish	St. Asaph	11th July, 1518	{ William Canterbury, (Warham,) 1. Robert Chichester, (Sherborn,) 3. John Gallipoli, (Young, consecrated in 1513.)
6. Henry Voysey	Exeter	6th November, 1519	{ William Canterbury, (Warham,) 1. John Rochester, (Fisher,) 2. Thomas Leighlin, (Halsay.)
7. John Longland	Lincoln	5th May, 1521	{ William Canterbury, (Warham,) 1. John Rochester, (Fisher,) 2. Nicholas Ely, (West,) 4. John Exeter, (Voysey,) 6.
8. John Clerk (Richardson's Godwin, p. 387.)	Bath and Wells	March, 1523	{
9. John Stokesley (Le Neve's Fasti, p. 180.)	London	27th November, 1530	{
10. Stephen Gardiner (Winchester Reg.)	Winchester	3rd December, 1531	{
11. Thomas Cranmer	Canterbury	30th March, 1533	{ John Lincoln, (Longland,) 7. John Exeter, (Voysey,) 6. Henry S. Asaph, (Standish,) 5.
12. John Capon or Salcot	Bangor	19th April, 1534	{ Thomas Canterbury, (Cranmer,) 11. John Lincoln, (Longland,) 7. Christopher Sidon.
13. Nicholas Shaxton	Salisbury	6th April, 1535	{ Thomas Canterbury, (Cranmer,) 11. John London, (Stokesley,) 9. Thomas Sidon, (Chetham.)
14. John Hilsey (Fisher's Register at Rochester, pp. 183, 184.)	Rochester	18th September, 1535	{ Thomas Canterbury, (Cranmer,) 11.
15. Hugh Latimer (Richardson's Godwin.)	Worcester	September, 1535	{
16. Edward Fox (Fox's Register at Hereford).	Hereford	26th September, 1535	{ Thomas Canterbury, (Cranmer,) 11. Stephen Winchester, (Gardiner,) 12. Nicholas Salisbury, (Shaxton,) 13.

Name.	See.	Date of Consecration.	Names of Consecrators.
17. William Barlow* 18. Richard Sampson 19. William Reppis (Cranmer's Reg. f. 208 and 212.)	St. David's Chichester Norwich	{ 11th June, 1536	{ Thomas Canterbury, (Cranmer,) 11. John Exeter, (Voysey,) 6. John Bath and Wells, (Clerk,) 8.
20. Robert Parfew	St. Asaph	2nd July, 1536	{ Thomas Canterbury, (Cranmer,) 11. John Bangor, (Capon,) 12. William Norwich, (Rippis,) 19.
21. John Hodgkins	Bedford	9th Decem- ber, 1537	{ John London, (Stokesley,) 9. John Rochester, (Hilsey,) 14. Robert S. Asaph, (Parfew,) 20.
22. Henry Holbeach	Bristol	24th March, 1537-8	{ John Rochester, (Hilsey,) 14. Hugh Worcester, (Latimer,) 15. Robert S. Asaph, (Parfew,) 20.
23. Nicholas Ridley	Rochester	5th Septem- ber, 1547	{ Henry Lincoln, (Holbeach,) 22. John Bedford, (Hodgkins,) 21. Thomas Sidon, (Chetham.)
24. John Scory (Cranmer's Reg. f. 333.) 25. Miles Coverdale (Cranmer's Reg. f. 334.)	Rochester Exeter	{ 30th Aug., 1551	{ Thomas Canterbury, (Cranmer,) 11. Nicholas London, (Ridley,) 23. John Bedford, (Hodgkins,) 21.
26. MATTHEW PARKER	Canterbury	17th Decem- ber, 1559	{ William Chichester, (Barlow,) 17. John Hereford, (Scory,) 24. Miles Exeter, (Coverdale,) 25. John Bedford, (Hodgkins,) 21.
27. Edmund Grindall	London	21st Decem- ber, 1559	{ Matthew Canterbury, (Parker,) 26. William Chichester, (Barlow,) 17. John Hereford, (Scory,) 24. John Bedford, (Hodgkins,) 21.
28. John Whitgift	Worcester	21st April, 1577	{ Edmund Canterbury, (Grindall,) 27. John London, (Aylmer.) Robert Winchester, (Horne.) Richard Chichester, (Curteys.)
29. Richard Bancroft	London	8th May, 1597	{ John Canterbury, (Whitgift,) 28. John Rochester, (Young.) Anthony St. David's, (Rudd.) Richard Bangor, (Vaughan.) Anthony Chichester, (Watson.)

* The consecration of Bishop Barlow rests only on the highest probability. In the Rev. A. W. Haddan's introduction to vol. iii. of Archbishop Bramhall's Works, published (in the Anglo-Catholic Library) at Oxford in 1844, it is shown that he was almost certainly translated to St. David's before his consecration to St. Asaph, and that there is the highest probability for the supposition that he was consecrated on the 11th June, 1536, when (Mr. Haddan states) Bishop Reppis was consecrated to Norwich by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishops of Exeter and Bath, as the *archbishop's certificate* in fol. 208 and 212 of the Register declares; and also that it is pretty certain that Bishop Sampson was consecrated at the same time and place. On 23rd November, 1539, the Hereford Register informs us, that he, as Bishop of St. David's, took part (in conjunction with Archbishop Cranmer and the Bishop of Dover, Rd. Yngworth, who was consecrated with Bishop Hodgkin,) in the consecration of J. Skip, Bishop of Hereford, one of the three bishops who consecrated the Romish bishops, Bonner and Heath.

Name.	See.	Date of Consecration.	Names of Consecrators.
30. George Abbot	Litchfield	8rd Decem- ber, 1609	{ Richard Canterbury, (Bancroft,) 29. Launcelot Ely, (Andrewes.) Richard Rochester, (Neyle.)
31. George Montaigne	Lincoln	14th Decem- ber, 1617	{ George Canterbury, (Abbot,) 30. Mark Anthony Spalatro, (M. A. de Dominis.) John London, (King.) Launcelot Ely, (Andrewes.) John Rochester, (Buckeridge.) John Coventry, (Overall.)
32. William Laud	St. David's	18th Novem- ber, 1621	{ George London, (Montaigne,) 31. John Worcester (Thornborough)* Nicholas Ely, (Felton.) George Chichester, (Carleton.) John Oxford, (Howson.) Theophilus Landaff, (Field.)
33. Brian Duppa (Laud's Register, vol. ii. f. 46.)	Chichester	17th June, 1638	{ William Canterbury, (Laud,) 32. Thomas Durham, (Morton.) Robert Coventry, (Wright.) John Oxford, (Bancroft.) Matthew Ely, (Wren.)
34. Gilbert Sheldon	London	28th Octo- ber, 1660	{ Brian Winchester, (Duppa,) 33.† Accepted York, (Frewen.) Matthew Ely, (Wren.) John Rochester, (Warner.) Henry Chichester, (King.)
35. Henry Compton	Oxford	6th Decem- ber, 1674	{ Gilbert Canterbury, (Sheldon,) 34. George Winchester, (Morley.) Seth Salisbury, (Ward.) John Rochester, (Dolben.) Joseph Peterborough, (Henshaw.) Peter Chichester, (Gunning.)
36. William Sancroft	Canterbury	27th Janu- ary, 1677-8	{ Henry London, (Compton,) 35. Seth Salisbury, (Ward.) Joseph Peterborough, (Henshaw.) John Rochester, (Dolben.) Peter Ely, (Gunning.) Thomas Exeter, (Lamplugh.) Guy Bristol, (Carleton.) Thomas Lincoln, (Barlow.)
37. Jonathan Trelawney	Bristol	8th Novem- ber, 1685	{ William Canterbury, (Sancroft,) 36. John York, (Dolben.) Henry London, (Compton.) Nathanael Durham, (Crewe.) Peter Winchester, (Mewes.) Thomas Exeter, (Lamplugh.) Francis Ely, (Turner.) Thomas Rochester, (Spratt.)

* Bishop Thornborough was consecrated to the Irish see of Limerick. Through him, therefore, the Irish line of succession has been transmitted in our church.

† At the consecration of Dr. Sheldon, the Bishop of Winchester *presided*, the Archbishop of York simply *assisting*.

Name.	See.	Date of Consecration.	Names of Consecrators.
8. John Potter	Oxford	15th May, 1715	{ Jonathan Winchester, (Trelawney) 37. John Bangor, (Evans.) William Lincoln, (Wake.) Richard Gloucester, (Willis.)
39. Thomas Herring	Bangor	15th January, 1737-8	{ John Canterbury, (Potter,) 38. Nicholas St. David's, (Claggett.) Robert Norwich, (Butts.) Thomas Oxford, (Secker.)
40. Robert Hay Drummond }	St. Asaph	24th April, 1748	{ Thomas Canterbury, (Herring,) 39. Joseph Rochester, (Wilcocks.) Martin Gloucester, (Benson.) John Landaff, (Gilbert.)
41. William Markham	Chester	17th February, 1771	{ Robert Hay York, (Drummond,) 40 Richard Durham, (Trevor.) Edmund Carlisle, (Law.) James Worcester, (Johnson.)
42. Edward Venables } Vernon Harcourt }	Carlisle	6th November, 1791	{ William York, (Markham,) 41. Bailby London, (Porteus.) John Salisbury, (Douglas.)
43. JOHN BIRD SUMNER [Trans. to Canterbury in 1848.]	Chester	14th September, 1828	{ Edward V. York, (Harcourt,) 42. Charles R. Winchester, (Sumner.) Christopher Gloucester, (Bethell.)

The line of succession in the province of York here diverges from that of Canterbury as follows:—

40. Frederick Cornwallis	Litchfield	19th February, 1749	{ Thomas Canterbury, (Herring,) 39. Joseph Rochester, (Wilcocks.) Martin Gloucester, (Benson.) Thomas Norwich, (Hayter.)
41. John Moore	Bangor	12th February, 1775	{ Frederick Canterbury, (Cornwallis,) 40. Edmund Ely, (Keene.) Robert Oxford, (Lowth.) John Rochester, (Thomas.)
42. Charles Manners } Sutton }	Norwich	8th April, 1792	{ John Canterbury, (Moore,) 41. John Peterborough, (Hinchcliffe.) James Lichfield and Coventry, (Cornwallis.) Richard Gloucester, (Beadon.)
43. William Howley	London	3rd October, 1813	{ Charles Canterbury, (Manners Sutton,) 42. George I. Gloucester, (Huntingford.) John Salisbury, (Fisher.) William Oxford, (Jackson.)
44. THOMAS MUSGRAVE [Trans. to York, 1847.]	Hereford	1st October, 1837	{ William Canterbury, (Howley,) 43. Charles J. London, (Blomfield.) Joseph Ely, (Allen.) William Chichester, (Otter.)

BURNET'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

(Continued from p. 189.)

MY DEAR SIR,—Such of your readers as have followed Baker through these notes, will doubtless think with me that it would be well to know where Baker's annotated copies of other important works, especially those of Strype, are deposited. I know at present of one only—viz., Strype's Parker; this is in the library of St. John's College, and has notes by Baker, and by a later hand. The following document and collation do not, it is true, belong to Burnet's history, but they refer to the period on which we are now engaged, and, as proofs of the importance of Baker's MSS., fall in with my design in these papers.

(Baker. MSS. xxx. 133-4.)

Injunctiones Dñi Thome Eliën. Epī.

Thomas miseratione divina Eliën. Epūs ad causas Ecclesiasticas decidend: infra Diocesim nostram Eliën: auctoritate Regia fulcitus, universis et singulis Rectoribus Vicariis Curatis et aliis Ministris curam infra Diōc: et Jurisdict. nostram Eliën. pred.* habentibus quibuscunque salutem gratiam & Bën. Vobis coitēr.† et divisim committimus, ac firmiter injungendo ex parte Serenissimi in Christo Principis et Dñi nostri Dñi Henrici Octavi Dei grā. Angl. et Fran. Regis fidei Defensoris, Dñi Hibern. ac in terris sub Christo Ecclē. Anglicane capitis supremi mandamus, quatenus statim post receptionem presentium in Ecclīis, Capellis, et curis vobis commissis diligentem Inquisitionem faciatis de omnibus et singulis Articulis sequentibus.

First for all Images & bones of suche as the Kyngs people resorted & offred unto.

Item for the Ornaments writtings Table Monument of Myracles or Pylgrymage Shryne coverynge of Shryne apperteyning to the s^d Images & Bones.

Item of all those w^{ch} do offer & sett up candles agaynst the Kyngs Injunctions.

Item of all those that dothe not observe & kepe the s^d Injunctions accordyng to the meaning of the same.

Et si quid ad notitiam vestram deducatur, quod in duobus prioribus Articulis contentum sit, deleatis et aboleatis, ut nulla ejusdem posterum memoria remanere poterit, aut si id commodè facere nequeatis mandamus, ut cum omni celeritate et diligentia ad nostram presentiam ubicunque tunc in Diōc. nostra Eliën. fuerimus, id deferatis deferi (sic) ve curetis. Quos autem noveritis quippiam adversus duos posteriores Articulos fecisse, non solum moneatis, ut ab hujusmodi vanis et superstitiosis rebus et transgressione Injunctionum Regiarum abstineant, verum etiam eorum omnium et singulorum nomina et cognomina

* prædictam.

† communiter.

nobis aut Vicario nostro in Spiritualibus generali personaliter, aut per Literas vestras patē. offence perpetrate seriem in se continentes certificetis et significetis. et hec omnia et singula facere non omittatis sub penis in Injunctionibus Regiis expressis. Dat. sub Sigillo nostro apud Ely 31^o. die Mensis Octobris, A^o. Dⁱ. Millmo quingent. quadragesimo primo, et nostre consecr. anno octavo.

Collation of the King's Letter sent by Bonner to the Bp. of Ely, (taken from Goodrich's Register by Baker, MSS. xxx. 154) with the same from Cranmer's Register in Jenkyns, Append. no. 22. (See too Burnet. Records, vol. i. book 3. No. 28.)

*Jenkyns.**Baker.*

P. 320, line 10, so plagued <i>with</i> most cruel wars	plagued & most cruell.
Id. line 11, no <i>place</i> of the same almost	no pece almost of the same.
Id. line 16, <i>nor</i> repelleth	ne repelleth.
Id. line 18, in all these and other	in all thes & <i>all</i> other.
Id. line 19, to fly & <i>to</i> cry	to flye & crye.
Id. <i>ibid.</i> being <i>therefore</i> resolved	being resolved.
Id. l. penult. and calling	and calling <i>on</i> .
Id. <i>ibid.</i> no part	no pece.
Id. line ult. prayers <i>or</i> suffrages	prayers <i>and</i> suffrages.
P. 321, line 1, Procession	Processions.
Id. line 9. to be for a month or two	for a Month or too to be.
Id. line 12, preaching, good ex- hortations	preachings <i>and</i> exhortations.
Id. line 14, <i>godly</i> and joyously	<i>gladlye</i> & <i>joiuslie</i> .
Id. line 16, answer <i>unto</i> us	answere us.
Id. line 18, published frequently	published, frequented.
Id. line 19, churches, villages	villages, churches.
P. 322, line 6, solertem	solertiam.
Id. <i>ibid.</i> a sua Majestate	a sua Regia Majestate.
Id. line 7, regiae suae	sue Regie.
Id. line 12, mandatis	mandetis.
Id. <i>ibid.</i> etiam omni	etiam <i>cum</i> omni.
Id. line 18, episcopis	Coep̄is.
Id. line 23, facias . . procures	faciatis . . procuretis.
Id. line 25, Dat. [decimo] octavo	Dat. in Manerio nostro de Lambeth decimo octavo, &c.

P. 220. [line 4 from foot. The King gave Pole the Deanery of Excester.] He seems not to have been Dean of Excester till an. 1531, w^{ch} year he was in England. v. Erasmi Epist. p. 1416. dat. Aug. 25. 1531. Dr Pace, whome he succeeded, was well & in that preferment, Mar. 22. 1530. v. Erasmi Epist. p. 1278.—Sed Quære.

P. 221. [line 6. Pole kept his Deanery several years after the acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy.] R. Poole fuyt attaint de treason per Parliament Anno 31. H. 8. Et un auter s. Doctor Haynes eslieu Deane. v. Dyer. Fol. 123.

Ib. [line 24. Pole this year (1536) printed his book De Unione Ecclesiasticâ:] De Unitate Ecclesiasticâ. This Book was reprinted at Strasburg an. 1555,* and it is sayd in the præface to have been wrote 15 years before, or an. 1540. It appears from Sleidan (Commentar. cap. 10. an. 1537) that it was wrote after this year, & printed without date of time &c. The King had then entred upon the spoils of y^e Church, fol. 83. And yet it is seemingly there imply'd that Queen Ann was then living, fol. 95. v. Fab. Wyther's Preface to Pole's Oration.

Ib. [line 7 from foot. Pole a Cardinal, but did not rise above the degree of a Deacon.] This seems to imply that Cardinal Deacons are not of equal dignity with the Rest.

Ib. [Margin. Books written for the King.] And another Booke an. 1538, with this Title. "De verâ differentiâ Regiæ Potestatis et Ecclesiasticæ, et quæ sit ipsa Veritas ac Virtus utriusque. Opus Eximium. Lond. in Ædibus Tho. Bertheleti Regii Impressoris. excus. an. 1538 cum Privilegio. v. Cl. A. 1. 3. But the first Edition of this Booke was an. 1534, so it could have no relation to this matter. But there was a Booke publish'd an. 1539 by Richard Morysine, against the Cardinal and his adherents, entitl'd, An Invective against Treason, w^{ch} was more bitter & more remarkable than all the rest. And another Booke by the same Author in Latin as famous as the other, entitl'd, Apomaxis calumniarum convitiatorumque quibus Joh. Coch-læus-Henrici Octavi—Famam impetere—epistolâ studuit. Lond. an. 1537.

P. 224. [line 15. Abbey of St Mary of Betlesden in Bedfordsh.] This Abbey is in Buckinghamshire v. Dugd. Mon. p. 783. v. Collect, p. 142, 144.

Ib. [line 19. None of our writers have noticed that several Reli-

* See a letter from Roger Ascham to Sturm, Sept. 14, 1555, (Lib. I. 11, p. 53, ed. 1703.) "*Liber Cardinalis Poli de unitate Ecclesiæ, hoc anno impressus Argentina, pervenit ad manus illius. Ille ipse ostendit mihi librum. Est hic cum Cardinale quidam patricius Venetus D. Priulus electus Episcopus Brixia. . . . Hic perquisivit a me, an non putarem Præfationem Vergerii præfixam libro Poli a te fuisse scriptam. Aperte affirmabam, non solum illum stylum longissime discrepare a tua scriptione; sed tale etiam factum valde abhorrere a tuo animo & cogitatione.*" The full title of Pole's book is "Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis Britanni pro Ecclesiasticæ unitatis defensione libri quatuor, in quibus conatus est maximo studio Ecclesiæ Romanæ Primatum constabilire, nunc primum in Germania sæditi, qui tamen antea in Italia fuerant excusi, sed latitarunt diu & ad paucorum manus perveniebant. M.D.LV." Folio. There is another edition printed at Ingoldstadt in 8vo, 1587.

gious Houses were continued.] Dugdale has taken notice of two such new Foundations. an. 29. Hen. 8. viz. Bisham in Berks, & Stixwold in Lincolnshire. v. Monast. vol. 3. p. 21, 81.

P. 231. [line 11 from foot. The rebels with Aske demand the punishment of Cromwell, Lee, & Leighton.] v. Weaver. p. 104.*

P. 235. [line 29. Bushlisham Abbey in Berkshire surrendered an. 28. Hen. 8.] This probably is a mistake. For Bushlisham is surrendered again an. 30. Jun. 19. v. Collect. p. 144. There is no mistake, for Bushlisham was founded anew, an. 29. H. 8.; & finally dissolv'd, an. 30. H. 8. v. Monast. vol. 3. p. 21.†

P. 236. [line 31. The Abbot of Bury innocent.] [See *Wright Suppression of Monast. Camd. Soc. Letter 38.*]

P. 237. [line 12 from foot. The Abbot of Chertsey surrenders.] This House of Chertsey was new founded, being annex'd, or part of it at least, to Bisham in the county of Berks, & John Cordrey late Abbot of Chertsey constituted Abbot of Bisham new founded in consideration &c. that he had surrendred Chertsey at the King's desire. v. Chart. an. 29 Hen. 8. Decembr. 18 apud Dugd. Monastic. vol. 3. p. 21.

P. 238. [Nunnery of Godstow. line 5.] [*Wright. u. s. Letters 111-2. Ellis Ser. III. Letters 303. 344-5.*]

Ibid. [line 10 from foot. The Prior of Wooburn joined the Rebels, was taken, & executed.] Bale says it was the Abbot of Woburn. *Myst. of Iniquity*. p. 30. Stow, p. 574 says both Abbot & Prior were executed. Robert Hobbes, Abbot of Woborn, with the Prior of the same monasterie and a Priest suffer'd at Woborn in Bedfordshire in March 1536. John Pasley, Abbot of Whalley, with two monks, N. N. Abbot of Sawley, Adam Sodbury Abbot of Gervaux with a Monk, William Thrust Abbot of Fountains, William Would Prior of Birlington, n. n. Abbot of Rivers suffer'd the same year. See *Theatre of Catholique & Protestant Religion*‡ by J. C. p. 557.

P. 239. [line 5 &c. The Abbot of Whalley, & the Abbot of Sawley in Lancashire were executed.] The Abbot of Whawley in Lancashire was concern'd in the Rebellion. The Abbey of Salley is in Yorkshire. I have met with no such place in Lancashire. See Dugd. Monast. p. 842. See Bale's *Myst. of Iniquity*, p. 31.

Ib. [line 16. Abbot of Reading attainted of Treason; further accounts Burnet could not find.] The Abbot of Reading, Hugh Faringdon was executed at Reading Nov. 22. 1539. v. *Theatre of Catholique & Protestant Religion*, by J. C. p. 558.

Ib. [line 18. Abbot of Glastenbury.] Richard Whiting Abbot of Glast. was executed the same day with John Thorne & Roger James Monks of y^e same House. Ib. p. 558. [See too a letter in *Dugdale, new edition, vol. i. p. 7, note.*]

* By mistake two pages are numbered 104. Baker's reference is to the first of these.

† See, too, Layton's Letter in Ellis, series iii., No. 358.

‡ "Theatre &c., divided into twelve Bookes. WRITTEN by I. C., Student in divinitie. With permission. Anno 1620." No place or printer.

Ib. [line 31. Abbot of Colchester attainted.] The Abbot of Colchester was concern'd in promoting the Rebellion, together with the other two. See Joh. Bale Mystery of Iniquity, p. 31. This was Jo. Beche.

Ib. [These Abbots an. 22. & 25 Hen. 8 had acknowledged the King's supremacy. Those writers to be censured who say that they were executed for denying it.] [*These Abbots*] And particularly Thomas Abbot of Colchester with the Prior & 15 monks. See the Form of their submission in Wharton De Episcop. London, Append. num. 12.—But this Thomas Marshall was not the last Abbot. The last Abbot was Joh. Beche, who having been lately elected, what was done by him will hardly appear. But the King's assent being requir'd to confirm the Election, it is probable he would not give it without an acknowledgment of his supremacy. v. Newcourt vol. 2, p. 172.—John Beck [last] Abbot of Colchester was executed at Colchester, Decemb. i. an. 1539. an. Hen. 8^v 31°. v. Theater of Catholicks & Protestants by J. C. p. 558. So what our Author Bp. B. says of the years 22 & 25 of Hen. does not reach this time, and is probably a mistake.

P. 241. [line 7 from foot. Battell Abbey a Sodom.] v. Balei Centur. p. 665. Accordingly was one of the first of the great Abbeys that surrendred. viz. May 27 an. 30. Hen. 8. v. Collec. p. 144. [So too Christ Church Canterb.] Christ Church Cant. held out with the last. p. 148. ib. Battail Abbey was suppress'd an. 1538, according to Stow, p. 575. See Batteley's Cant. Sacr. p. 119, where Right is done to Christ Ch. Cant. [*See Ellis Ser. III. Letter 363.*]

P. 242. [line 25. Relics at Bury.] [*See Wright. u. s. Letter 38. Burnet speaks of the "great service" done by London at Reading &c. If the reader would see a business-like recital of wholesale plunder, & wanton Vandalism, let him turn to this man's letter to Cromwell "Like master, like man," in Ellis. Series III. Letter 307.*]

Ib. [line 13 from foot. The Rood of Boxley.] De hac re fusius v. Joan. Hokeri Meidstanensis epistolam Latine scriptam apud Quirinum Reuterum, et apud Colomesii Collect. ad calcem Clement. Epist. [*See Ellis Ser. III. Letter 320. And for "the blood of Hales" ibid. Letters 339, 353.*]

P. 243. [line 13. Darvel Gatheren.] [*See Wright u. s. Letters 95, 101. Ellis Ser. III. No. 330.*]

P. 245. [line 1. Superstition to Images extirpated, 1538.] Superstition to Images & Relicks was not extirpated so soon, as appears by a Commission of this King, printed in Dugdal. Monast. vol. 3, p. 286, for taking away all occasions for Superstition & Idolatry, by removing a Shrine and divers feigned Relicks in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, &c.: w^{ch} Commission was exhibited & executed Jun. 11, an. 1540. And dated Jun. 6, an. regni 32.

Ib. [line 5. A Convocation, though no Parl. in 1537.] Quær. whether there was a Convocation? The Institution of a Christen man printed an. 1537, was signed by 21 Bps., 8 Archdeacons, 17 Doctors of Canon & Civil Law, as appears by their subscriptions to the Preface of that Booke to the King. [*Burnet says nineteen Bps*

& that the book was drawn up at the conclusion of the Connoc.] This was not done in Convocation, as appears from Stryp. Mem. l. 1, ch. 13, where it is shewn to be done by Commission to the Bps., & other Learned Divines. But Mr Strype had never seen the printed copy of this Booke, otherwise he would not have put down the names of the subscribers from Dr Ward's notes. For they are all printed after the Preface of that Booke. Of this Booke, see the Preface to the Defence of Priest's Marriage, p. 4, 5. [See *Jenkyns Cranmer*, vol. i. p. xvii. note. p. 188, note. In *Baker's MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* vol. xxiii. 526, is "*Institution of a Christian man, names of subscribers in the book.* (Harl. MSS. 7049.)" Index.]

P. 249. [line 7. A paper signed by Hilsey Bp. of Roch. must be of later date than 1537, when he was consecrated.] Must be after the year 1535, in w^{ch} Joh. Hilsey was consecrated. For w^{ch} see [note on] p. 158 of this volume.

Ib. [Bible printed an. 1538.] I have seen a Bible translated into English, & finish'd April, an. 1539. And another printed an. 1535, with an Epistle to the King, & Prologe to the Reader by Myles Coverdale, finished October 4, an. 1535. In the first Cantica Canticorum are translated, *The Ballet of Ballets*. In Coverdale, Solomon's Balletts. An edition in this year [1538.] I have not seen. Quær. —There was such.—That in 1539 was by Rich. Taverner, v. Wood Athen, p. 144.

P. 251. [line 1. Queen Jane died two days after Edward's birth.] [See vol. ii. p. 1, with *Baker's note*.]

P. 252. [line 15. John Nicolson alias Lambert.] His true name was John Nycols, born in Norwich, educated in Cambridge, converted by the preaching of Arthure & Bilney. v. Bale's *Mystery of Iniquity*, &c. p. 42.*

Ibid. [line 33. Cranmer then of Luther's opinion.] This is a great mistake. For Cranmer at his Trial being asked, what Doctrine he taught concerning this Sacrament, when he condemned Lambert, expressly says, he maintained then the Papist's Doctrine. See Fox, vol. 3 p. 656. And indeed he could not well otherwise have argu'd against Lambert as he then did. v. Fox, p. 1115.—Then a Lutheran. v. Strype's Memorial. Lib. I. chap. 18, p. 66. v. *Cranmeri Epistolam J. Vadiano . . . in Helvetiâ dat. 1537, ubi de hac re disserens, hæc habet. "Dum omnia purgare studetis, illic quoque errorem subesse putavistis, ubi nullus fuit."* v. Colomesii Collect. ad calcem Clement. Epist. [*Jenkyns*, no. 187, vol. i. p. 195.] Card. Polus in Epistolâ ad Cranmerum MS. p. 5. "At hoc tamen negare non potes. nos verum Christi corpus et sanguinem in Eucharistiæ sacramento esse credentes eam sequi doctrinam, quam tu etiam paulo ante profitebaris, ac docebas Archiepûs et Regni Primas. [See *Jenkyns*, vol. i. p. lxxiv. seq.]

P. 255. [Margin. King's correspondence with Germans.] [*Jenkyns*, vol. i. p. xx. seq.]

* See a notice of Lambert in Wright, u. s., Letter 13.

P. 256. [line 22. All the Parliamentary Abbots summoned an. 1539.] Only 19 appear upon the Summons in Dugdale, an. 1539. April 28. The Abbots of S^t Edmundsbury & Tavestock are not there summon'd. St Alban's is summon'd. But there must either be a mistake in the Summons or in the History. For the Bp. says, St. Alban's resign'd Dec. 5, an. 30 Hen. 8, only mistakes Herefordshire for Hertfordshire. Collect. p. 146. The L^d Prior of S^t Joh. is not summon'd to this Parl.

P. 263. [line 8. Burnet wonders much to find mention of a Bp. of Chester *before* the passing of an act, which was passed *before* the See of Chester was founded.] v. Stat. 33. Hen. 8. ch. 31.—The Writ of Summons to Parl. this year, an. 1539, was directed Episcopo Cestrensi, but that is meant of Coventry & Lichfield, usually styl'd Bps. of Chester. For there is no other writ to that Bp. v. Dugdal. Summon. an. 1539. [*Ellis Ser. III. No. 220.*]

P. 264. [line 11. Burnet "not out of any vanity" takes notice that Selden was mistaken in saying that "an Act about Precedence was not in the Statute Book," & himself printed the Act incorrectly. For the Act is in the early, though left out in some later, Stat. Books; & in Selden's copy, the Bp. of London is not named in the precedency.] This must have been taken notice of out of vanity. For it is plain M^r Selden means, that this Act of Parl. was amongst the printed Statutes; otherwise there is no sense or connexion in his words, as will appear to any one, that shall consult the place. Tit. of Honour, p. 901. But I doubt the Bp. mistakes, where he says, it is left out in some printed Statute Booke; for I suppose it is left out of none, & I believe I have seen them all. But this was to be sayd to make good the observation, and to make Roome for animadversion. It is certain the Statute was so known & common, that it could not have escap'd M^r Selden. As to the leaving out the Bp. of London, it must have been a mistake of the Press; for that Bp.'s precedence is mentioned in all the printed Statutes. And therefore is so corrected in the later Editions of M^r Selden.

P. 266. [line 29. Shaxton and Latimer resign.] Shaxton & Latimer resign'd the same day, viz., Jul. 1. v. Godwin Annal. ad ann. 1539.

Ib. [line ult. Bonner & the opposite party to Cromwell curry favour with Henry.] I suppose Bonner was not now of the opposite party, but of Cromwell's party, having been preferr'd by him first to Hereford, & now to London, & being as devoted to his Interest as a man could be. This appears from his Letters to Cromwell printed in Fox, vol. 2nd p. 378, 379, 380, &c.; 513, 514. See p. 299 of this vol., w^{ch} plainly contradicts what the Author says here of Bonner. v. Antiq. Brit. p. 333.

P. 267. [line 2 seq. Bonner took out a strange commission, acknowledging that he held his Jurisdiction only *precario*, &c.: This "has been certainly enrolled; but it is not there now: so that I judg it was razed in that suppression of Records, which was in Queen Mary's time. But as Men are commonly more careless at home,

Bonner has left it on Record in his own Register." Whether the other Bps. did the same, Burnet knows not. No such Commission in *Cranmer's* Register. . . . "There was this difference, that *Cranmer* was once of that Opinion, and if he followed it at all, it was out of Conscience. But *Bonner*, against his Conscience, (if he had any!!!) complied with it." In a MS. that I have seen, All the Bps. are sayd to have surrendred y^r Bulls to the King, & to have taken out the King's Letters patent for their Bpricks. Rochester is there excepted, w^{ch} does not so well agree, for he died that year most of the Commissions were taken out, an. 1535.—MS. Coll. Gresham. [*See too Ant. Harmer. No. XLV.* "When the Historian wrote this, surely he little thought that he should publish in the Second part of his History, a like Commission taken from King *Edward VI.* by *Cranmer*. For whosoever compareth the two Commissions, will find that they are not only alike, but the very same, *mutatis mutandis*," &c. *Wharton* refers too to Part 2 p. 6, & Append. p. 30.]

Ib. [line 4 from foot. St. Alban's & Battle Abbey, &c. surrender, A.D. 1539.] Battel surrendred May 27, an. 30 Hen. 8, St. Alban's Dec. 5 the same year, according to the Bp.'s own account. Collect. p. 144; nor is the Abbot of Battel summon'd to this Parl., having surrendred before it sat. Battel was suppress'd an. 1538, according to Stow, p. 575. St. Alban's an. 1539, Decemb. 5, was surrendred, Ib. p. 577, and according to S^r Henry Chauncy. Antiq. Hertf. p. 450. Evesham was suppress'd according to Reyner Apost. Benedict. (who quotes the Register in the Augmentation Court) 17 Novembr. an. 31 Hen. 8. An. Dom. 1536 [*sic*]. And yet the Abbot of Evesham is summon'd to this Parliament according to Dugdal.

P. 268. [line 15. Among the Parliamentary Abbots were those of Coventry & Tavenstock.] Not Abbot but Prior of Coventry. v. Dugdal. Sum. p. 469, 499. Quær. de Tavystoke. The Abbot of Tavystoke was privileg'd by Hen. 8 to sit in Parl. v. Dugd. Mon. p. 1003. v. Selden Titl. of Honor. Par. 2nd Ch. 5, p. 747, 751.

P. 271. [Anne of Cleves comes over.] [*See Ellis. Series III. Letter 354, & Chronicle of Calais. Camd. Soc.*]

P. 273. [Margin.] v. Rymer. Acta pub. Tom. 14, p. 709, &c.

P. 275. [line 9. April 14, 1540, Cromwell created Earl of Essex.] April 17, an. 31 Hen. 8, v. Dugdal. Bar. Tom. 2 p. 372. April 18th v. Weaver, p. 506.

Ib. [line 5 from foot. The Hospitallers refused to surrender.] The Prior of Kilmaynham in Ireland, S^r John Rawson Knight, did voluntarily resign, as appears from the Preamble of the Irish Act of Parliament for the suppression of that & other Religious Houses in Ireland, an. 33. Hen. 8.

P. 276. [line 9. Norfolk challenged Cromwell of High Treason June 13.] 9th of July. v. Weaver, p. 506.

P. 279. [line 20. A proviso added to the Bill of Attainder that it should not be hurtful to the Bp. of Bath & Wells, & to the Dean and Chapter of Wells; with whom, it seems, he had made some exchanges of Lands.] The Journal cited, p. 278, sufficiently explains this.

Cromwell was Dean of Wells (v. vol. 2 p. 8) and this Proviso was made to indemnify the church. et Proviso ejusdem concernens Decanatum Wellensem ter lecta est. Folio 278 hujus voluminis. But this is observ'd by Fulman. Tho. Cromwell.—Decanatum Wellensem ab anno 1537 pessimo exemplo tenuit. v. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 590. v. Godwin de Præsul. p. 449. He succeeded Dr Rich. Wolman in the Deanery of Wells, who dy'd in Summer, an. 1537. v. Wood Athen. Oxon. p. 682.

Ibid. [Cromwell's treasonable sayings.] Mont's Relation in Seckendorf. Lib. 3 p. 552, gives this account of the words spoke by Cromwell.—Quod incautius effutiisset se tempus expectare, ut illi, qui Religionis Reformationi adversaretur Pugionem in pectus infigeret.

P. 280. [line 25. The King's Divorce brought before Convocation, 1540.] This should have been styled a synod, summon'd by Commission to the ArchBps., Bps., &c. of both Provinces, as appears from the Collect. num. 19. And from the Act of Parl. an. 32. Hen. 8. cap. 25.

P. 281. [line 9. No weight in the præcontract as an argument for Divorce.] Mont's Relation in Seckendorf, L. 3 p. 552, affords an argument of more weight, if there be truth in it. Addebat separationis unicam causam fuisse, quod impossibile Regi esset, maritali cum illâ congressu uti.

P. 284. [line 24. Cromwell six weeks a prisoner.] All this pass'd in less than a month, if Weaver's account be true (p. 506.) But of this, Quær. According to Stow, 580, Cromwel was apprehended & committed Jul. 9, & executed Jul. 28; so that all this pass'd in 20 days time. Cromwell was apprehended in the month of July according to Fox, p. 513, vol. 2.—v. Rymer, an. 1540.

P. 287. [line 32. Dr Redmayn ordered by Cranmer to write a treatise on faith & works, &c.] This Treatise of Redmayn's is indeed amongst Cranmer's MSS. belonging to my L^d Salisbury, tho' the Bp. entitles them to Dr Stillingfleet. But it is printed at Antwerp, an. 1555, by Bp. Tonstal's order, with a Preface by the s^d Bp. That Bp. says, it was a finish'd piece, and that the Author design'd to have publish'd it himself, but was prevented by death. Quære, How this will agree with another Treatise entitl'd, A Report of Mr Dr Redman's Answers to Quæstions propounded before his death, publish'd Lond. an. 1551, where he seems to contradict the former Treatise. And yet the Printer had this latter from Secretary Cecil. Of his opinions see his Complaint of Grace publish'd by Tho. Smith, & dedicated to Queen Mary. See A. Nowel's Confutation of Dorman, p. 4. Account of Redm. death. [See some notices in *Ascham's Epistles*, & *Fisher's Funeral sermon on Lady Margaret*. ed. *Hymers*. pp. 63. 66.]

P. 288. [line 18. Among Cranmer's collections is one from the Fathers on the merit of good works.] This seems to be a mistake. For I finde no such Collection concerning the merit of good works.

Ibid. [line 22. and the other Apostles.] [add] & Prophets.

Ibid. [line 29.] And in the Page following Cranmer goes on thus.—Yet nevertheless, because by Faith we know God's mercy & grace

promised by his word, and that freely, for Christ's death & passion sake, & believe the same, & being truly penitent we by Faith receive the same, & so excluding all glory from ourselves, we do by Faith transcribe the hole glory of our Justification to the merits of Christ only, (w^{ch} properly is not the nature and office of Charity) therefore to set forth the same, It is sayd of Faith in Antient writers, we be justified only by Faith, or by Faith alone, & in St. Paul, We be justify'd by Faith freely without works.

P. 289. [line 15. Queries touching the 7 Sacraments given to Thirlby Bp. Elect of Westminster, A.D. 1540.] Quære, whether this should not be plac'd in the following year? For the Bprick of Westminster was not founded, nor Thirlby elected, till December 17 this year. For w^{ch} see the Collect. numb. 23 of this vol.—It must be plac'd in this year. For Thirlby was consecrated in Decemb. this year.

Ib. [line 28. The papers given in by the Bps. of Durham, Hereford, St. David's, Westminster are lost.] Quær. whether the Papers of the Bps. of Hereford, St. David's, Westminster, &c., about excommunication, &c. an. 1540, mentioned by Mr Selden de Synedr. L. 1 cap. 10 p. 231 be not the same, or at least relate to this matter, at this meeting?

P. 293. [Institution of a Christian man.] I never could see any of these Books, (and I have seen severall) printed before the year 1543, May 29. Huc vid. Stryp. Mem. L. 1 c. 13 p. 52, 54. Heylin places it in 1543. Hist. p. 19, Stryp. in 1540, p. 95, 99, 100, 96. v. L^d Herbert, p. 495, who says it was approv'd in Parliament, & printed an. 1543. It is publish'd in Latin an. 1544, under this title, *Pia et Catholica Christiani hominis Institutio*. Lond. 1544, Feb. 22.

Ib. [The Bishop's Book.] Bp. Ridley says, the Bp. of Winchester was thought to be either the first Father, or Chief Gatherer of the Bps. Booke, made in the time of K. Hen. 8th. See Conference betwixt Bp. Ridley and Latimer. Lond. an. 1574. not far from the end. Lond. 1556, p. 27. This must be meant of the former Book, for Gardiner was left out of this latter Book, by the King's order or direction. The other Book was more properly the Bps.—The severall Bps. & other Divines were consulted towards compiling this Book, yet only six were employ'd in framing it, whereof Thirlby was one, as he says himself. See Fox's Mart. Edit. I. p. 829.

P. 295. [line 22 from foot. Barnes sent over to England by Bp. Fox in 1536.] He was sent over sooner. See Seckendorf. Hist. Luther. Lib. 3 § 78 pag. 261.

Ib. [line 9 from foot. Gardiner preached at Paul's Cross on Justification.] I have seen a MS. entitl'd, The Practise of Stephen Gardiner, wherein it is sayd, that Gardiner preach'd on this subject, on purpose to draw Barnes into the snare, knowing that he would preach against it, as he did.*

P. 296. [line 3. Gardiner a Privy-Councillor; he neglected, his

* Baker also refers to Bayle's Dict. v. Barnes. See a notice of his companion Garret, or Gerrard, in Ellis, Ser. III., Letter 151, and of Jerome, *ibid.* Letter 357.

friends complained of, Barnes's attack on him.] Gardiner complain'd himself to the King, & says expressly, *When Barnes was sent to the Tower I was not of the privie Counsaile.*—See Gardiner's account of y^s matter in his Declaration of such true Articles, &c., printed 1546, 8^{vo}, Where he appeals to witnesses then living.

P. 300. [line 20. Aug. 4, 1541, the Bprick of Chester erected.] The Bishopric of Chester erected Jul. 16, an. 33. Hen. 8^{vi}. v. Stat. 33. Hen. 8. chap. 31. v. Stat. 34 & 35 Hen. 8. cap. 17.

Ib. [line 21 seq. Bprick of Gloucester endowed Sept. 1541, & two years after Bristol.] Paul Bush consecrated Bp. of Bristol, Jan. 25, an. 1542. v. Mason de Min. L. 2 cap. 12. Jun. 25, Stryp. Mem. p. 100. The Bprick of Gloucester was founded Sept. 3, an. reg. 33, and endow'd Sept. 4, an. reg. 33. The Foundations of Chester, Gloucester, Petrobr. &c. v. Rymer Acta pub. an. 1541, and Bristol, p. 748, and Oxford, p. 754.

P. 301. [line 7 from foot. in England when the Bprick of Ely was taken out of that of Lincoln, it was done only by the King, with the consent of his Clergy and Nobles.] That it was not done only by the King, is very plain from Eadmer, an author beyond exception, who liv'd in the same time, and from M^r Selden's notes upon that Author, p. 209, 210, &c. It was done with the consent (not of Pope Nicholas, for that is a mistake,) but of Pope Paschal, whose Letter, &c. is printed there at large, with the whole Process, &c.—v. Anglia Sacr. vol. i. p. 615, 616, where a further account may be had of that matter, not very agreeable to this Author's.—But this in some measure is observ'd by Ant. Harmer.—v. Petr. Blesens, who says, this was done tam auctoritate Apostolicâ quam Regiâ, contin. Ingulphi, p. 118. Pope Paschal's Letter or Bull to Anselm ArchBp. of Cant. is printed in Selden without Date. In a very antient Chartulary of the Priory of Ely it is dated thus. Dat. per manum Leonis Roman. Eccles. Diaconi Cardinal. II. Kal. Decembris indictione primâ. an Dom. Incarn. 1108. Pontificatus autem Dñi Paschal. 2. Papæ anno 10^{mo}. The King's Charter is likewise there put down, dat. as in Selden, only it is sayd, Indiction. anno 2°. and at y^s conclusion 16 Kal. Novembr. as in the Monast. p. 95, where the subscribers names are added ex ipso autographo.

P. 303. [line 10 from foot. An order for regulating the expences of Bp's Tables. 1541.] This order passt an. 1541, not by Cranmer alone, but by the consent of both the ArchBps, & most of the Bps &c. w^{ch} order (as then printed) I have seen amongst ArchBp. Parker's Papers. Miscellan. P. in Coll. Corp. Christ. Cant., being originally in English, and ought not to be quoted or explain'd from a Latin Translation.

P. 308. [line 23. Alex. Alesse received into Cromwell's family, and commonly called the King's scholar.] It does not appear he was in Cromwel's Family; what he says himself p. 214, rather imply's the contrary; nor was he commonly called the King's Scholar, for Cromwell in the Conference p. 214, tells the Bps he was the King's Scholar, as a thing not commonly known. He was with Melancthon an. 1553,

when Joh. Bale was in Ireland, to whome he writ there. v. Bal. *Vocation.* p. 38. He was Professor at Leipsic an. 1551. 1558. v. Baleum de Scriptor. Scot. p. 228. To whom and Joh. Knox Bale dedicates that Booke. Of Ales & his being commonly called the King's Scholar, v. Spotswood. Hist. p. 66.

P. 327. [line 4. Marbeck condemned for writing out an Epistle of Calviu's against the Mass, 1543.] I was condemned to death for the copying out of a worke made by y^e great Clarke M^r Jo. Calvin, written against the same Six Articles, & y^s my Concordaunce was not one of the least matters, y^t then they alledged to aggravate y^e cause of my trouble.—See Marbeck's Preface to his Concordance, printed an. 1550. fol.

P. 331. [line 7 from foot. a Mandate for publishing and using the Prayers in English, sent to Cranmer Jun. 11. 1544.] **It is probable there is a Mistake in the Date. For these Prayers were not printed till Jun. 16. an. 1544, w^{ch} Booke of Prayers or Litany I have.** The Date is true, as appears from a copy of this Order in Goodrich's Register, fol. 164. This Order was sent by y^e ArchBp to Edmund Bp of London Jun. 18 an. 1544, to be communicated & transmitted to the rest of the Bps of the Province, & was executed by the Bp of London, by Letters to the Bp of Ely [& I suppose the other Bps] in this Form.—Vest^{ræ} Fraternitati Reverendæ ex parte Præfati Sereniss. Dni nostri Regis, & prænominati Rev. Patris Cant. Archiepi, auctoritate quâ supra committimus et districte præcipiendo mandamus: ex parte vero nostra cum charitate requirimus & rogamus, quatenus Literas supradictas, juxta tenorem, vim, et formam ac effectum earundem in omnibus et per omnia debite et effectualiter, cum omni etiam sedulitate et celeritate accommodis, in et per Dioc. vestram Elien. exequi faciatis et procuretis. Porro ut illa sancta suffragia, ac salubres orationes, de quibus in supradictis Literis fit mentio, tam a vobis quam ab omnibus et singulis infra dictam Dioc. vestram degent. et commorantibus, quatenus eos respective concerunt, juxta et secundum præmissarum Literarum hujusmodi tenorem et continen. in omnibus et per omnia (ut decet) diligentius et efficacius exponi, declarari, denuntiari, cantari, dici, publicari et observari possint et valeant: nos unum exemplar eorundem suffragiorum et orationum, una cum præsentibus, vobis per latorem earundem duximus mittend. In cujus rei Test. &c. Dat. in Ædibus London. Jun. 19. an. Regn. Hen. 8^vi 36 &c.†

P. 332. [line 11. Henry entered into Bulloign Sept. 18. 1544.] 15th of Sept. Fabian.

P. 333. [line 12 from foot. Wishart a student at Cambridge.] M^r G. Wishart was of Benet College in Cambr. where he is sayd to have led a studious & religious life, not without a great mixture of Melancholy. v. Fox. Mart. vol. 2. p. 616.

* The words in italics are struck out in the original.

† See Eccles. Documents, (ed. Hunter, Camd. Soc. 1840,) No. XXI., being a letter of Bonner's to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, enclosed is the king's letter, dat. June 11. Jenkyns's Cranmer, Appendix, Nos. 22 and 23, and Baker's MSS. xxx. 153—156.

P. 336. [line 1. Wishart prophecies Beatoun's death.] This prophecy originally borrow'd from Knox, is wanting in the MS of Knox's History. See Scot. Histor. Library. p. 360.

P. 340. [line 5 from foot. The King sent the Bps of London and Worcester to deal with Shaxton to recant.] The King sent the Bishops of London and Worcester together with two of his Chaplains, Dr Robinson & Dr Redman, to confer with Shaxton, inform & instruct him &c. See the Printed account with Crowley's Answer. Lond. 1548. Shaxton dy'd at Cambridge in Q. M's Reign, being then Suffragan to Thomas Thirlby Bp of Ely. By his Will Dat. Aug. 5 an. 1556 he orders his Body to be bury'd in Gonville Hall Chappell. to w^{ch} Hall he left his house in St Andrew's Parish, his Books, & some moneys. v. MS. Coll. Corp. Chr. Cant. Miscellan. P. fol. 495.* Accordingly he was buried in Gonville Hall Chappell. See Caius's Annals MSS.

P. 341. [line 14. Anne Askew married to one Kyme.] or Ryme. [She was nobly descended.] She was the younger Daughter of Sr William Askewe Knight, of Lincolnshire, and cannot properly be sayd to be nobly descended. See Her Examination with the Elucydatyon of Joh. Bale, printed at Marpurg. an. 1546, 1547, p. 1. &c.

Ibid. [line 7 from foot. Anne Askew favoured by the Dutchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Hertford, and some other Ladies.] viz. The Lady Sussex, Lady Denny, & Lady Fitzwilliams. See Bale, ib. p. 30.

Ibid. [line 5 from foot. Money sent to her by two Ladies of the Court.] viz. from the Lady Hertford 10^{sh}. From the Lady Denny 8^{sh}. See Bale. ib. p. 43.

P. 342. [line 7. She was racked by the Chancellor.] She was rackt not only by the Lord Chancellor, but by Master Rich. See Bale, Examination & Elucydatyon. p. 45. Fox. vol. 2, p. 578. So terryibly racked of Wryslve the Chancellor & Ryche, that the strynges of her armes & eyes were peryshed. Ibid. Pref. p. 8. Then they ded put me on the Racke—and bycause I laye styll & ded not crye, My Lorde Chauncellour & Mastre Ryche toke peynes to racke me y^r own handes, tyll I was nygh dead.—Her words in the lattre Examynacyon, p. 45.

P. 344. [The story of Cranmer shewing the King's ring to the council placed by Parker after Suffolk's death.] The Duke of Suffolk dy'd Aug. 24. an. 1545. Dr Butts, who is likewise mention'd in this passage dy'd Nov. 17. an. 1545. So it must have happen'd in the same year, betwixt August & November.

Not. There were 2 Dr's of the name of Butts, Ralph and William. It was Ralph that dy'd that year. See Weaver. p. 525. William surviv'd. This has not been observ'd either by Mr Fulman or Ant. Harmar, who have corrected this History from the date of Dr Butts's Death.

P. 347. [line 24. Coronation of the Prince of Wales.] Quer.

* Baker's MSS. (British Museum) vi. 220.

whether Coronation be a proper Terme? Mr Selden seems to imply the contrary. v. Tit. Hon. Par. 2 chap. 5. Nor is that Term us'd in the Forms of Creation publish'd by Mills, Doderidge, or in y^e Creation of Henry (son of K. James) Prince of Wales. See the order for his Creation in Mills, where it is sayd, The King dy'd before he could be created, & where it is likewise sayd, that Prince Edward was Dux Cornubiæ nativitate non creatione.—*Coronation in the L^ds Journall.* Jan. 27. 38. H. viii.

P. 348. [Duke of Norfolk's case.] See an account of this matter in Dyer. fol. 93.

P. 349. [line 16 from foot. Burnet discovers several things, hitherto unknown, about Henry's will. . . The stamp put to it by Will. Clark servant to Tho. Hennage.] This is well known to be taken notice of in a Booke, whose Author & design will give no reputation to the story. viz. *Leycester's Commonwealth* p. 136, 137 &c. ed. 1641. From whence we may gather whence & from whome the story sprung, & that it was a Popish Design.

But it is more largely taken notice of by Lesley, a Bp., an author of great credit. Particularly my L^d Paget's, S^r Edward Montagu's, & this Clarck's testimony is there mention'd; upon w^{ch} follows: *Quæ Testimonia cum juramento perhibita, postquam diligenter & circumspecte perpensa atque examinata fuissent, Maria Regina de sententiâ Consiliariorum suorum, ad honorem Dei & regni, ad veritatis & justitiæ patrociniū, et legitimæ in Regnum Successionis, ad multa nefanda mala devitanda, quæ illa corruptione ex illo f'igmento consecutura erant, jussit exemplar memoriale supposititii Testamenti, quod extabat in Cancellariâ, conscindi, expungi, aboleri, tanquam indignum quod inter vera et incorrupta nobilissimi Regni exemplaria locum obtineret.*—v. Jo. Leslæus, *De Titulo et Jure Serenissimæ Principis Mariæ Scotorum Reginae, quo Regni Angliæ successionem sibi juste vendicat.* p. 43, 44 &c. Rhemis an. 1580. It was publish'd in English before. This Author was our Historian's Countryman. [See a copy of Henry's will in Baker's MSS. xxxiv. 261.]

P. 350. [line 9 from foot. Henry's death 'was kept up three days.'] It could not be conceal'd so long. For K. Edw. Journal says, that after his death incontinent came E. Earl of Hertford, & S^r Ant. Brown to the Prince. And in the account of K. Edw. Coronation printed in Mills it is sayd, they were accompany'd by many of the Nobility. From w^{ch} account it appears the King's death was known, but was not publickly notify'd till the new King was proclaim'd.

Memorand. Quod die Lunæ, viz. ultimo die Jan. an. R. R. H. 8. 38. Dominus Cancellarius, considentibus universis magnatibus, convocatis etiam Militibus & Burgensibus a Domo communi, plenâ viz. Curiâ, declaravit mortem Dnī nostris Regis Hen. 8^{vi}, qui obiit die Veneris ultimo præterito &c.—Journal as cited in Hereditary Right, Append, & as cited by D^r Brady from the Lords Journal.

P. 352. [Margin. Carthusians executed for denying the King's Supremacy.] Maii 4^{to}, 1535.

lb. [line 15. Bevoll.] Beauvale. [Rich. Reynolds a Monk of Sion.]

He was of Sion, a house dedicated to our Savior & S^t Briget of the order of S^t Austin. v. *Histor. aliquot Martyrum &c. impress. an. 1550 & 1573. v. Dugdal. Monast. Tom. 2, p. 360.*

P. 353. [line 10. Three Monks Middlemore, Exmew, & Nudigate, suffer.] quinto Idus Maii an. 1537.

Ibid. [line 12. Ten Carthusian monks shut up, nine died, the tenth was hanged in August, 1535.] This happen'd two years after, an. 1537, when these ten were sent up and imprison'd in Newgate, ubi omnes in brevi, uno excepto, propter squalorem & foetorem carceris moriebantur. v. *Maurit. Chauncy Hist. Mart. Angl.* The tenth, William Horne, (afterwards mention'd by this Author under the quality of yeoman) was after four years imprisonment executed Nov. 4. an. 1541. ib.

P. 356. [line 13. The King's Book against Luther.] That the King [Hen. 8.] did not write that Booke himself, has better authority than Sanders, viz. S^r Tho. More's own words in his MS. *Life by Roper*, where he says of Himself, That he was only a Sorter out & Placer of the Principal matters therein contain'd, after it was finish'd by his Grace's appointment, & consent of the members of the same. v. MS. [See above, note on p. 31 of *Burnet*. *Burnet here says that Sanders 'on design to lessen the King's honour,' feigned that the book was not composed by him.*]

Ibid. [line 16. a letter from More to Cromwell, out of the Tower.] This letter is expressly sayd to be writ by S^r Tho. More, after he had given over the office of Chancellor of England, & before he was imprison'd in Febr. or March, an. 1533. v. *Printed Works*, p. 1424, 1427.

Ibid. [line 27. The King refused to strike out what was written respecting the Papal Supremacy; perhaps because he was so fond of what he had writ.] The reason is given in the same MS. "That Booke was the King's Booke, as several other Books were sayd to be his, tho' writ by his Bps and other Learned men." Fuller suspects Gardiner to have been the Author, possibly for no other reason, than for the sake of a Pun. P. 168. It is plain King Hen. 8 could not write true Latin, for w^{ch} see p. 368 of the Addenda to this Volume. See the *Life of S^r Tho. More* by N. H. L. D. Fol. 40. MS.

P. 357. [Friar Forest.] (*See Ellis, Ser. III. Letters 210—213, 331.*)

P. 360. [line 23. Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Tho. Dingley Kt of S^t John of Jerusalem attainted.] This Adrian Fortescue was Knight of St. John's of Jerusalem, as well as Dingley.

P. 361. [line 3. Abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, and Colchester, attainted.] Hugh Farringdon Abbot of Reading, Rich. Whiting Abbot of Glassenbury, John Beck Abbot of Colchester.

Ibid. [line 10. W^m Horn, a Yeoman attainted.] He was a profest Carthusian, one of those ten, that were imprison'd in Newgate, who having surviv'd the rest, after four years imprisonment was executed, Nov. 4, an. 1541. v. *Maurit. Chauncy. Hist. Mart. Angl.* Another of the y^e name of Horn was executed, but his name was Gyles

Horn, & in my account he is styled Gentleman. Another William Horn is sayd to have been executed, but he likewise was a Monk.

Ibid. [line 11 from foot. Lord Hungerford executed the same day with Cromwell.] Jul. 28. 1540.

P. 362. [line 7. One Gardiner, kinsman to the Bp. of Winchester, with 3 other priests, executed.] German Gardiner, who was Bp Gardiner's brother's son. *Quær.* whether he were a Priest, or the other three Priests? They are styled Master More, Master Heyhode, and Master Roper in a MS. Tr. entitl'd *The Practice of Stephen Gardiner*. And tho' German Gardiner was executed, the other three had their pardons, *ibid.* juxta finem. See also Strype's Memorial, lib. I. cap. 27, p. 122, 123. In a MS Life of S^r Tho. More by N. H. L. D. he is styled: An excellent learned Man, M^r Germaine Gardiner, secretary to y^e Bp of Wint. He was a Priest. He was attainted of high treason, & suffer'd death for maintaining the Bp of Rome's authority, as the Earle of Warwick deposes, in the proceedings against Bp. Gardiner, apud Fox edit. I. p. 824.

P. 365. [line 32. John Hilsey consecrated 1537.] Hilsey was consecrated Bp. an. 1535. See p. 158 of y^s vol.—George Brown Arch-Bp of Dublin, was consecrated by Thomas ArchBp of Cant. Mar. 19, an. 1535, John Bp. of Rochester &c. assisting. v. Wareum de Præsul. Lagen, p. 36. v. Mason de Ministerio.

Notes on Burnet Collect. vol. I.

P. 5. [No. II.] v. Antiq. Brit. p. 288.—v. Rymer Acta pub. T. 13, p. 275.

P. 9. [Lib. II. No. 1.] See a Copy of this Bull in Cochleus his Book, with some variations. v. Rymer Tom. 13.

P. 39. [No. 15.] Of a Brieve of P. Julius to the King. v. Rymer Acta pub. T. 13, p. 376. et Tom. 14, p. 296.

P. 47. [foot of the page.] v. Bullam Commissionis—in causâ matrimon. inter Regem et Reginam dat. Id. April 1528, apud Rymer Acta pub. Tom. 14, 237-8. v. Rymer *ibid.*, p. 295.

P. 84. [line 31. City, Burrough, *Waxentale*, *Tranship*.] Wapentake, Township.

P. 86. [*misnumbered* 98. line 16. D^r Clyss.] D^r Clyff.

P. 87. [*among Magistri in Theologia are named.* Heynes.] B. T. 1528. [Shaxton.] B. T. 1520. [Latimer.] B. T. 1524. [Longford.] B. T. 1528. Col. Jo. [Thyxtel.] B. T. 1524. [Hutton.] B. T. [Skip.] M. A. [Heth.] M. A. an. 1522. [Hadway.] M. A. [Dey.] M. A. Col. Jo. [Bayne.] M. A. Col. Jo. [Procuratores.] Rol. Swinburn. Aul. Clar. Jo. Blithe. Col. Regal.

P. 89. [Judgment of the Universities, taken from the printed Edition of them. London, 1532.] & an. 1573. v. Fidelis Servi Subdito Infideli Respons. Cl. 19, 6, 44. v. Rymer Acta publica Tom. 14, p. 391-2-3, &c.

P. 90. [Censura Univ. Aurel.] An. 1531. v. Rymer Acta pub. Tom. 14, p. 416.

P. 92. [line 19. Kal. Octob.] Decimo quinto Kal. Octobr. Rymer, p. 397.

P. 93. [line 13.] Sine Dat. Rymer, p. 393.

P. 95. [No. 36.] [*See Jenkyns. Cranmer Pref. p. viii. note.*]

P. 123. [No. 48. *This has been printed for the Camd. Soc. in the Letters on the suppression of the Monasteries. A careful collation leads to the conclusion that neither copy is very accurate. Take one or two instances.*] [P. 124. line 5. *altho'. Mr. Wright the Camd. Soc. Editor reads 'as thoughe.'*] [P. 125. line 12 from foot. to trust the one more. *Mr. Wright has 'more to reject the one.'*] [P. 126. line 10. six. *Mr. Wright has rightly vij.*] [P. 127. lines ult. & 19 from foot. *What do your readers make of "quykkrand" or "quykkrane?" Mr. Wright has "quykkened."*]

P. 129. [line 8. Conscientiæ & Jurisjurandi Sacro firmiter obligamur.] In the Form printed by Mr Wharton. De Episcop. London. Append. num. 12, It is thus. Coñscientiæ et jurisjurandi sacramento nosmet firmiter obligamus.

P. 142. [line 22 from foot. Denby Cambr.] Denny.

P. 143. [Bushlisham. Bp. of St. David's, Commendator, Berk. 5 July.] v. Stryp. Memor.* p. 37. 5 Jul. v. Monastic. vol. 3, p. 21. It was surrendred this year, & founded anew an. 29. H. 8, & finally dissolv'd an. 30. Hen. 8. [*After this entry Baker has inserted the following.*] There is a Surrender 28 H. 8 ult. Julii to the D. of Norfolk &c. of the Abbey of Sibton. Com. Suffolc. Monast. vol. 3, p. 33.

Ib. [St. Austins Cant. 5 Decemb.] 4 Decembr. Somner, p. 54.

Ib. [St. Andrew Northampt. 2 March.] 1 March. v. Weaver, p. 110.

Ib. [Kenilworth the Prior and 16 Mon.] 15th Abbot, 15 Canons. v. Dugd. Warwic. p. 155.

P. 144. [line 1. Lewes.] An. 30 H. 8. v. Weaver, p. 111.

Ib. [line 6. Walden.] An. 1539 says Stryp. p. 50.

Ib. [Feversham. Cluniac.] v. Southouse Monast. Feversham, p. 129. A pension of 100 marks per an. allow'd to the Abbot Joh. Castlock al. Shepey Jul. 24. A Dispensation granted him by the ArchBp. to take upon him a Secular habit, and accept a Benefice. Jul. 26. This Dispensation confirm'd by the King Jul. ult. Southouse, (p. 8.) Somner will not allow these Monks to be of the order of Cluny. Of w^{ch} Quær.

Ib. [St. Austin's Cant.] v. X. Scriptores, p. 2293, 2294. The Form of Resignation with the names of the Abbot & Monks of St. Austin's Cant.

Ib. [Margin. St. Gilbert L. of Semperingham.] This Mr Strype seems not to have understood, but to have thought Sempering. & Gilbert. distinct Orders. v. Mem. L. I. ch. 16 p. 61.

P. 146. [St. Alban's Herefordshire. line 4.] Hertfordshire.

Ib. [line 9. York the H. Trin.] See Vicaria Leodiensis by Thoresby, pag. 28, 29.

* i. e. Memorials of Cranmer, which Baker generally cites as Mem. or Memor.

Ib. [line 29. Pollsworth Nunnery, no Hands, only the Seal.] Abbess & 14 nunns. v. Dugd. Warwickshire, p. 800.

P. 148. [Bp. Reonen. *What this See was I cannot conjecture.*] Robert King Abbot of Oseney, while Abbot, was consecrated titular Bp. & called Episcopus Roannensis, a See in the Province of the ArchBp. of Athens, v. Stryp. Memor. p. 36. He was afterwards Bp. of Oxford an. 1542. v. Wood Antiq. Oxon. L. 2 p. 291. v. Godwin de Præsulibus.

Ib. [*Baker adds*] Ramsey, Novemb. an. 31 Hen. 8. v. Dyer, fol. 231.

Ib. [line 12 from foot. St. Mary Watte.] v. Stryp. Mem. p. 61.

Ib. [line 16 from foot. Christ Church Canterb.] Et puis, scilicet 5 die Aprilis anno 31, le dit Priorie et touts lour possessions fuër sūrr et dones al roy p fait inrolle, seale oue lour comon seale. v. Dyer, p. 73. [*Lond. 1585.*]

Ib. [line antepen. Winchelcomb.] Ric. Mounslow last Abbot had a pension of 160^{lib.}

P. 150. [line 20. Surrender signed by Abbot, Subprior, & 9 Monks.] P. 144. It is sign'd by the Abbot & 11 Monks.

Ib. [line 24. Franciscans in Coventry.] In the Surrender of the Franciscans of Coventry, they beg leave under the King's writing & seal to change y^r Habit, & to receive Livings, as other Clerks do. v. Dugd. Hist. Warwickshire, p. 116.

P. 157. [Book III. No. V. Signed by . . . & other Ministers 49.] 80 & upward either in y^r own name or by Proxy.

Ib. [Margin. of the other 16, 14 did sign.] 15. [Rochester being vacant.] Rochester was not vacant: for Joh. Hilsey was made Bp. an. 1535. For w^{ch} see [*note on*] p. 158 of y^s vol. Johannes Roffen. signs this Instrument MS. C.C.C. where his & y^c other subscribers names are entred, & should have been printed. v. MS. Collect. vol. 31 p. 9, 10.

P. 161. [line 9. Articles for abrogating superfluous holidays.] w^{ch} Articles, establisht by y^c King's authority, with the Assent & Consent of the Prelates & Clergy in Convocation assembled I have, printed cum Privilegio an. 1537. Cl. K. 15. 42.

Ibid. [line 10 from foot. Pater Noster &c.] w^{ch} Pater Noster Creed & Ten Commandments, with a brief Interpretation or declaration &c. I have, printed cum Privilegio an. 1537. Cl. K. 15. 42.

(Baker's MSS. xxxi. pp. 9, 10, referred to by Baker above.)

"The Judgment of the Convocation concerning Generall Councils publisht by the Ld Herbert & D^r Burnet Hist. Ref. vol. i. collect. p. 155. The names of subscribers being there omitted, are here added. [Rochester not vacant, as there said.] Jul. 20, 1536.

Tho. Cromwell, T. Cantuarien.

Johannes London.

Johannes Lincoln. noie Procurat, pro Dnō Exōn. Epō.

Johannes Lincoln.
 Johannes Bath. Wellen.
 Thomas Elien.
 Johannes Lincoln noīe procurat. pro Dnō Epō Covent. et Litch.
 Johannes Bangor.
 Nicolaus Sarisburien.
 Edoardus Hereforden.
 Hugo Wigorn.
 Johannes Roffen.
 Ricardus Cicestr.
 Willm. Norvicen.
 Willūs Meneven.
 Robertus Assaphen.

Willus Abbas Westm.
 Willus Abbas Westm. noīe procurat. pro Antonio Abbate de Evesham.
 Robertus Abbas Sti Albani tam noīe proprio, quam noīe procurat. pro Dnō Abbate de Bury, et Wymondham, ac Priore de Norvico.
 Thomas Abbas de Abendon.
 Hugo Abbas de Reding.
 Robtūs Abbas de Waltham tam noīe proprio, quam noīe procurat. Abbatis de Tewkesbury, Abbat. de Wynchcombe, et pro Abbat. de Croweland.
 Johes Abbas de Cirencester.
 Robtūs Abbas de Thama.
 Johes Prior de Merton.
 Robtūs Prior sive Mag^r Ordinis de Sempringham tam noīe proprio quam Procurat. noīe Abbat. de Kirkstead et Tychfield.
 Henricus Abbas de Graciū tam noīe proprio, quam Procurat. noīe Abbat. de Boxleya, de Bello-loco Reg., de Rivesby, de Pipewell, de Wooburne, de Whalley, de Tutbury, de Deulincrease, de Croxden, de *Hueton*, de Dale, de Kingswood, de Dora, de *Hoxly*, de Wormesley, de Monmouth, de Wenlock, de Chirbury, de Ponte Roberti.
 Hugo Mitwicke Prior de Huntingdon.
 Ricūs Abbas de Bittlesden.
 Willūs Prior Novi Hospitalis extra Bps Gate.
 Bartholomæus Prior S^m Mariæ de Overey tam noīe proprio, quam procurat. noīe. Abbat. de Bello, de Feversham, et Priōr Elien. et Combwell.
 Willus Prior de Bergaveni.
 Ricus Gwent Archidūs Lond. et. Breck.
 Thomas Bedill Archidus Cornub.
 Petrus Vannes Archidūs Wigorn.
 Johēs Bell Archidus Glocestr.
 Ricus Layton Archidus Buck.
 Willūs Hedge Proc. Cleri Norwicen.
 Ricus Coren Archidus Oxon.

Johes London Decanus Wallingf.
 Edmundus Cranmer Archidūs Cant.
 Ricūs Rawson Archūs Essex.
 Thomas Hugh Archus Surr.
 David Pole Archūs Salop.
 Ricūs Street Archūs Derby.
 Per me Georgium Hennage Decanum Lincoln.
 Georgius Windham Archdūs Norwic.
 Per me Nicolaum Metcalf Archdūm Roffen.
 Edmundus Bonner Archdus Leicestr.
 Nicholaus Heth Archdūs Staff.
 Adam Traves Archdūs Exon.
 Polidorus Virgilius Archdus Wellen.
 Henricus Morgan Procurāt. Cleri Lincoln, et Capituli et Arch.
 Simon Matthew Procurat. Cleri London.
 Ricūs Spechford Procurat. Cleri Hereford.
 Edmundus Steward Proc. Cleri Winton.
 Ricūs Shelton M^r Collegii de Mettingham.
 Willūs Maye Proc. cleri Elien.
 Willūs Glyn Archdūs Anglesey, et Proc. Cleri Bangor.
 Hugo Coren Proc. Cleri Hereford.
 Willūs Buckmastre Proc. Cleri London.
 Robertus Evans Decanus Bangor, et Proc. Cleri ibm.
 Griffinus Leyson Archūs Carmarden.
 Johēs Raine. Proc. Cleri. Li.

MS. Coll. Corp. Chr. Cant."

[A facsimile of the subscriptions to an Act of this Convocation may be seen in Dodd, new edition, vol. i.]

Taking into consideration the number and variety of the notes printed in this and last month's Magazine, and their necessary abruptness, I have thrown together, in something like a connected arrangement, a few of the more flagrant mistakes here corrected, in the hope that the bearing of these papers on Burnet's character as a trustworthy historian may thus be better understood. At the same time it must not be supposed that the case against Burnet depends wholly or chiefly on these corrections. For it should not be forgotten: I. That very many mistakes were detected in the same pages by Fulman, Strype, Wharton, and others of Burnet's contemporaries, with whom Baker seldom interferes, to say nothing of Baker's own notes, printed in Burnet, vol. iii. II. That many more might easily have been detected by the help of more recent publications,—I say easily,—although I have myself refrained purposely from making any large collection of this kind, lest I should overlay with matter within the reach of thousands Baker's notices often drawn from almost inaccessible repositories.

It will be convenient to begin, as I did last month, with those passages which go to prove that Burnet undertook a task for which he

was utterly unfit; those which are disgraced by the slipshod habits of the literary sloven, a confused inaccurate style,* with misquotation and misapprehension of authorities; and those which betray ignorance of the sources of information, or the total absence of qualities more needful than scholarlike habits or knowledge; I mean moderation and candour.

After these passages it will be needless to notice more than a few of those particular mistakes, which may be thickly strewed in a history without altogether destroying its value, provided the author be honest.

We have already seen how Burnet,

Up to the great might-have-been upsoaring sublime and ideal
Gives to historical questions a free poetical treatment.

Nor have we to go far for other examples. At the very outset of our inquiry we light on a characteristic sentence, (p. 91.) "It seems Crook died before he could receive a reward of this great Service he did the King, for I do not find him mentioned after this [1530.]" That is to say, "Henry did not (or, which is the same thing, I cannot find that he did) reward Croke for his services. Therefore Croke must have died prematurely, and so have lost the conscience-money which Henry was eager to press upon him." Let us hope that he at least left some relations behind him, on whom, to the relief of the royal feelings, the pent-up torrent of gratitude was discharged.

In p. 129, we read; "In none of our Records have I been able to discover of what persons they [the houses of Convocation] were made up in the times of Popery: and therefore since we are left to conjecture, I shall offer mine to the Learned Reader;" which is, in short, that deans and archdeacons sat then in the upper house; and is grounded upon the fact that "*we find . . . that . . . Deans & Archdeacons were summoned to the fourth Council in the Lateran.*"

Unfortunately it is not always safe for historians to conclude that this or that was not, because they cannot find that it was; for what they cannot find, others sometimes can, as we see here; for in the first case Wood proves that Croke's will bears date some twenty-eight years after he had been hypothetically consigned to the grave by Burnet; while in the second the unlearned reader, had Burnet thought fit to appeal to him, might have shown from the work of a "Man of fancy, who affected an odd way of writing,"† that deans and archdeacons sat in the lower house; nay, as Fulman reminds us, we have no need to consult Fuller; if we turn back sixteen pages we read in another writer, who, whether he affected it or no, was undoubtedly addicted to "an odd way of writing," that Pole, when Dean of Exeter, sat in the lower house.‡ Having mentioned Fuller, I take this occasion to remark, that Burnet has misunderstood him when he

* Witness the History of his Own Time, with Swift's racy notes.

† Burnet, Preface, vol. i.

‡ Henry Wharton (Harmer, p. 30) refers to Burnet's Addenda to vol. i. p. 315, in which he gives the subscriptions of the two houses separately, archdeacons and deans subscribing amongst the lower house. Burnet repeats his conjecture, vol. ii. p. 49. Thus, rather oddly, we have, 1st, a fact which overthrows the conjecture; 2nd, conjecture; 3rd, another awkward fact; 4th, conjecture.

tells us (p. 286, line 4) that "he [Fuller] says, that their 7th Session [i. e., that of Convocation 1542] was the 10th of March." For Fuller having spoken (Book v. Sect. 5, § 36,) of the *sixth* session, goes on to speak of the proceedings of "a following Session," March 10; an "unlearned reader" might have supposed that Fuller would have used the definite article, if he had meant the seventh session. He was in fact speaking of the ninth. (See Mr. Brewer's note, vol. iii. p. 201.) A "Learned Reader" more logically concludes; "It followed the sixth; *ergo*, it was the seventh."

Burnet's mistakes are often so complex that each falls under several heads; thus the passage in p. 129, cited for another purpose, might have been ranked among the self-contradictions, to which I next proceed. It will not be denied that an author, much given to mistakes of this kind, cannot have his materials well in hand; let the reader, bearing in mind what keen eyes have searched Thucydides and Herodotus, try to recall anything of the sort in them; and then, bearing in mind how few writers, and those for the most part how uncritical, have commented on Burnet, turn over the pages of this first volume with the best helps he can get, and there can be little doubt that the latter search will produce four or five times as many instances in point as the former. Thus Queen Jane's death is dated in one place two days, in another, the next day after Edward's birth. (Compare vol. i. p. 251, with vol. ii. p. 1.) In the History the Abbot of St. Alban's is said to have been summoned to Parliament in 1539; in the Collection, St. Alban's is said to have surrendered Dec. 5, an. 30 Hen. 8. (vol. i. Hist. p. 256. Collect. p. 146.) In the History a commission to the Bishop of Chester to take the surrender of Hamond in Shropshire, is dated August 24, 1539, in the Collection, Aug. 31. (Hist. p. 263. Collect, p. 148. Ant. Harmer, p. 49.) In the History the surrender of Battle Abbey is dated 1539; in the Collection, 1538. (Hist. 267. Collect. 144.) In the Collection, p. 144, and in the History, p. 224, Betlesden Abbey is placed in Bedfordshire, in the Collect. p. 142, it is rightly placed in Bucks. Was it that Burnet's memory could not retain what he wrote for three pages together, or is Wharton right in saying that he had not read his own Collection of Records? (Ant. Harmer, p. 31.) One other instance, though beyond my proper limits, I will cite, as it reveals the prejudices of the writer. (Vol. i. Addenda, p. 316.) "The Abbots writ generally so ill, that it is very hard to read their Subscriptions." First, as to the fact: both Wharton and Mr. Tierney deny that the writing of the abbots is more illegible than that of the other subscribers; any reader may satisfy his curiosity on the point by turning to the facsimile given by Mr. Tierney (Dodd, vol. i.) Again, as to the purpose of the writer: one might almost imagine that Burnet was a believer in that species of chiromancy, which the spirit of the age, the Useful Knowledge Society, and Sir Peter Laurie, all together, are as yet unable to "put down," if one may judge from the advertisements in the newspapers. "Any lady or gentleman desirous of learning her or his character, may receive satisfaction, for the trifling consideration of twelve postage stamps, enclosed with a specimen of handwriting to

Mr. So-and-So." For the passage clearly implies (and so Wharton and Mr. Tierney understand it,) that the bad handwriting was a mark of illiterature in the "lazy Monks." But—exeunt the monks, and enter Henry VIII. and Luther.* How now? Legible handwriting the test of learning? No, never: men such as they, had too momentous business on hand to waste time on a mere mechanical art, fit only for gross sensual monks.

I had nearly forgotten another passage in our old acquaintance, p. 129, which contains such almost incredible falsifications of the authority cited, that even in Burnet's pages it stands out like $\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\ \upsilon\lambda\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\iota\ \upsilon\psi\eta\lambda\omega\nu\ \delta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, $\delta\tau\epsilon\ \phi\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi'\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$, so that a mere self-contradiction is quite cast into the shade in such company. However, commonplace as it is, we will give it a look in passing. Well, then, in p. 129, Burnet states that nineteen universities affirmed the illegality of the king's marriage, while in the appendix, p. 284, he names only twelve; even this last number exceeding by two any list given in the authorities.

Now for the "Great Gonne;" and, that it may have fair play, let us hear Burnet himself and his authority; happily there is no need to give more than a few lines of either. "[In Convocation 1533.] The opinions of 19 Universities were read for it [*the Divorce*], and the one [*upper*] House being as full as the other was empty, 216 being present either in person or by Proxy, it was carried in the Affirmative *Nemine Contradicente*; those few of the Queen's Party that were there it seems going out." The authority given is Parker's Antiq. Brit.; I quote the passage in the note.†

I remember to have seen a book which gave directions for writing themes. The pupil, having his thesis before him, was told to ask himself first, "Who?" then "What?" and so on. Suppose Henry's divorce to be the subject given out in a school in which this plan is adopted; the class naturally turn to Burnet; and when their themes are brought up, and the master looks for the answer to the first question, "Who?" he finds, "Nineteen Universities, v. Burnet." "Ah!

* Henry "was the most learned Prince that had been in the World for many Ages." "He never wrote well, but scrawled so that his hand was scarce legible." Burnet, vol. i. pp. 10, 11. Wharton, p. 63. "An original of Luther's own Hand . . . could not have been easily read, if Bucer had not writ out a Copy of it." Burnet, vol. iii. book 4. init.; unfortunately, as Baker shews by a quotation from Meleh. Adam, and had seen with his own eyes, Bucer's handwriting was as illegible as Luther's; so that Bucer's explanatory copy could only have cleared up *obscurum per obscurius*.

† "Quæsitum est iterum de Regis cum D. Catharina conjugio, ac renovata illa tam diu coram Papæ Legatis agitata quæstio. An ducere uxorem cognitam a fratre decedente sine prole sit prohibitio juris divini indispensabilis a Papa? In superiori . . . patrum Conventu, in quo Bononiensis, Patavinensis, Parisiensis, aliarumque universitatum de ea quæstione judicia recitata sunt, controversia inter Stokesleyum Londinensem, & Fisherum Roffensem Episcopos aliquandiu mota, ab omnibus patribus qui ducenti sexdecim personaliter vel per procuratores interfuerent, præterquam a 19. Universitatum prædictarum sententiis assensum ust."—P. 327, 328. Hanov. 1605. How did Burnet construe præterquam? If in his vocabulary "præterquam" be supposed to have been equivalent to "et," his mistake is accounted for, and in the eyes of those who see little to choose between "and" and "except," and who dislike "captious verbal criticism," excused.

yes, exactly—quite right; or rather, perhaps, men; but go on.—What?"—"Declare the illegality of Henry's marriage." "*What?*" "So we read in Burnet." "Yes; to be sure; very true; but I think—of the two—I would rather have said legality." Seriously, when a writer thus by a stroke of his pen transmutes men into universities, and "against" into "for"—to say nothing of his asserting, in the teeth of his authority, that the affirmative was carried nem. con., and going out of his way to assure us, of his own knowledge, that the few who were of the queen's party went out,—when, I say, we see all these blunders in four lines, can we repose any confidence in the writer? or if we can, must we not give up all claim to the title of a "discriminating, enlightened public," with which our flatterers gull us?

After reading such a passage as that just discussed, we might have hoped that a fellow-feeling would have made Burnet wondrous kind to the mistakes of others; did not the experience of all those who look into reviews confirm the truth of the remark, that the most ignorant are the most unsparing critics. Accordingly, when Burnet animadverts on others, he often imputes to them blunders which they have not made, and sometimes attacks them because their correct statements are at variance with his blunders. We have seen one instance of this already; (in the case of Fuller, Burnet, p. 286,) nor are others wanting. Thus we read (p. 224) that "the Patents" of the monasteries founded anew by Henry "are all enrolled, and yet none of our writers have taken any notice of this;" and yet Dugdale, the writer to whom every one would first turn, has taken notice of two such patents. In p. 239 there is a good deal of vapouring about the "impudence" of former writers, who say that the Abbot of Colchester was executed, with others, for denying the royal supremacy; against them Burnet urges that in 22 and 25 Hen. 8, the Abbot of Colchester had sworn to the supremacy; not observing, that the abbot who was executed had not at that time succeeded to the office. Baker has some remarks on the animadversions on Selden in p. 264, to which the reader may be referred;* at the same time there is one sentence among those animadversions, which I take the liberty to adopt as my own; "My design is only to let ingenious Persons see, that they ought not to take things on trust easily." Lastly, p. 356, we learn, that "Strangers may be pardoned such errors [as ascribing the composition of the King's book against Luther to Fisher and More], but they are inexcusable in an Englishman." Sanders, we are told, first published the report, "on design to lessen the King's honour." There is a certain letter which "shews that More knew that Book was written by the King's own Pen; and either Sanders never read this, or maliciously concealed it, lest it should discover his foul dealing."

It is surprising that Burnet should have been unaware both that it was impossible for Sanders *from the letter* to draw the inference which

* Selden's words are: "That Act is not in the printed Statutes, though some others have also formerly published it." It is plain that the word "not" should be struck out; else where is the force of the "also"? Selden himself, at the end of the errata, warns the reader that there are other misprints besides those which he there corrects.

he himself has drawn, and also that he himself drew that inference not from the letter, but from a surmise of his own as to the king's feelings. For the letter simply states that More advised the king to erase a passage in the book, which he refused to do: Sanders had not the benefit of Burnet's addition; "the King would not follow his counsel, *being perhaps so fond of what he had writ, that he would rather run himself upon a great inconvenience, than leave out any thing that he fancied so well written.*" The reader will not, I hope, need to be reminded of the passages in Roper's and Harpsfield's Lives of More, which prove that More had a hand in the arrangement of this book, and that the king was in no sense the author; and it is "inexcusable" in Burnet, who, when assailing Sanders (Appendix, p. 279) pretends to a knowledge of Roper's book, that he should be ignorant of one at least of these passages. It is scarcely worth while to notice that Burnet speaks of this letter of More's as written out of the Tower, whereas in More's works, to which he refers, it is said to have been written before his imprisonment.

It would be unpardonable in a review, however perfunctory, of Burnet's faults as a historian, to omit all mention of his party bias; indeed, much of what has been quoted for other purposes may be applied to this: at the same time, it should be considered, that no detached paragraphs can give a due conception of the extent to which this bias pervades the whole history; a characteristic specimen may be found in the passages in which Bonner is spoken of. This is, it is true, dangerous ground; but I take comfort from the reflection that Burnet himself had not any consistent notion of Bonner's character; and if, when doctors disagree, novices must use their own judgment, at least in deciding which to follow, surely the same liberty may be allowed when one doctor disagrees with himself. Let us in this case, at any rate, give both sides a fair hearing. In one place, then, Bonner is represented as utterly indifferent to religion, and ready to open cry after the "scent of preferment," down whatever road, whether from Rome or from Lambeth, it might come, in a word, as a liberal place-hunter; in another, as going against his conscience (still with the proviso *if he had one*) in his compliance with Cromwell.* The readers of the British Magazine will be able to appreciate at its just value the sneer in pp. 221, 222. "*Gardiner published his Book of true obedience. To which Bonner, who was hot on the scent of preferment, added a preface.*" Even Burnet would allow, that what a man has not done at all, he cannot have done from a bad motive; he may, however, comfort himself with the maxim, "the principle constitutes the act,"

* In p. 266 and 267, Bonner is spoken of as being "of the opposite party" to Cranmer, "of the Popish party;" in p. 299, it is said that it was not till after Cromwell's fall that "he shewed his Ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the Wind." Before that time "being most extreamly desirous of Preferment, he had so complied with Cromwell and Cranmer, that they had great confidence in him; and he being a blustering and forward Man, they thought he might do the Reformation good service;" Burnet should have told us what the work was, for which "blustering" was a qualification.

and with the assurance that, if Bonner had written the preface, his motive would have been no other than that assigned. Leaving to the "learned reader" the discussion of the curious psychological problem propounded in p. 267, (where Bonner is reduced to this dilemma: Either you had no conscience, or, having one, you did constant violence to it;) we find in p. 155, another proof that Burnet's ignorance of a document does not necessarily imply (though he seems to think that it does) the non-existence of the document. For we are there informed, that there remain but two of the subscriptions of the religious orders (to the Succession,) the remainder having been destroyed by Bonner. Wharton, however, (Note on Strype's Cranmer, p. 25, fol.,) tells us, that he had in his hands no less than 175 such instruments; the originals of which "do yet remain in their proper place, the King's exchequer, into which they were at first returned, and where they have been hitherto kept." Assuredly, in this case, Bonner's employers must have been disappointed by the supineness of their "blustering and forward" agent; perhaps he was too much taken up with burning men to have much time left for destroying records. Strange, is it not, that it did not occur to him that he might have combined economy of time and fuel by burning martyrs and papers in one fire?

The foregoing heads have occupied so much more space than I had expected, that I can give little more than a bare list of some passages which display ignorance, either of the existence of the best authorities on the several subjects treated of, or of the mode of using them. In p. 102, Burnet has been misled by relying on a second-hand writer. In p. 103, though he boasts of the search which he had made for books on the queen's side, yet it is plain that he had never seen Bishop Fisher's book, nor heard of that of Cochläus, and therefore gathers the arguments for the queen from the works of antagonists; while, in p. 131, to show that he is not always partial, even in his ignorance, he makes no mention, where it might have been looked for, of a book put forth by authority on the king's side. In p. 161, he seems to imply that Fisher wrote no work except one on purgatory. In p. 214, he shows himself unacquainted with the work of Alesse or Alane, who wrote an account of a disputation between the bishops about the number of the sacraments, &c., at which he was present. Burnet affirms that the disputation was held in the Convocation; Alane, in the Parliament house. Burnet gives the date 1536; Alane, 1537. In p. 279, in order to explain a proviso in the Bill of Cromwell's Attainder,* he has recourse to the conjecture, that Cromwell had made some exchanges of lands with the Dean and Chapter of Wells; forgetting that conjecture was rendered needless by the statement which he himself cited on the preceding page, to the effect that Cromwell was himself Dean of Wells. In p. 296, he quotes, with implied concurrence, a passage stating, that at the time of the trial of Jerome, &c., Gardiner was a privy councillor, not knowing that Gardiner had

* "That this should not be hurtful to the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, and to the Dean and Chapter of *Wells*."

expressly affirmed the contrary. In p. 303, he gives an account of an order, originally published in English, from a Latin translation, implying that he supposed the latter to be the original.

The chronological errors corrected by Baker in these papers amount, I believe, to upwards of forty.* It would be tedious to go through the whole list; but there is one which illustrates so clearly the blind credulity with which Burnet welcomed any story, however improbable, which flattered or did not offend his prejudices, that it is worth while to look somewhat closely at it. In page 209, a letter of Princess Elizabeth is given from the original, "writ in a fair hand, the same that she wrote all the rest of her life." This letter is called, the "first blossom of so great a princess, writ when she was not full four years of age." Surely this is singular, not to say incredible, on the face of it. What! an infant, in her fourth year, write a fixed hand, "the same that she wrote all the rest of her life?" Again, we are told that the letter was written in July, 1537; but on looking at the letter itself, we find that it bears the date of the month, but no date of the year. Here our suspicions are increased; we think it not impossible that Burnet's conjectural date may be erroneous. Next we look to the address: it is directed to the queen; but that does not help us much, where the choice is so wide. Lastly, we look at the letter itself, its occasion, its style, and the persons mentioned in it; we find that the queen, to whom it was written, was expecting her delivery; that her husband is spoken of as "my Lord;" that the subject is enlivened by what Burnet calls "pretty conceits," which, whatever we may think of them in other respects, will at least be allowed to be unnatural in the mouth of a child; and that the writer was then with a Mr. Denny. Now of Henry's wives, Queen Catherine Parr married the Lord Admiral, and died in childbed in 1548, at which time Elizabeth was at Sir Anthony Denny's house. Burnet should have applied the principle which he lays down in p. 10: *at eleven years of age, "princes have seldom made any great progress in learning;"* perhaps, however, his gallantry led him to ascribe a greater precocity to princesses:

"For we are women, when boys are but boys;
We grow upon the sunny side o' th' wall."

Be this as it may, it is not too much to hope that there may never be another "Positively last appearance of the INFANT PHENOMENON in the character of letter writer."

Had space permitted, it would have been desirable to have noticed sundry geographical errors, (such as St. Alban's in Herefordshire Collect, p. 146,)[†] and various misnomers.[‡]

I cannot close this paper without expressing a hope (shared, I know, by several, I doubt not by all, of your less "blustering and forward" readers) that the contagious influence of these notes of Baker may

* Another may be found in p. 321. See Jenkyns's *Cranmer*, Pref. p. xxxi. note f.

† See pp. 166, 224, 239, 352, and *Collection*, 142, with Baker's notes.

‡ See pp. 150, 155, 159, 213, 252, 263, 268, 280, 301, 341, 361, *Collect*, 86, 143, with the notes.

induce Dr. Maitland to continue the subject opened in his paper on Burnet and Wharton in the Magazine for April.

I am, very truly yours,

J. E. B. MAYOR.*

St. John's Coll., August 14.

ST. DIONYSIUS ON THE MILLENNIUM.

REV. SIR,—Great stress has been laid by the adversaries of the primitive millennarian doctrine upon the opposition which, it is stated, was given to it by St. Dionysius of Alexandria. A candid examination of the details of the case as related by Eusebius, will show, satisfactorily I think, to every unprejudiced mind, that this was much of the same nature as that which, as I pointed out in my last letter, was exhibited by Origen; and therefore it will appear to be equally invalid and irrelevant as a refutation of the doctrine as set forth by St. Justin, St. Irenæus, and their followers.

I shall first produce the account of the matter as narrated by Eusebius, (Hist. Eccl. vii. 23, 24;) and then give the observations of some learned and candid writers upon it, which seem fully to establish the truth of the assertion which I have made above. I may add that I quote from Hanmer's translation of Eusebius, as being the only form in which I have access to that author at present.

Speaking, then, of St. Dionysius, Eusebius says: . . . "He wrote two books, 'of the promises of God:' the occasion whereof was such. One Nepos, a bishop of Egypt, taught that the promises of God made unto holy men in the Scriptures, were to be understood after the Jewish manner, savouring too much of Judaism. He laid down for good doctrine that, after the resurrection, we should lead a life here on earth in corporal pleasures the space of a thousand years. And because he supposed he was able to justify this his opinion out of the revelation of St. John, he wrote a book thereof and intituled it, 'the reprehensions of allegorizers.' This book doth Dionysius in his works (intituled 'of the promises of God') confute. In the first he layeth down his censure of that doctrine; in the second he intreateth of the revelation of St. John, in the beginning of which book he writeth thus of Nepos.

"'They allege,' saith Dionysius, 'a certain book of Nepos, whereupon they ground that, without all peradventure, the kingdom of Christ to come here on earth may be proved. For sundry other his gifts I commend and embrace Nepos, partly for his faith, his diligence and exercise in Holy Scriptures, partly also for his pleasant psalmody wherewith at this day many of the brethren are delighted. I highly esteem and reverence the man, specially for such a one as now is

* [ERRATA.—In the Magazine for August are the following misprints: p. 169, for "Baker, MSS. vol. xxi." read xxxi.; p. 171, for "Episcopns Roffeus," read Episcopus Roffens; p. 178, for *inrietur*, read *iniretur*; p. 179, for "Ely, Hereford, & Worcester, Ely & some others," read "Ely, Hereford, & Worcester & some others;" p. 184, for "Dodd, ed. I." read "Dodd, new ed. I."]

departed to rest : yet the truth is our friend, and afore all to be revered. And if anything be well spoken, it deserveth commendation and is charitably to be accepted : if aught seem not soundly to be written, it is to be searched out and refuted. If he were present and avouched his doctrine by word of mouth, it should suffice without writing to confer by objections and resolutions to refell and reconcile the adversaries. But insomuch as there is extant a book thereof, as some suppose very probable, and many doctors set nought by the law and prophets, take scorn to be tried by the Evangelists, condemn the works of the Apostles ; alleging the doctrine of this writer as a thing most notable and an hid mystery, they suffer not the simpler sort of the brethren to know any high or magnificent thing, neither of the glorious and heavenly coming of our Lord, neither of our resurrection from the dead, our gathering together and uniting with Him ; but trifling toys and mortal affairs, persuading these present things to be hoped for in the kingdom of God ; it is necessary we deal by way of reasoning with our brother Nepos, as if he were present.' Unto these he addeth : ' When I was at Arsenoita, where, as thou knowest, this doctrine first sprang, so that schisms and manifest falling away from the church fell out in those congregations, I called together the elders and doctors inhabiting those villages, in presence of as many of the brethren as willingly came, and exhorted them openly to sift out this doctrine. And when as they brought me forth this book, as an armed fence and invincible fortress, I sat with them from morning to night whole three days, discussing those things which therein were written ; where I wondered at the constancy, desire of the truth, intelligence or capacity, and the tractableness of the brethren ; how orderly and with what moderation they objected, answered and yielded ; neither endeavoured they by any kind of way contentiously to retain their positions if they were proved false ; neither bolted they contradictions ; but, as much as in them lay, stuck fast and confirmed their purpose ; and yet again, where reason required, they changed their opinion and were not ashamed to confess the truth together with us, but with good conscience, all hypocrisy laid aside, their hearts made manifest unto God, they embraced such things as were proved by demonstrations and doctrine of Holy Scripture. And at length the grand captain and ringleader of this doctrine, called Coracion, in presence of all the auditors then in place, confessed and promised unto us that thenceforth he would never consent unto this opinion, neither reason of it, neither mention, neither teach it ; for that he was sufficiently convinced with contrary arguments. And the rest of the brethren then present rejoiced at this conference, at this his submission and consent in all things.' "

On this passage Mr. Greswell remarks : " While we admire the spirit of charity and candour in which this controversy was conducted, and applaud the anxiety of Dionysius to recover any of the churches under his care from opinions which he believed to be mistaken, still we may say that perhaps had Nepos been alive to answer for himself, his party would not so easily have been silenced. It is much to be regretted too, that we have not his own work, from which we might

learn the real opinions of its author on the subject of the millenary promises. The accounts given of them by Dionysius, Eusebius, Jerome, Theodoret, and others, are the accounts of adversaries, who might unintentionally misrepresent them; and, we may take it for granted, have laid things to the charge of their author which he would have been the first to disclaim.

“For example, it would be a necessary inference from what Dionysius stated in his book, that Nepos supposed Christ was to have no kingdom, except upon earth. Now no former millenarian, as Papias, Justin, Irenæus or Tertullian, broached this doctrine: it is very unlikely, therefore, that Nepos would do so. A kingdom of Christ upon earth, whether for a longer or a shorter time, is by no means incompatible with a kingdom, from all eternity and to all eternity, in heaven. The former is in fact, as the millenarians view it, part and parcel of the latter.

“Again, we must have concluded from the representations of Dionysius, that whosoever espoused the opinions of Nepos on the millennium, must have ‘made light of the law and of the prophets; have set aside the Gospels; undervalued the Epistles; entertained not one sublime and exalted conception; nothing worthy of the glorious appearance of our Lord and the manifestation of the truly incarnate divinity; of our own resurrection from the dead, our gathering together unto Him, and our being rendered like Him: nothing, in short, but what was poor and sordid, resembling the things of mortality, time and sense.’ Such statements as these, were they justly applicable to the opinions of Nepos, would prove only that he himself had a wrong notion of the nature and design of the millenary kingdom; not the falsehood of the expectation of such a kingdom itself: and if they were not justly applicable to them, they would convict Dionysius of a calumny against the memory of Nepos, and against his doctrine both; they would prove at least that he was as ignorant of the opinions of Nepos, as of the true nature of the doctrine which he opposed. And that they were not justly applicable to the opinions of Nepos, no one who reads the character which Dionysius himself has given of his piety, and of his knowledge of the Scriptures, I think, can doubt.” (Exposition of the Parables, vol. i. pp. 310—312.)

Dr. Pusey, in his note on the millennium in Mr. Dodgson’s translation of Tertullian, (pp. 126—128,) remarks: “It may have been owing to his [Origen’s] influence that his great disciple, St. Dionysius of Alexandria, set himself so earnestly to withstand the doctrine. He brings the same charge as Origen, that they understood the Scriptures in a Jewish way, and held forth unworthy views of the divine truth. It is not clear what form of the doctrine Dionysius opposed. He himself speaks with much respect of Nepos, Bishop of Egypt, against whose work he wrote and argued. . . . It is unlikely that one, of whom Dionysius so spoke, should have had gross and carnal notions of the millennium; and so it may be that his work was only abused by certain teachers who for a time made divisions in the church. *These at all events exaggerated the doctrine of the millennium; perhaps perverted it.* Dionysius says that they disparaged the Scriptures, and ‘held out

the expectation of this book as of some great and hidden mystery, and allow our simpler brethren to have no great and lofty thoughts, either of the glorious and truly divine appearing of our Lord, nor of our resurrection from the dead, nor of our gathering together to Him and conformity to Him; but persuade them to hope in the kingdom of God, for petty and mortal things and such as they now are. Dionysius' own words *might* apply to the doctrine as set forth by the previous fathers. *In this case one must suppose that he, like Origen, misconceived the doctrine*; for, in that it relates only to an intervening state, it does not affect any of the doctrines which he says it occasioned to be held in a low sense. If we might have taken to the letter what St. Jerome says, it would be clear that it was not the doctrine of the earlier fathers, but one very different, which Dionysius opposed. St. Jerome, however, begins with an inaccuracy, saying that the book was written against St. Irenæus; the tone also in which he describes it as having been written is very different from what would seem likely from Dionysius' own words. St. Jerome says, (Præp. ad lib. 18 in Is.) 'against whom' (Irenæus) 'Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, writes an elegant book, *ridiculing* the fable of 1000 years, and the Jerusalem of gold and gems upon the earth, the restoration of the temple, the blood of sacrifices, the rest of the Sabbath, the mutilation of circumcision, marriages, childbearings, bringing up of children, delights of banquetings, and servitude of all nations; and again wars, armies and triumphs, and deaths of the vanquished, and the death of the sinner a hundred years old.' It seems, however, certain, that these details are not taken from Dionysius, but are only his own way of expanding the charge of Judaism, since in other places, (in Ezek. xxxvi.,) speaking in his own person, he uses the same language as to all who hold the doctrine, and, as he says, 'especially Tertullian,' although we know from Tertullian's own words that he looked only for joys purely spiritual."

The conclusion, therefore, which every candid and unprejudiced reader must necessarily come to, is this: if the words of St. Dionysius are a true and correct statement of the views held by Nepos and his followers, it is most evident that those views were widely different from, and a gross corruption of, the primitive doctrine concerning the millennium. Accordingly, whether he misconceived, and so misrepresented, the doctrine taught by Nepos, or gave an accurate account of it in the words quoted by Eusebius, the doctrine which he thus himself states that he opposed, is most materially different from that taught by the primitive fathers; and, therefore, to allege the testimony of St. Dionysius in condemnation of the primitive doctrine is altogether unwarrantable; and to speak of the event narrated in Eusebius as a judicial decision of an important branch of the church against it, is palpably and preposterously absurd.

The author of Eruvin very justly observes further: "how far he was qualified for this latter part of his undertaking [the discussion of the Apocalypse] may be questioned; for, having stated that some altogether rejected the Apocalypse, he added that he could not do that, because it was respected by many of the brethren; but that, in fact,

he did not understand it, and could only be sure that it contained some meaning which he could not fathom. This statement is important, because it shows that, when Dionysius wrote, the Apocalypse was rejected by many; and, in fact, there is ground to believe that Chiliasm and the Apocalypse were so identified in the minds of the early Christians, that he who received the Apocalypse, had no idea of any mode of interpretation which should prevent its plainly teaching Chiliasm. Those, therefore, who rejected the millenarian doctrine, rejected the Apocalypse, because they did not think of disputing that it taught that doctrine." (Essay VII. p. 176.)

Eusebius reports the sentiments of St. Dionysius on this subject in the following manner, in the chapter which immediately follows the extracts given above: ". . . he writeth thus of the Revelation of St. John: 'Divers of our predecessors have wholly refused and rejected this book, and by discussing the several chapters thereof, have found it obscure and void of reasons, and the title forged. They said it was not John's, nay, it was no revelation which was so covered with so gross a veil of ignorance; and that there was none either of the apostles, or of the saints, or of them which belonged to the church the author of this book, but Cerinthus, the author of the Cerinthian heresy, intituling this as a figment under the name of John, for further credit or authority. The opinion of Cerinthus was this: that the kingdom of Christ should be here on earth; and look, what he himself, being very carnal, lusted after for the pampering of his paunch, the same he dreamed should come to pass, to wit, the satisfying of the belly and the things under the belly with meats, drinks, marriages, festival days, sacrifices and slaughters for oblations; whereby he imagined he should conceive greater joy and pleasure. But I truly durst not presume to reject this book, because that many of the brethren read it diligently, and conceived a greater opinion thereof than the understanding of my capacity attained unto. I surmise there is a certain hid and wonderful expectation of things to come contained in the several chapters thereof. For where I understand him not, I bethink myself the words contain a deeper sense or more profound understanding: neither do I sift or pronounce sentence of these after mine own understanding, but resting rather with faith, do think they are higher than may be understood of me: neither do I unadvisedly refute the things I perceived not, but rather marvel that I myself have not manifestly seen them.'

He proceeds to advance certain reasons which led him to conclude that the Apocalypse was not written by St. John the Apostle, but by some other person of the name of St. John. Yet, as Mr. Greswell has observed, he "still admits the Revelation to be the production of some holy and inspired person; (*ἀγίου τινὸς καὶ θεοπνεύστου*): and it is a singular proof how completely the eyes of common sense may be blinded in the ardour of controversy, that, with that admission, he should not have seen the authority of the book to be as clear and incontrovertible as if it were the work of St. John. The authority of any part of Scripture depends upon its inspiration; and if one part is as much inspired as another, it is all of equal weight. There can be no degrees of the same quality of inspiration. The Spirit of God may

“speak by a variety of mouths, and write by a variety of pens; but if it is the Spirit which dictates what is said or indited, it is all of like authority. The Revelation then would possess the same claim to be acknowledged as a canonical book, whether as written by John the Apostle, or by John the Presbyter, or by any other John who could be mentioned, were he but an *holy* man and *inspired*. Yet, when Dionysius was not biased by prejudice nor writing to silence an adversary, he could, to all appearance, refer the Apocalypse to the same author as the rest of the church; which he does when he applies to the Emperor Valerian the description of Antichrist, given in that book.” (Exposition of the Parables. Vol. i. p. 313.)

What the opponents of the primitive millenarian doctrine, therefore, are accustomed to produce from St. Dionysius as a testimony against it, is clearly perceived, from an examination of his own words, to relate to a doctrine of a materially different character, being a complete misrepresentation or a gross corruption of it. And great as the name of St. Dionysius may be in other respects, it certainly seems more than questionable, whether one, who denied, or at least doubted, the authenticity of the Apocalypse, and professed himself unable to understand it, should be taken as a leading authority on a subject so intimately connected with that part of Holy Scripture. What weight would be allowed to an opposing testimony of such a character by orthodox divines, in reference to any primary doctrine of the Christian faith? and what reason can be alleged why, in estimating the value of testimony, one rule should be followed in regard to one doctrine, and a different one in regard to another?

I remain, rev. sir, very respectfully yours,

M. N. D.

DATE OF ALEXANDER LEIGHTON'S DEATH.

SIR,—As Mr. Lathbury has asked me a question in your last number, allow me to remind him that in the letter which he quotes I stated, not that I believed, but that “it is said” that Leighton died in 1644; using the phrase advisedly, because I was not aware on what ground Chalmers and other compilers have mentioned this date. Nor have I discovered any substantial authority either for or against it. Probably the parish registers of Lambeth could settle the question; they are said to contain many entries of the deaths of royalist prisoners there.

As to the authenticity of Leighton's Epitome, of course I cannot question beforehand Mr. Lathbury's reasons for doubting it. But the omissions of Watt and Lowndes seem scarcely of much weight on such a point: especially as the former of these industrious gentlemen confounded Alexander Leighton with Robert. I would, however, refer Mr. Lathbury to the lengthy account of Leighton in Oldmixon's History of England under the Stuarts, which he says he drew up from memoirs under his eye. It seems to me to afford strong collateral assistance to the internal evidence which the pamphlet itself exhibits of genuineness; for reasons, to explain which would take up more of your space than the controversy is worth.

Your obedient servant,

M.

THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF ROCHESTER.

THE following document refers to the same subject as the letter which we have printed in another part of this number.

"LETTER FROM GEORGE ESSEL, ESQ., CHAPTER CLERK OF ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

"The Precinct, Rochester, 29th June, 1849.

"My Lord,—By desire of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, I had the honour of addressing your Lordship through your secretary, on the 10th of March last, on the subject of the appeal to your Lordship against them on the part of the head master of their cathedral school.

"Your Lordship had forwarded to them a copy of that appeal, but without any intimation of the course you wished them to pursue; and, perceiving that it embraced various subjects to which you could scarcely desire them to advert, they merely expressed their belief 'that they had administered the affairs of their church in accordance with the practice of their predecessors and in conformity with their statutes,' but, 'far from wishing to avoid any inquiry which their visitor might be pleased to institute,' they earnestly requested your Lordship to proceed to such an inquiry 'in the formal manner by visitation and specific interrogatories.'

"On the 23rd of April, however, your Lordship intimated to the petitioner that the Court of Chancery was the proper tribunal before which he must lay his complaint against the dean and chapter. And from this they are, perhaps, entitled to infer that your Lordship did not apprehend them to have been guilty of any violation of their statutable duties; since an infringement of their statutes would have made them immediately amenable to your Lordship's jurisdiction as their visitor.

"But, however this may be, since your Lordship has read the allegations brought against them in the appeal, and may probably have seen a very offensive repetition of those charges in a pamphlet recently published by the complainant, whilst the dean and chapter have had no opportunity of stating anything in their own behalf either in your Lordship's court or before any other tribunal, they request permission to address your Lordship very briefly on the subject of the charges brought against them; so far at least as the allegations can be treated in a general way, and without the discussion of those legal questions which you have not considered to fall within your province as their visitor.

"They are indeed the more anxious to have this permission, because your Lordship has been informed that they have thought themselves obliged to remove the complainant from his office as master of their school—not, of course, on account of the mere fact of his having advocated reforms in their system, or brought charges against them,

which need not have been an offence, and might even have been his duty, but—on account of the singularly offensive and opprobrious terms which he has permitted himself to employ against them, holding up to public scorn and contempt their characters and offices, and even their ministrations in the cathedral, in a manner, as they conceive, so completely at variance with his position and profession and statutable obligations, as to render him unfit to be a teacher of their school, and destroy all those hopes of his usefulness with which they had originally selected him for his important office.

“The painful step, however, to which they have thus been driven, is so obviously open to misconstruction, that they are naturally the more anxious to say a very few words with reference to the charges publicly and industriously circulated against them.

“For from these it might even be supposed that the present members of the Chapter of Rochester had diminished the amount of their own official duties, whilst, for the most selfish and sordid purposes they had suppressed offices, or refused payments, which they were constrained by solemn obligations to make or appoint. Whereas in fact their present periods of residence are simply what were prescribed to their predecessors sixty years since by the same royal authority which gave their original statutes, and retained the power of altering them; and their payments are made, and the offices in their cathedral filled up, just as they were a century ago.

“Payments of course have not been made to Bedesmen not appointed to receive them, those appointments, however, not resting with the dean and chapter. Two subordinate officers, also, in the cathedral have ceased to be appointed since the period of the Reformation; one, apparently, because his duty merged in those of the minor canons, the other (the sub-deacon) evidently, because his office is not recognised by the Reformed Church of England. Whilst for two centuries or more, there have been, it is true, no appointments of some of the servants mentioned in the original cathedral establishment, (or rather the intended establishment,) because they had no duties to discharge—but all this under the sanction of several successive visitors, who had minutely inquired into the circumstances. The sum, accordingly, of the offence, if it be an offence, of the existing chapter, is, that they have not revived appointments which had been, under such sanction, for two hundred years, or even three hundred years, discontinued.

“Recently indeed, they have somewhat increased the number of their choristers; and if, on the other hand, they have diminished that of the minor canons, they have done so in the spirit of an Act of Parliament, and not to the full extent which that Act permits or perhaps suggests.

“It may be noted, indeed, on this subject by the way, that whereas the pamphlet intimates that the minor canons appointed since 1840 receive a minimum stipend of 150*l.* per annum under Acts of Parliament, the Chapter of Rochester had before the passing of that Act recognised the impropriety of remunerating in part the services of

minor canons, by making them incumbents of livings, and had, accordingly, in 1836, appointed a minor canon with an increased stipend, but without any parochial charge, or prospect of preferment, so long as he retained his office in the cathedral.

“But to advert to the more specific allegations against the dean and chapter—that they divide, namely, amongst themselves the surplus income of the cathedral; that they have not increased the original money payments to their four exhibitioners at Oxford and Cambridge with reference to the increased value of money; and that they do not actually provide a maintenance for the twenty boys on the foundation of their grammar school.

“As to the division of the surplus income of their estates, this they presume to be one of the questions which your Lordship, as their visitor, has been advised to remit to another tribunal. They would merely express their opinion therefore, (without entering into the grounds of it)—which opinion, however, they believe they could maintain before any competent tribunal—that the existing practice is not only ancient, but legal.

“So likewise with respect to the continuance of the original stipends to their exhibitioners, this practice they apprehend to be both statutable and legal. Whether they would do well, or not, to increase the exhibitions with reference to the altered value of money, is another question, into which it is not necessary to enter at present, when the allegation turns upon the legal and statutable obligation. It is obvious that money-charges upon property cannot in practice be continually increased or diminished in exact accordance with the continual fluctuations in the value of money. And it is well known that the proprietors of numberless estates, from the crown downwards, charged with ancient money-payments for academical or charitable purposes, recognise no such obligation.

“The dean and chapter of Rochester, meanwhile, have never, as has been stated, refused to make this or any change which has been suggested to them. They have only refused to confer or correspond upon such subjects with a complainant who advocated changes upon principles which they could not admit, or in a tone which they considered unbecoming; whilst under actual or threatened appeals to your lordship, or to courts of law, they were scarcely in a condition to entertain such questions at all.

“Similar remarks will apply to the third allegation respecting the actual maintenance of the boys on the foundation of their school. At one period, indeed, a portion of the old money-payments was paid not directly to the boys, but for them to the masters. This practice was corrected in 1842 by the present chapter. But whether they should, or should not, increase those payments, or whether they should introduce the further change (for it would be altogether a *change* of proceeding, not in any way contemplated in their statutes) of providing the boys with a maintenance in kind, instead of the payments in money which alone the statutes recognise; these, no doubt, are questions worthy of consideration, and which they have never refused to

consider. They have only demurred to the legal and statutable obligation, under which they were stated to lie by what they deemed incompetent authority.

“ They would, however, observe, that what the statutes really contemplate in this matter as desirable, is what can no longer be restored or enforced. The statutes contemplate as a thing to be desired—for they do not prescribe it absolutely, but only if it might be conveniently effected—not a common table merely for the grammar boys, but a common hall for all the members of the cathedral institution, except the dean and canons who alone were supposed to have separate houses, and separate establishments. They contemplate a collegiate, or even a monastic system, incompatible with the modern condition of society. No statutes, probably, which enter into minute details, will admit of a literal application in every particular after the lapse of centuries. And in this instance in the silent progress of three hundred years the social position of the minor canons and of the masters of the cathedral school, has been so altered and improved, that they would scarcely condescend, it may be presumed, to the statutable arrangements of the intended common hall. And to attempt to restore those arrangements would be only to impair at once their comfort and their usefulness and respectability, as for the most part married men and masters of families.

“ Corresponding observations would apply to the ideas of almsgiving, and charitable or other contributions, which have been adverted to invidiously in the course of these attacks upon the dean and chapter, but which have been beneficially enlarged since their statutes were drawn up, and extended from mere local objects, and the repairs of roads and bridges in the vicinity, to wider and higher purposes. Contributions, for example, towards the establishment of schools, or in aid of the endowment of new district churches, or the augmentation of the endowments of their poorer parishes, are at present among the annual demands upon the income of the dean and chapter, not contemplated in their statutes, but more pressing and important than some of those which the statutes specify, and which are now among the topics of complaint.

“ The annual expenditure of the dean and chapter for the purposes above-mentioned, together with retiring pensions to officers in the cathedral, (another item of evident importance, not contemplated in the statutes,) exceeds 500*l*. They speak, of course, solely of such payments or contributions as they make in their corporate capacity. And it should not be forgotten under this head, that for the support of the poor, or the maintenance of roads and bridges, purposes which were properly and considerably specified in their statutes prior to the establishment by law of county and parochial rates, for these purposes the lands and houses of the dean and chapter are everywhere assessed in the first instance in due proportion to their value.

“ But have the dean and chapter been indeed inattentive to the real interests of their school?—It has been invidiously alleged against them that some few years ago the number of their foundation scholars

gradually diminished until at length there was no school at all. It is true there was no school at all, yet not from their default, but from the superior popularity of schools in the vicinity. So far, however, were the dean and chapter from seeking their own ease or advantage from these circumstances, that they took active measures to revive their school. They provided the then head master, (whom they had before presented to a valuable benefice) with a small retiring pension and a house, endeavoured to select the best qualified master and under-master from among the candidates for those offices, raising their salaries in a ratio exceeding that of the supposed increase in the value of money, and they expended upon a new and commodious school-room and premises nearly 800*l.* A good grammar school at Rochester might even support itself; but altogether the dean and chapter at present devote to the support and advantage of their school above 400*l.* a-year.

"It has certainly been with some surprise, therefore, as well as pain, that they have found this particular subject selected as a ground of charge against them; and especially by the individual who was chiefly benefited by what they had even imagined to be some evidence of zeal for the welfare and credit of the school.

"Perhaps also they might have expected, not unreasonably, that the sums which they have of late expended upon the fabric of the cathedral, and other improvements, (amounting to more than 28,000*l.* within the last twenty-eight years during the incumbency of the present dean,) might have shielded them against the imputation of a sordid and insatiable avarice, even from those who had no accurate knowledge of their income or expenditure.* But they forbear to enter into any further details. They cannot plead their cause before the public at large; but from your lordship, or any other competent authority, they desire to conceal nothing. They are now, indeed, in communication upon all these subjects with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Not that they claim any credit, or conceive that they deserve any, for anything that they have done or expended: they have only desired that your lordship as their visitor, and necessarily acquainted with the charges brought against them, to which they have hitherto had no opportunity of replying, might be informed of some of the facts which might be stated in their defence. And they have instructed me accordingly to address this communication to your lordship most respectfully in their names and on their behalf.

"I have the honor to be,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

"GEORGE ESSELL, *Chapter Clerk.*

"The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rochester."

* The Dean and Chapter have also raised the income of the poorer livings in their patronage to a minimum of 200*l.* a-year.

ANCIENT CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF A CITY PARISH.

(Continued from p. 163.)

Anno Domini 1576

This is the accompte of Ellis Marchaunt Joyner and Ellis Chylderlay turner, Churchwardens of the parisshe churche of St Andrewe Hubbard in litle Eastcheape in the Cytye of London from the feast of our Lord God 1576 vnto the feast of our Lord God 1578 and in the raygne of the quenes maiestye the 2jth

Receyptes

Imprimis receaved the 17th of January in ano 1576 of the last churchwardens	xvj ^{li} xvij ^s viij ^d
Item, Receaved of henrye wells for ij yeares rent ending at mychalmas last 1578	ij ^{li} xij ^s iij ^d
Item, Receaved of Jhon Lewes furrior for ij yeares rent ending at mychaelmas 1578	liij ^s iij ^d
Item, Receaved of Christofer Jhonson for ij yeares rent at mychaelmas last 1578	xl ^s
Item, Receaved of the Goodwyfe fann for ij yeares rent ending at Christmes 1578	vij ^s
Item, Receaved of the straunger that mr. horner served the constableshipp for ij years	iiij ^{li} x ^s
Item, Receaved for the knell of mr haddon his servaunt the iij of August	iiij ^s iij ^d
Item, for the clothe	xij ^d
Item, Receaved for the pitt & knell of peter Decoster his mayd the xxx of october	vj ^s viij ^d
Item, for the clothe	xij ^d

in anno domini 1578

Receyptes

Receved ffor the pitt & knell of the goodman Kendall	x ^s
Receved for the Kneyll of yong wilsons wyfe	iiij ^s iij ^d
receved for the pit & knell of Edward saunders wyfe the iij of Julye	x ^s
Item, receved for the pytt & knell of mrs Adryanson the xx of Julye	x ^s
Item, receaved for the pitt & knell of mrs Arte the ixth of August	x ^s
Item, receved for the pit & knell of mrs Smytson	x ^s
Item, receved for the knell of Elin Chatfild	iiij ^s iij ^d
Item, receved of mrs Homes for ij yeares by the gyft of her husband	xx ^s
Item, receved of mr ffynche for a legacye gyvon by mr Tomson for ij yeares ending at Christmas last 1578	xiiij ^s j ^d

Paymentes payd by vs Ellis merchaunt and Ellis Childerlaye Churchwardens of the parisshe church of St Andrew Hubbard in litle eastcheape in London from the feast of our Lord God 1576 vnto the feast of our Lord 1578 as ffoloweth. viz.

Paymentes

Imprimis payd vnto Robert Carter our clerke for ij yearès wages	x ^{li}	
Item, paid vnto his wyfe for hir wages	xiijs	4 ^d
Item, paid vnto the Skavenger for ij yearès	ij ^s	viijs ^d
Item, paid for charges of the accompt Daye	iiij ^{li}	viijs ^s ij ^d
Item, paid vnto the sumner for warning of vs vnto the visitation		vjs ^d
Item, paid for our Dinner the xxiijth of Januarij when wee weare at the visitation	viijs	x ^d
Item, paid for Delivering of the articles vnto mr blackwell the xvjth of ffebruarij	iiij ^d	
for mending of the clocke	vjs ^d	
Item, paid vnto the sumner for bringing in of a bill the v of aprill	iiij ^d	
Item, paid for mr Horner the elder when he was in the counter	viijs	v ^d
Item, paid vnto mr horner the elder	xxx ^s	
Item, paid ffor a byble & a service booke the xij of Januarie 1577.	iijs ^{li}	iiij ^d
Item, paid ffor artycles		iiij ^d
Item, paid vnto the glasyer for mending of windows	vjs	
	xxj ^{li}	ix ^d

Paymentes

Imprimis paid vnto the goodman Rudd for mending the leades over the vestrye	xij ^s	vjs ^d
Item, vnto the Carpenter for his worke	ij ^s	vjs ^d
Item for Coles		j ^d
Item for ringging of the knell of mr haddons man		vjs ^d
Item, paid vnto mr wheler for one yearès rent	iijs	vjs ^d
payd for the paving of Kendalls grave & a dutche maydes grave	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Item, paid for ringing of Kendals knell		vjs ^d
Item, gyvon vnto a precher the iijs of november	iijs	iiij ^d
Item, paid the xj of november for mending of the whele of the greate bell & for nayles	ij ^s	
Item, for a bell rope		xxiijs ^d
Item, paid vnto mr Clippa for ix pound of souder at vjs ^d the ^{li} the ix of november	viijs	ix ^d
Item, for fyer		vjs ^d
Item, paid for ringing for the quene the 16 of november & for candels		xvjs ^d

Item, paid for prayers for the quene	iiij ^d
Item, paid the xvij of December for the articles of the bisshopps visitation	xij ^d
Item, for our Dinner	v ^s
Item, for fyer at the hall	vj ^d
Item, paid vnto mr horner thelder the 30th of December	x ^s
Item, paid to the clerke the 4th of Januarie for brede & wyne	vj ^s vj ^d
for brome	viiij ^d
iiij ^{li} iiij ^s 8 ^d	
Item, paid vnto ffauncer for mending of the clocke	xvj ^d
paid for caring iij of the bisshops articles & for craving of a longer Daye	ij ^s
Item, paid vnto the sumner for warning vs vnto St mag- nus to the archedeacons visitation and for the articles	viiij ^d
Item, for our Dinner at that tyme	v ^s vj ^d
Item, for ringing yong wilsons wifes knell	vj ^d
Item, paid for caring in of the articles	iiij ^d
Item, paid for the goodwife saunders knell	vj ^d
Item, paid for paving of hir grave	xiiij ^d
Item, paid for mrs Awdrian her knell	vj ^d
Item, paid for paving of her grave	xiiij ^d
Item, for mrs Arte knell	vj ^d
Item, for paving of the grave	xiiij ^d
Item, paid for making the newe deske & Triming of the partition with leges	xl ^s
Item, for ij barrs of Iron	ij ^s
Item, for nayles & breade & Drinke for the workemen	xij ^d
Item, for the Litle Deske	ij ^s vj ^d
Item, to ffauncer for mending of the clocke the xvijth of September	vj ^d
Item, gyvon vnto mrs homes out of the churche rentes the 24 of september	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
paid for a keye to the churche doore & mending of the locke	ij ^s ij ^d
iiij ^{li} xvj ^s x ^d	
Item, paid for mrs Smytheson knell	vj ^d
Item, for paving of the grave	xiiij ^d
Item, paid vnto a precher the 2 of november	iiij ^s 4 ^d
Item, paid to the ringers & for bread and Drinke the xvij of november	xvj ^d
Item, for prayers for the quene	xij ^d
Item, for ringing of Eliu chatfildes knell	vj ^d
Item, for oyle for the clock	j ^d
Item, paid vnto the clerke for bread & wyne	iiij ^s vj ^d
Item, for brome	viiij ^d
Item, to the Sckavenger for caring owt of Rubbishe from the churchwall	vj ^d

Delivered vpp vnto the new church wardens by Ellis merchaunt & Ellis Childerlay the xvth of Januarye 1578 vnto Awdrian Adrian-son & Georg ffrysinfild churchwardens In the presens of Awdytors the full sum of xxv^{li} xiiij^s vij^d and the sayd money to bee put into a sure and strong cheyst with iiij Lockes and iiij keyes to bee in the kepinge of the Churchwardens and hee whom is or shalbe of the comon concell and the parson of the church or his Debytye vnto the wiche wee have set to our handes the day & yeares above wrytten

by me James Taylor parson

Robert + mason	}	Andrew + banberes mark
barn. + bestow		By me willim Acheley
by me Robert whyte		by me Jerram burtan
by me John Johnsoun		
by me John stevenes		

in anno 1577.

memorandum that william Redmar & Jhon Stevens collectors for the poore of the parishe of St Andrewe in eastcheape hath gathered vnto the vse of the poore for

13 monethes the sum of	.	.	.	.	xj ^{li} xj ^s
whereof is paid vnto the hospitall	.	.	.	.	v ^{li} ix ^s
and to certayne poore of the parisshe	.	.	.	.	vj ^{li} x ^s

in anno 1578

Memorandum that mychaell Lyon & bernabye Bestowe collectors for the poore of the same parishe for 13 monethes

gathered vnto the use of the poore the sum of	.	.	.	.	xj ^{li} xvij ^s jd
whereof paid vnto the hospitall	.	.	.	.	v ^{li} viij ^s jd
And vnto the poore of the parrishe	.	.	.	.	vj ^{li} x ^s

MR. OAKELEY ON THE OFFERTORY.

THE following letter will not be read without interest. Whatever explanations the writer may offer, the facts seem plain enough, that among his new friends he has found less of active benevolence and more of sectarian feeling than in the church which he has forsaken. The letter fully confirms the statements made by Father Thomas in the letter we published in the Magazine for August.

" THE OFFERTORY.

"(We copy the following Letter from the ' Rambler' for the current month.)

" *To the Editor of the Rambler.*

" My dear Sir—I broke off my last letter to you before I had the opportunity of expressing the full amount of my agreement with the views put forth in your paper on the Offertory.

" The experience I had in the Established Church, fully bears out

your opinion, that the great requisites towards a successful Offertory are, 1, popular church services; 2, consistent religious teaching; 3, the spirit of mutual confidence between minister and people.

"I spoke of Margaret Chapel because I was personally connected with it; but there were churches in Oxford in which similar results with those I mentioned were effected on an equal scale, and under circumstances still less favourable. At St. Mary's, during Mr. Newman's ministry, as much as 30*l.* or 40*l.* was often collected at the early Communion Service on the Sundays. These sums were commonly given, not to local objects, but to purposes of general charity, such as the great religious societies, &c. The same success followed upon the Offertory of St. Peter's, Oxford, under Mr. Hamilton, now a canon of Salisbury.

"It would, I think, be quite untrue to say, that the congregations in which the offertory proved so successful were materially, or at all, richer than some of our own. The regular attendants at Margaret Chapel (the most favourably circumstanced in this respect of the three) comprehended very few of the aristocracy, and none of the rich mercantile class. It consisted for the most part, of gentry occupying not the most fashionable quarter of the metropolis, of lawyers not high in their profession, and of tradespeople. The chapel was seldom quite full, and when full did not contain more than 250 persons. At St. Mary's, Oxford, the early communicants were chiefly resident members of the University, with limited incomes, and a few of the middle class. At St. Peter's the congregation would be more numerous and wealthier than at St. Mary's. Now, compare these congregations with those of some of our London chapels, and the preponderance both in numbers and wealth will be found, I think, on the Catholic side. I deny altogether that we can plead poverty in our excuse.

"Nor, again, do I think that the Offertories in the Church of England derived any great impetus from party feeling. No one who knows the circumstances can truly say that Margaret Chapel was helped on by its connexion with the Oxford opinions; for, in fact, the Oxford men were rather shy of it than otherwise. They felt it at once too extreme and too liberal in the religious views it generally represented, and the congregation was quite a miscellaneous one. And it is my own belief, that neither St. Mary's nor St. Peter's, Oxford, were benefited by anything of a sectarian spirit. Indeed, it is only within the last four years that what is called 'Puseyism' has assumed a decidedly party character. Mr. Newman's secession was the point where it ceased to be a 'school,' and became a sect.

"But granting that the liberality of the Anglicans was aided by party motives, is it indeed come to this, that the spirit of rivalry shall be able to produce results to which the spirit of Catholic charity is unequal.

"Now, then, what did help our Offertories in times past?

"1st. Consistent teaching on the nature and duty of almsgiving. Let any one read some of Mr. Newman's sermons, *e. g.*, that on St. Matthew's Day, and they will see how our people used, instead of being worked up by occasional appeals, to be indoctrinated in right

principles. They were habitually taught the terrors of wealth, and the power of self-denying liberality ; and as they knew what was said was meant to be acted on, they soon learned that giving, in the Gospel sense, means ‘giving up.’ Hence it was no uncommon thing in those congregations for persons to forego innocent luxuries or amusements in order that they might have the more to give in church. *Among ourselves, this particular view of Christian liberality is confined almost entirely to the Irish poor.*

“2ndly. The kind of relationship subsisting between minister and people was such as utterly to preclude the thought of any personal, local, or party object in the transaction. We Catholics have been forced by circumstances upon a narrow and sectarian policy, to which the principles of the Oxford school were singularly opposed. No people, who had so little of the form of the church, could have more of its spirit than the disciples of that school. They were like enthusiasts in an atrophy ; their souls were large in proportion as their body was emaciated. And when that body quite died away, or rather when we became aware that it had been dead some time, the soul of Catholic aspiration with which we were overflowing found its natural home in another and a glorious receptacle. Now, if the truth must be spoken, it was precisely that absence of a Catholic exterior in the community claiming our allegiance which kept some of us where we were so much longer than was abstractedly desirable. Little as we knew, we knew at least that our ways of charity were Catholic, and those of Catholics sectarian. And we have happily lived to the time when Catholics who have the advantage of us in never having been otherwise, are even anticipating us in the acknowledgment of this truth. It has been with the greatest satisfaction and thankfulness, that I have lately read very remarkable testimony of this kind from priests of long standing, high position, and great experience, whose known and proverbial kindness of nature is the best guarantee for the strength of the cause which can elicit even from hearts so benevolent, and tongues so gentle, the word of remonstrance or of protest.

“What I mean by the absence of a sectarian spirit in the Oxford men was this : no one who knew them could ever think, or at least think twice, that they wanted the money which they recommended others to give, for any other purpose than the glory of God and the good of the givers. That this is the spirit of their present leaders I am not quite so sure : and I could not speak in the same honourable terms of the ‘monster offertory’ at Margaret Chapel, which has drawn forth the eulogiums of kind, funny ‘Father Thomas.’ I hope I am not uncharitable, but I really do suspect that a part of their object now is to cut us out ; an easy triumph, surely, if the offertory were the only battle-field ! Formerly, however, as far as the great body were concerned, I think we should have been as happy as Catholics themselves, and perhaps happier than some, to hear of a liberal spirit of almsgiving in their body. At any rate, the great secret of our success was, I am quite certain, the spirit of faith and charity in which all was conceived and done. There was no feeling of rivalry (still less of antagonism) between church and church or chapel and chapel ; different congregations, as in apostolic times, interchanged

their several collections if necessary. If Margaret Chapel was at a low ebb, up came the 'sacrament money' of the last Sunday at St. Mary's; and if St. Mary's had ever experienced a deficit, the same generosity would have been forthcoming in its behalf. It is quite surprising how the knowledge of this entire disinterestedness 'unloosed the purse-strings' of the several congregations; they knew that their ministers kept no more for themselves than was necessary for their subsistence; and that no one cared who or what was up or down, provided they could secure the ascendancy of the principles which secure God's honour on earth, and lead men to heaven.

"Neither, thirdly, were the Oxford men insensible to the value of what you call 'popular services' as an accessory to the offertory. That the principles on which almsgiving was inculcated were really independent of any such adjuncts as music or ceremonial, is plain from the fact, that in Oxford itself the offertories thrived without such external aid. But in London, where the eye is attracted in so many directions which do not help the soul forwards, it was felt desirable to make the experiment of taxing the reformed religion to the full extent of its resources, (and, as some thought, rather beyond them,) in order to engage the senses, as far as might be allowed, on the side of devotion—the great object being not to 'ape Rome,' but to illustrate with existing materials the great and precious principle of the 'beauty' of holiness. Everything accordingly was done which could be done to make religion attractive—not, however, to the sensual and worldly, but to the devout. Accordingly the opportunity was given for joining in popular psalmody, as well as for witnessing, in the decorations of the 'altar,' the most legitimate application of whatever we could command of the beautiful and the rare.

"It seems like a mockery to speak of such attempts in the same breath with the appliances which are *now* at our disposal; the litanies, the hymns, the special devotions, the lights radiating around the blessed sacrament, where, except in the church, they seem but to make darkness visible and emptiness apparent. All these things certainly tend to make *good* people love the church, and to open their hearts towards her, and to give them a zeal in ministering to her efficacy and setting forth her charms.

"Yet no greater blunder could possibly be committed (even looking so low as our pecuniary interests) than to set about making our church services 'attractive' to strollers and sight-seers, to Protestants and worldly Catholics. As well might we priests affect to be men of fashion, as turn our churches into theatres. We have no chance of coping with the world in the world's own line. Of this we may be quite sure; opera-singing and stage-effect are no more our *forte* than would be dandyism or epicurism. If Protestants prefer our churches to the opera, it will be only because they are cheaper—a '*shilling* opera,' as used to be said. But are such persons likely to improve our *offertories*? On the other hand, I speak advisedly when I say, that any expedients for making our services interesting, other than those which are purely *ecclesiastical*, will be apt to retard indefinitely the conversion of those who would bring into the church the noblest spirit of munificence, as well as to damp the zeal of others (Catholics

already) who want neither the will nor the power to aid us. It is not the accident of locality or administration about which they care, nor styles of music or architecture which determine their preferences. Thither their sympathies are drawn, and there will their charitable aid be most powerfully felt, wherever the signs are most apparent of tenderness towards the miserable, and sympathy with the good. Seculars or Regulars, Jesuits, Redemptorists, Oratorians, or simple missionaries; in church or chapel or room, Gothic or Grecian or non-descript, they will love and befriend them all, so that *they* love and befriend the helpless. It is not because they are rich and great themselves that they look for place and consideration in the 'church of the poor;' they have enough and too much of these burdens elsewhere; and when they come into God's house, they desire only to remember that they are sinners before Him, and must one day stand before his judgment-seat. There want not such high and noble souls even in our own degenerate aristocracy; and should any of us succeed in disgusting such by our servility, and alienating our noble-hearted poor by our indifference, small indeed would be the residue of friends, and sorry friends after all would they be, whom we should have to condole with us over the fruits of our deplorable shortsightedness.

"I am, my dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

"FREDERICK OAKELEY.

"St. George's, Translation of St. Thomas, 1849."

—*Tablet*, August 4.

With regard to the efforts that are made to render the services in Roman-catholic places of worship attractive to Protestants, the "musical gentlemen" do not appear disposed to give up those crotchets by which "kind, funny Father Thomas," has been so long tormented. The following extract is from a letter of his, which appeared in the same number of the *Tablet* from which we have reprinted Mr. Oakeley's.

"The opening of St. George's and the opening of the Church of the Immaculate Conception—two events in our times—and the settling down of the Oratorians in the Strand, another event. The seed is cast into the ground, the rest remains with God—that is all. What may result from these three establishments is hidden: we may hope, humbly hope, many things; but let us expect little, and, least of all, from ourselves. There is a deal of vanity amongst us and confidence in self, and somewhat in the arm of flesh. Let us sit down in low places, and take our place among the lowest, and be contented to work amidst dirt and clay, before building castles in the air; and do all this without saying anything about it, and without any one knowing it, but God and His angels and the silent poor. The growth of religion in this land will be slow, and in London not at all in proportion to its millions, until the feet of men are less frequent in the City and the Strand, through a falling away of her commerce, pride, and luxury. One may not look to conversions in high places, for there will not be such conversions; or if there be, the number will be as nothing. The work to be done, if done at all, must be amongst the poor—the poorest of the poor—and the grade just above these; and

this amongst our own. In the meanwhile, some few from without will join us; and, as at the commencement, so shall it be now—such shall be added as are to be saved. As to our important selves, we shall pass away; but our task, with God's grace, shall have been completed, and the work will pass into other hands to be continued.

“The Church of the Immaculate Conception is very beautiful—everything went off very well at the opening; but the music will not do at all—the material is raw, and of an inferior quality; it was neither bad, good, nor indifferent—it won't do at any price—take it away altogether. The music at the opening of the oratory was bad; there was positive badness in the whole matter—bad from first to last; so that it was consistent, and one could say what it was; but the music of the other morning was a nondescript: it was not modern; not ancient; not church music; not—I don't know what it was—the music of modern saints' sang [*sic*] by themselves—a new style, and a new way of executing it.”—*Tablet*, August 4.

It is not very wonderful that such performances should not prove very attractive to those who are looking out for “shilling operas;” still less surprising that “the music of modern saints sang by themselves” after this fashion should not be found to improve the offertories.

WESLEYAN METHODISM.

THE extraordinary state of division at present existing in the Wesleyan body is likely to lead to such serious results, that we hope to be able to lay before our readers next month a more detailed view of their position than we can conveniently do now. We must content ourselves for this month with an extract or two from a pamphlet which appears to emanate from those who are opposed to the dominant party in the Conference. The pamphlet is entitled—

“*Strictures on Papers on Wesleyan Matters, and the Fly-Sheets Vindicated; with additional remarks on the cases of the Revs. Daniel Walton and Samuel Dunn. Copied from the Standard of Freedom, June 2, 1849; with an Appendix, consisting of extracts taken from the 'Fly-Sheets' and the Wesley Banner.*”—“O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united: for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall.”—Bath: A. Waddy, 22, New Bond-street. London: Gilbert, 49, Paternoster-row. Price Fourpence.”

This pamphlet is, as we have stated, opposed to the ruling party in the Conference; but still the extract we shall transcribe will make it evident that the writer is not insensible to the faults of his own friends.

“The time was when the Wesleyan Connexion, like the Happy Valley, was shut in from observation *ab extra*, and shut out from observation *ab intra*. The Methodists did not know what was pass-

ing in the world around, and the world around were as ignorant of what was passing within the high-walled seclusion in their midst. But, just about the time when China was opened, the members of the Wesleyan Connexion began to condescend to hold timid communication with the outside barbarians, who, in their turn, obtained occasional glimpses into this celestial empire. Whether mutual esteem will keep pace with reciprocal intercourse we will not venture to predict: but we believe that those without have already discovered the Happy Valley to be no happier than other parts of the world; and those within, that peace and serenity are not confined to their sacred enclosure.

“As mere matter of curiosity, we should not think of spying into the interior of the Wesleyan Connexion. It is because we think that body of Christians of great importance in itself, and of yet greater importance in its bearings upon the interests of the general community, that we entertain the intention of spending a little time and space in the investigation of its present condition. The Connexion is large and powerful, widely extended and well organized. It numbers its members and attendants by millions, its chapels and its ministers by thousands, its property by seven figures, and its annual income by six; it divides England into parishes, and sends its missionaries into every British colony and every quarter of the globe; and all these means of influence are placed under such vigorous control, that they can be brought to bear with immediate effect upon the springs of legislation and the wheels of government, so as to urge or retard according to the volitions of a sleepless central power. The people of England have the greatest possible interest in watching the proceedings of this great body; and the more especially as its influence has hitherto been almost always exerted on that side of public questions best adapted to countenance and conserve the despotic and anti-popular nature of its own polity. ‘Political Dissenters’ (we are told in ‘Papers on Wesleyan Matters’) are ‘chagrined because they cannot obtain Methodist help, *which they are shrewdly conscious would be effectual.*’ And this is but one of a thousand arrogant boasts that might easily be adduced, in which it is insolently intimated to the Established Church on the one hand, and to the Dissenters on the other, that the Wesleyan Conference holds the balance of power, and is, whenever it may choose to act, the inevitable arbiter of the fate of both. We may, therefore, be excused, if we survey with attention any symptoms of internal dissension in this equivocal Polyphemus, which, if it have a hundred voices, has but one eye, and await with anxiety, allayed by hope, the issue; for, as South says, in a passage which, strangely enough, appears to have been adopted as a sort of motto to these ‘Papers,’—‘Societies . . . have been ruined from within, which no force from abroad could shake. A bullet from an enemy often goes beside a man, and so spares him; but an imposthume in his head, or an apoplexy, strikes him dead.’

“The appearance of such a quotation in a publication specially designed to put an end to internal dissensions speaks volumes as to the serious nature of those dissensions. It is not, indeed, the first time that quarrels have arisen in the Methodist body, for such quarrels

have been frequent; but the constitution has on the worst of those occasions, by its inherent vigour, thrown off the peccant humours, and appeared to have gained, instead of lost, by occasional depletion. But, as South says, the disease is this time *in the head*, and the result may be serious. Most of the other attacks were directed on less vital parts; were, in plain phrase, local disputes, which, if not subdued by topical applications, grew into nothing more formidable than a quarrel between some of the ministers and some of the people—a circuit fracas, or a district disturbance, to which a slight surgical operation ordered (or, perhaps, only threatened) by the Conference speedily put an end. On one occasion, indeed, the seat of the disorder *was* in the head. We allude to the dissensions which grew up in the Conference itself after the death of Mr. Wesley. But, besides that this proved no more than a mere ‘imposthume,’ which worked itself out upon the scalp, and was happily got rid of by the simple expulsion of Alexander Kilham, the head was then in a very different state from what it is now. The Connexion has since acquired a full habit of body, followed as usual by so decided a tendency of blood to the head, that a stroke of ‘apoplexy’ is not by any means an improbable sequel to an unusual degree of excitement in that region.

“To drop all metaphor: a violent and seemingly irreconcilable division exists among the Wesleyan ministers. For many years, there have been a governing and an opposition party in the Conference; and sometimes the respective leaders have not spared each other. But, with few exceptions, a parliamentary propriety has been observed, and no appearance of unfriendliness has been remarked during the confederal recesses. Now, however, the breach is open, wide, and manifest; and the war is carried on even more fiercely in the intervals of conference than while it is in session. The ‘Fly-Sheets’ are occasional papers, purporting to have been prepared some four years ago, under the direction of a large committee of ministers residing in the most distant parts of Great Britain. They were not only not issued for sale, but were not even circulated among the laity—only among the ministers, to whom they were sent by post. These papers were wholly anonymous, not bearing even a printer’s or a publisher’s name, yet bearing internal evidence of the most extensive and minute knowledge of the Connexion and the Conference. Their object was to arraign the administration of the connexional affairs, and to impugn the conduct, if not the character and motives, of the ruling party. The personal disclosures which they contained provoked strong resentment; and, instead of allegations being disproved and arguments confuted, the ‘Fly-Sheets’ were denounced as calumnious; and an inquisition was set on foot, but in vain, to discover the anonymous authors. By these measures, the assailants felt themselves justified in an appeal to the Connexion at large; and hence ‘The Fly-Sheets Vindicated,’ which is a closely-printed volume of nearly two hundred pages. Meanwhile, the mere circulation of the ‘Fly-Sheets’ among the ministers had been attended with so much agitation, that the parties assailed, or their ministerial adherents, deemed it absolutely necessary to adopt defensive measures. The ‘Papers on Wesleyan Matters,’ published monthly, (the first bearing date Jan. 1,

1849,) are their avowed productions, sold by the Conference book-steward, although they avoid giving their names as carefully as the authors of the 'Fly-Sheets.' There is, therefore, the prospect of a fierce and mortal war, which, unless the Methodist people timely interpose, must prove destructive to the harmony, and consequently to the usefulness, of their ministers.

"We feel bound to state, *in limine*, that we cannot approve of the spirit manifested by either party towards the other. Considering that this is a dispute between Christian ministers of one and the same body, we think the coarse language, base insinuations, and severe accusations, in which they mutually indulge, extremely reprehensible; nay, absolutely disgraceful. A row at Billingsgate, or a debate in the Missouri Legislature, could hardly be more fruitful in scandalous vituperation. In this style of rhetoric, however, we must award the concealed writers of the 'Papers' the merited palm. The severity of the authors of the 'Fly-Sheets' and their vindicators lies mainly in the facts which they allege; and what we chiefly blame them for is, importing into the consideration of great public questions facts or statements which have no connexion with the point in hand, or the private nature of which ought to have been respected, or the mention of which is adapted only to stir up personal animosity. By these bad tactics they have damaged their cause, and given a handle to their opponents, who have not failed to divert attention from the real questions in debate to these subordinate and extraneous matters.

"These 'Papers' are copious in abuse and scanty in argument. It is simply amusing to find writers themselves anonymous, censuring others for writing anonymously, particularly when they take the liberty of guessing at the faces which they complain of as masked. But it is truly afflicting to know that the Wesleyan Connexion is ruled by a party who do not hesitate publicly to accuse, it may be some two hundred of their brother ministers, as 'wicked traitors,' not merely deficient in 'integrity,' but actuated with 'fiend-like avidity,' 'disbelieving their own statements,' and deriving their motives 'wholly from beneath.' And these are by no means the vilest epithets employed by the authors of the 'Papers' against their reverend brethren. 'They have engaged,' it seems, 'in one of the vilest conspiracies,—a conspiracy from which every pure and honourable mind must shrink with instinctive horror.' Nay, 'the cause which they have undertaken is the *cause of sin*.' They have entered upon a 'despicable and *guilty* career,' and their conduct is mean and *diabolical*.' And to crown all, 'he who says of himself and his associates, their name is 'Legion,' may sign himself '*The Great Adversary*' if he pleases; and the public will not be surprised, much less complain of any impropriety.' 'The public, we suspect, will not be predisposed in favour of a cause which is thus defended.

"But these unseemly aspersions are intermingled with incautious admissions, (angry people are seldom on their guard,) which are full of significance. It is admitted, for instance, that the authors of the 'Fly-Sheets' are 'by a numerous class' of Methodists 'not sufficiently suspected;' that 'an emergency' has arisen; that Methodism is 'a barrier to liberalism,' and that the present 'agitators' are more to be

'feared' than those of 'former times;' while the readers of the 'Papers' are called upon to 'mark them, whatever be their stations and pretensions,' and no indistinct or unmeaning threats are held out of 'ecclesiastical discipline upon disturbers.' In fact, the tactics of the writers are the usual ones in similar cases,—to excite abhorrence of the 'agitators' by maligning their characters and motives; and dread of their principles and measures, by misrepresenting them as destructive and anti-religious; and so to prepare the way for getting rid of them, with general consent, as 'fallen men' unworthy of sympathy. Thus the trumpet of warning is blown respecting 'the danger of Wesleyan Antinomianism.' Ministers and members are told, that 'they *ought* to perform the *manly* part of not only denouncing the evil deeds themselves, and that at all times and in all places, but *also the men* who performed them.' Subscription to such periodicals as the *Wesleyan Times* and the *Wesleyan Banner* is set down as an 'instance of participation in acknowledged (!) wickedness,' which merits 'public reprobation.' The obnoxious writers 'must be dragged forth for open and universal contempt;' or, as in the 'notice to correspondents,' it is more phlegmatically phrased—'We think, with him, that *decided* [decisive, unless a foregone conclusion be meant] measures must be speedily employed.'

"The official apologists seem most concerned to combat the notion that 'Methodism is on the decline.' Numbers they reject as any sure criterion of prosperity,—shrewdly hinting that, for example, they would be more prosperous should the reformers leave them, or, declaring themselves, be cut off with 'the pruning-knife' as 'decayed branches.' Some tables are produced to show the rate of increase in periods of five and ten years; and the showing is so bad, that we marvel at the production of the evidence. The ten years from 1808 to 1818 exhibit an increase of 78,506 in Great Britain alone, upon 116,595; from 1838 to 1848, of only 42,060, upon 296,801; proving *the increase in the former period, upon less than half the number in 1838, to have been nearly double the increase in the latter period.* Now, if you take into the account the number of agents employed, and the extent of the population during the two ten years in question, not a word needs be added to prove, that Methodism *has* experienced a melancholy and even threatening decline. So sensible, indeed, are these gentlemen that their own figures will not bear examination, that they endeavour to account for the too-plain result, by assigning causes some of which are simply frivolous, and all insufficient. To impute it to 'Tractarianism,' is to convict the Methodist ministry of elementary deficiency. So also as to infidelity: while poverty, removals, and emigration, are causes always operating, and those who remove from one county or country to another, count in the returns of their new place of abode. It is merely amusing to be told, that the field of Methodism has been greatly narrowed with regard to the upper and middle classes: for when did it embrace the *upper*? The multiplication of chapels and the increased attendance are adduced as no proofs of decline. But is it quite certain, that chapels have not been multiplied needlessly, that the subsequent attendance has not disappointed previous calculation, and that trustees have not had, in many instances, to repent bitterly

of their enterprise? Or, indeed, is increased attendance accompanied with a diminished ratio of conversions, supposing that Methodist membership implied so much, a matter for unmingled rejoicing? We spare the writers of the 'Papers' any particular remark upon the rash sentence in which they have challenged attention to the 'few cases of ministerial immorality;' nor is it necessary to examine the sneering assertion, that the present race, though 'not so marked in their dress or by peculiarity of manners and appearance, are as good Christians as the old Methodists.' It is useless to contend with writers who, in the face of notorious facts, can discern '*no* signs of spiritual declension,'—who rebuke those who can, by warning them that 'morbid distrust and discontent may grieve the Spirit,'—who, plucking up fresh heart, point to the comparatively trivial increase of the last year as '*not inconsiderable*,'—and, courageously insisting that the Connexion ought to be thankful for '*progress*,' hug themselves with the complacent assurance, that they and their brethren have been '*all along under the smile of Jehovah!*' If this is not spiritual pride, and that of the worst form, what is?

"We search in vain through all these 'Papers' for any other point on which the writers have grappled with the facts or arguments of their opponents. Instead, for example, of explaining away or refuting their serious statements respecting the Wesleyan Missionary Society, they assail them with their wonted virulence as intentionally seeking to injure that institution, and exhibit them in the odious light of '*appealing to the bad passions of human nature*,' imperilling the subsistence of the missionaries and their families, and '*dashing the cup of mercy from the lips of the dying heathen*;' while they must know, or, at all events, if their frequent inuendos be well founded, *we* know that some of the men thus reviled are no mean rivals of Dr. Newton himself, as successful pleaders of the missionary cause. Indeed, it is one of the grievances connected with them, that, through favour with the Connexion, they are so frequently '*employed in public and honourable services*.'"

Such a state of disunion and bitterness as this cannot but lead to disastrous consequences, as far as the stability of the Wesleyan Society is concerned. And, indeed, looking at the question as Churchmen, we cannot but lament that such angry passions should exist in any community of professing Christians. Regarding the Church of England as the legitimate representative of the Church of Christ in this country, we cannot but feel such strife and contention in dissenting bodies, however they may tend to compel some individuals to seek for refuge in the bosom of the church, have a much greater tendency, and are far more likely, to demoralize and deteriorate the great mass of any community, where such quarrels are suffered thus to rage, and to drive them still farther from us than they ever were before.

The '*Fly-Sheets*,' it appears, were anonymous papers, privately circulated among the Methodist preachers. The following extract from this pamphlet professes to give an account of the abuses they complained of.

"It is time to examine the contents of the book, against whose authors the ruling party in the conference are so anxious to be employing their 'decided measures.' The 'Fly-Sheets,' as we have before observed, are levelled exclusively against 'the administration of Methodism,' and the evils of which they complain are classified under the several heads of location, centralization, and secularization.

"1. By location is intended the collection of a favoured class of ministers in London. In former days the whole metropolis was comprehended in one circuit; and, according to a standing rule, no minister could remain in it more than three years at one time, nor return to it till after the lapse of eight years. The increase of population has furnished a good plea for dividing the great Babel into not fewer than ten circuits; the consequence of which is, that, without a literal violation of the rule just mentioned, a minister might remain in or about London nearly all his life. But the increase of the Connexion has created the necessity for numerous official appointments—as missionary secretaries, treasurers and secretaries of various funds, theological tutors, editors, book-stewards, &c. Most of these appointments, which require a metropolitan residence, are for a period of six years, renewable at the pleasure of the Conference. In these ways it is alleged and demonstrated that a number of ministers who hold office, or are upon committees, and who are known to be of the ruling party in the Conference, have become *located* in the metropolis, three of them for a quarter of a century or upwards. Such gentlemen it is obviously ridiculous to style *itinerant* preachers; and yet itineracy is the chief glory of Methodism. That this practice prevents a fair distribution of ministerial talent, withdraws a number of the ablest preachers from pastoral work, and occasions discontent among their brethren who are bearing the burden and heat of the day, serious as they are, are among the least of the objections alleged against it. It makes the metropolis a focus of intrigue, through which the independence of the Conference becomes a nullity; and the objectors reasonably demand, that, instead of the sham elections by which favourites enjoy an uninterrupted monopoly of ease and honour, all appointments to office shall, like those of president and secretary of Conference, and chairmen of districts, be by ballot.

• "2. Centralization is the development of location. All the connexional committees meet in London. Thus all the influence of the book-room, the missionary society, the committee of privileges, the special committees appointed to act during the intervals of Conference, the Theological Institution, the London district, the committee for the final examination of candidates for the ministry, and the education committee, as well as the office of president, who is in most cases stationed in London, is centralized in the hands of the official class, and of the ministers stationed in the metropolitan circuits, 'constituting a Conference within a Conference.' One result is, that, in many instances, individuals are upon from ten to twelve different committees. Another is, the 'misapplication of the public funds.' Of this, the house expenses of the Missionary Society are adduced as the principal example. The four clerical secretaries, it is affirmed, cost not less than 500*l.* a-year each, besides travelling expenses; the lay agent

having but half that sum. The cost for the secretaries' houses alone amounted—

In 1843, to	£929 13 6
In 1844, to	820 19 9
In 1845, to	864 18 5

The library-shelves for one of them cost 70/. The number of secretaries is deemed excessive, as proved by the frequent absence of some, and the almost constant absence of one of them from his post. Their travelling expenses are described as being needlessly large, and this while the missionaries' salaries have been cut down. Numerous examples are given of what are deemed to be the evils arising from centralization, and reasons are assigned in favour of distributing the committees over the surface of the Connexion. On this subject there will be among the most disinterested persons a difference of opinion. Few, however, will, on reflection, see the wisdom of shifting the seat of the Missionary Society to a provincial town; though as few, in these times, will question the propriety of the accounts of all public societies (not excluding Centenary hall) being subjected to the most rigorous audit. This is urged as the more necessary in the present case, on account of the notoriety of the fact, that the treasurer of one of the connexional funds, who formerly conducted a periodical exactly resembling the 'Wesleyan Papers,' in style, spirit, and purpose, is at this moment under suspension for very large defalcations.

"3. By secularization is chiefly intended the withdrawal from the regular work of the ministry of ministers holding permanently the offices of book-steward, missionary secretary, or theological tutor. It is alleged, and no doubt with much truth, that the entire withdrawal of these gentlemen from circuit labour, rarely even preaching, joined to the constant absorption of most of them in engagements as purely secular as those of any tradesman, is wholly incongruous with their professed call and character as ministers of the gospel.

"The 'Fly-Sheets' contain many curious particulars illustrative of the manner in which—sometimes by reflections, which are much complained of as a monopoly of honour—the ruling party have managed to keep the office of president of Conference in their own hands. The raised 'platform' too, on which are seated the president and secretary, the Conference clerks, missionary secretaries, and other official persons, together with all the ministers who have passed the chair, is regarded with much dislike by the authors, as strongly favouring the exercise of a sinister influence over the deliberations of the Conference. The illustrations given are too personal or too familiar for citation; but they clearly show that this eminence is sometimes annoying to independent men, as a place from which they can be over-awed by word or gesture, and be subjected to a continuance even there of the surveillance which has been carried on, during the year, by the carefully-selected members of the missionary deputations. But the heaviest censure of the 'Fly-Sheets' falls upon 'the stationing committee,' which is declared to be 'the slaughter-house of ministerial character.' Here, except the comparatively few who compose it, each minister's character and conduct are sifted in his absence, and he is sent hither and thither according as they may judge him worthy

of a good or bad circuit. This committee 'being bound to secrecy, men are living on in the body without a knowledge of the cause or occasion of their treatment.'

"Within the limits prescribed to this article, it were impossible to follow the authors of the 'Fly-sheets' through all their statements. Most of those which we have passed by, like those which have been noticed, tend to illustrate the general complaint, that the Conference—and through it the Connexion—is over-ridden by a numerically small, but active, unscrupulous, and compact party of ministers, who, under the guidance of their astute leader, and aided by a few wealthy laymen in London and Manchester, contrive to monopolise all power, influence, and honour, and to carry everything their own way. From the authors of the 'Fly-Sheets' they have evidently received a greater check than was ever before administered to them. The heavy and numerous charges alleged against them derive colour from the very manner in which they are met, or, more properly evaded. Instead of either disproving those charges or acknowledging their truth and promising amendment, they vow vengeance upon the authors, and employ all their craft and energy to discover who they are. They positively adopted the inquisitorial method of calling upon every minister in the Connexion to sign a 'declaration' that he neither wrote any part of the obnoxious sheets nor knew who did; but, as two hundred and fifty-six ministers, including three ex-presidents and six chairmen of districts, withheld their signatures, the scheme failed. A second attempt has recently been made to gain their signatures: it remains to be seen with what result. The inquisitors, meanwhile, as little conscious of the odiousness of their office as if they were deer-stalking, openly anticipate that 'the range of suspicion will, in the end, become so concentrated as to include, in a less crowded and dubious circle, the parties upon whom it may justly be allowed to rest.' The spirit in which this inquisition is prosecuted appears in a light which we refrain from characterizing according to our opinion of its merits, from the conduct observed towards a minister of thirty-four years' standing—the REV. DANIEL WALTON,—on suspicion of his connexion with the 'Fly-Sheets.' The story is told at length in the Vindication: suffice it here to say, first, that the writers, who are familiar with the whole history of the 'Fly-Sheets,' distinctly confirm his own declaration, that he knew nothing of the design, and could not by possibility know anything of even the existence of the 'Fly-Sheets,' previously to printing and circulation. A brother minister, however, whom he admitted to his study as a friend, took the opportunity, during his temporary absence, of rummaging among his private papers, where he discovered one containing a phrase or two resembling something in the 'Fly-Sheets.' This mean individual's mere belief as to the contents of a document to which he thus obtained access, was, after the lapse of two years, made the foundation of a charge against his *too-confiding* friend, of participation in the obnoxious pamphlets. The tribunal before which the accused was cited, consisting of the president of the Conference, who had been assailed in the 'Fly-Sheets,' and four other ministers, all equally prejudiced, adjudged Mr. Walton to be one of the authors on this precious evidence, although he proved

that the document in question lay upon his desk long after the appearance of the 'Sheets,' with some portion of which it had been sought to be connected. This very month Mr. Walton is to appear as a *criminal* before the regular Manchester District Meeting; and, unless he will answer a string of questions which the inquisitors have prepared, with a view no doubt to make him disclose all he knows about the real or supposed authors of these formidable compositions, he is to be punished, probably by suspension till Conference, and we dare say by expulsion then. The public has been little aware, that, while the office of the Inquisition is abolished even in Rome itself, a system resembling it closely in all but the infliction of *physical* torture exists in full force at our own doors."

It is understood that some of the preachers have been expelled from the Conference, as persons suspected of having written the Fly-Sheets. The matter is certainly very unlikely to be quieted by their expulsion.

REVIEW.

An Examination of the Scriptural Grounds on which the Prohibition against Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister is Based. By John Darling, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London. Rivingtons. 8vo, pp. 34.

A WELL-TIMED and ably-written pamphlet. It is hoped that all who take an interest in the question will read it with the attention it deserves. For the gratification of those who may not have an opportunity of doing so, we have made the following extract, and are assured that we shall not need to offer any apologies on account of its length.

"Before addressing myself to the main question, I must remark that, if we receive the prohibitory laws of the eighteenth chapter at all, we must receive them as Christians, and must interpret them by the light which Christianity throws upon them. It is by the force of their moral sanction that they are binding on us, and I am at a loss to see how, in receiving them as prohibitions to ourselves, we can possibly exclude from our consideration any change which the Christian Dispensation may have wrought in the subject-matter of those laws, supposing such a change to have been effected. To explain my meaning more fully, I will illustrate it by referring to the prohibition contained in the sixteenth verse. If I rightly apprehend the grounds on which that prohibition is binding on Christians, it is not because the Levitical Law said to the Jew, *Thou shalt not marry thy brother's widow*, that the marriage is held to be prohibited to us, but because it was declared concerning that marriage, that it was an abominable and unclean thing, for this reason—that marriage had spiritually incorporated the widow with the deceased brother. Finding this to be plainly stated in a revelation of the Divine will, and believing that the principle of that prohibition exists in at least as much force among Christians as it did among the Jews, we cannot but infer that such a marriage is contrary to the will of God respecting us.

"Now, I will for an instant assume that a further revelation of the Divine will has placed the law of marriage in a light different from that in which it stood at the time of the previous revelation; and that, by virtue of the change, a marriage not before prohibited falls exactly within the reasons assigned for the prohibition of marriage with a brother's widow. These reasons, as I have stated, are our grounds for believing the latter marriage to be contrary to the

will of God. The marriage, therefore, which the further revelation brings within them must, after its promulgation, be deemed *as* contrary to the will of God, as is the marriage prohibited by the former revelation.

"If, then, I can prove what I have assumed, and can show that the Christian Dispensation wrought such a change in the law of marriage, as would render the marriage of a man with the sister of his deceased wife manifestly impermissible to Christians, consistently with the continued authority of the prohibition contained in verse sixteen, I trust I shall be considered to have established the truth of the proposition which I have advanced—namely, that the Bible prohibits that marriage to us.

"The most convenient method of proof will be to point out, in the first place, in what respects the state of the marriage law in the time of the Jews affected the question of the prohibited degrees of affinity; and, in the second place, the changes which were wrought in that law by the Christian Dispensation.

"I must commence this part of my argument by recurring to the principle upon which the prohibition of verse sixteen depends. I have more than once stated the principle of that prohibition to be, that the union resulting from marriage incorporated the wife with her husband in such a manner, that it was a violation of the purity of the close blood-relationship subsisting between two brothers, for a surviving brother to marry a deceased brother's wife. Now I hope to be able to show, that, under the Jewish dispensation, the law of marriage was in such a condition, that, looking at the question in an abstract point of view, there are satisfactory grounds for the belief that the husband was not joined to his wife in the same complete manner in which she was incorporated with him; and that therefore an equal amount of impurity did not in reality attach to marriage with a deceased wife's sister: and that, taking a practical view of the question, there are conclusive reasons why a prohibition of that marriage would not have been intelligible, and could not have been enforced.

"In considering the state of the law of marriage among the Jews, the first thing that suggests itself to the mind, is that polygamy was tolerated among them. To what extent that practice prevailed, or how far it was limited, may be a matter of question, but the main fact is beyond a doubt. I apprehend, however, that in countries where polygamy is tolerated, marriage is so far perverted from its original institution, that it does not produce, with reference to the union resulting from it, the same effects on the husband as on the wife. The woman under such circumstances surrenders to the man she marries all her rights, all her affections, all her capacities for discharging the duties of married life. The husband gives her a part only of all these. I am unable to see how it could be contended, that two persons so coming together are affected in the same manner by the relations into which they have entered with each other. There could be no equal coherence between them. On the part of the woman, the complete sacrifice of self would produce that sort of adherence which I understand to be expressed by the incorporation spoken of in verse sixteen. On the part of the man, the sacrifice would be partial, not perhaps more than enough to sustain the total dependence on him of the woman. While, therefore, the entire surrender of self, in all that related to marriage, would carry with it on the side of the wife, the loss of her individual character, and cause her to be impressed as it were with the character of her husband, the surrender on the husband's side would not be sufficiently complete to imbue him with the character of his wife. As a consequence of this, under the Jewish Dispensation which tolerated polygamy, the same degree of impurity did not attach to a marriage between a man and the sister of a wife, with whose character he had only been partially impressed by marriage, as attached to a marriage between a man and the widow of his brother, who had been completely impressed with the character of that brother. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to observe, that it is in the permissibility of marriage with more than one wife, that the incompleteness of the union lies; and that it would

not be more complete because a man intended to confine himself to one wife, or did actually do so : for unless we could conceive human nature to be endowed with a will necessarily unchangeable, we could not make out that any husband, as long as polygamy was tolerated, could give himself to his wife in the sense in which she surrendered herself to him.

“ I am not aware that there is any fallacy in this theory as to the consequence of the permission of polygamy, but it is not necessary to rest this part of my argument on that theory alone. There are two passages in the Bible which appear to me to be plain declarations, that marriage in the time of the Jews did not produce equally binding effects on the husband and on the wife. The first is the sixteenth verse of the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus, to which I have so often referred, and which, as I have said, I cannot understand as meaning anything else than that the wife was spiritually incorporated with her husband. The other passage is part of the nineteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew. I will quote it at length, because I shall have occasion to refer to it again. ‘ The pharisees also came unto him, tempting him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause? And He answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, that He which made them at the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife : and they twain shall be one flesh? Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away? He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives : but from the beginning it was not so. And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery : and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery. His disciples say unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry. But He said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying save they to whom it is given.’

“ Now, looking at the Jewish system of divorce referred to in this passage, apart from the language used by our blessed Lord respecting it, there would not, I think, be anything unreasonable in the proposition, that such a system must have rendered the marriage-union unequal in its effects on the husband and on the wife. A marriage, which is liable to be so annulled, cannot be considered in any other light than as a contract, voidable by one party, and binding on the other. It is, however, unnecessary to speculate as to the consequences of this part of the Jewish law. The declaration of our Saviour seems to establish clearly one of two things, either that the original law of marriage, by which the husband ‘ cleaves unto the wife’ was abrogated in the time of the Jews, and therefore their system of divorce was tolerated ; or that their system was in itself an abrogation of that law. In either case the result is the same. This passage, combined with the sixteenth verse of the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus, would, I think, independently of the argument deducible from the permission of polygamy, justify me in asserting that the marriage tie affected husband and wife so unequally, under the Jewish Dispensation, that the purity of the blood-relationship was not so much violated by marriage with a deceased wife’s sister, as by marriage with a brother’s widow.

“ Let us now consider the question in a practical point of view. Whatever may have been the amount of impurity which attached to marriage with a deceased wife’s sister, it is probable that the social position of women did not permit it to be made the subject of a prohibitory enactment. It would be superfluous to enlarge on the degrading tendency of polygamy in reference to the character of women, and the consideration in which they are held by the other sex. It may suffice to observe, that it would be impossible to discover, in ancient or modern times, a single instance of that practice having co-existed with the maintenance by woman of her proper place in the scale of society. So inseparable an incident to the toleration of polygamy is the degradation of

the sex, of whose rights it is an invasion, that, on these grounds alone, I should consider myself justified in assuming that the Jewish woman was more or less degraded from her natural rank during the greater part of the Jewish Dispensation. But, very striking indications of this state of things are not wanting. The rite, which was instituted as a sign of God's covenant with the chosen people, was confined to the male sex. Women were not suffered to mourn for the dead in the same manner as men; and in the synagogues, a place was allotted to them, which marked their inferiority in the estimation of the Jewish nation. Other circumstances of an equally significant character might be adduced, but, instead of referring to more, I will cite the language used by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians, as a decisive proof of the degradation of the female sex under the Jewish Dispensation, 'For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.' The words of the Apostle plainly indicate, that the equality of the male and female sex, with respect to spiritual privileges and the favour of God, was as novel a doctrine to the Jewish converts as the admission of the Gentile world to a similar equality. A more striking illustration of the previous inferiority of women could scarcely be found. If, then, they occupied a low rank in general estimation, it is more than probable that, admitting some impurity to have attached to marriage with a deceased wife's sister, as the impurity lay chiefly on the woman's side, a prohibition of the marriage could with difficulty have been enforced.

"There is another rather forcible reason of a practical character which favours the same conclusion. If we examine the working of the prohibitions of marriages within the degrees of affinity, we shall find that they depend in a great measure for their due observance on the feeling of relationship engendered by marriage, between the husband and his wife's relatives, and the wife and her husband's relatives. A prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister would certainly have wanted this practical sanction among the Jews; for it is not easy to see how a man who married several wives could entertain towards the sisters of each of them a feeling of near relationship, or how they could regard him in any sense as a brother.

"Before I close this part of the subject, I cannot avoid observing that, assuming all the reasons which I have offered for the permission of marriage with a deceased wife's sister to be unsatisfactory, I do not know why, without investigating the immediate causes as I have attempted to do, we might not refer that permission to what was probably the final cause—'hardness of heart,' which, according to the express declaration of our Lord, hindered the Jews from receiving, in its full meaning, the doctrine of the unity of the marriage tie. I am unable to discover anything unsound in the arguments I have suggested; but we have, at all events, in the passage quoted from St. Matthew's Gospel, a clear assertion, that 'hardness of heart' led to one great departure from the original law of marriage. If the plainest analogy can be trusted, marriage with a deceased wife's sister was a departure of a similar character; that is to say, it was an infringement of the sacred unity of the marriage contract. It would surely be more consonant to all laws of sober reasoning to refer this departure, as well as the other, to Jewish 'hardness of heart,' even if we should be obliged to admit that the rust of time has obscured the links of the chain which connects the cause with the effect, than to assert that, because that marriage was permitted, it was no departure at all from the original law.

"Having endeavoured to show in what respects the condition of the law of marriage in the time of the Jews affects the question of the prohibited degrees of affinity, and having attempted to prove that it accounts satisfactorily for the permission to their nation of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, I will, in conclusion, point out, as briefly as I can, the changes effected by the Christian Dispensation.

"In the beginning, as is declared in Genesis, and as is also affirmed by our

Saviour and by St. Paul, God instituted marriage in the full perfection of sacredness and unity. The original law of marriage given to man was, to adopt the paraphrase of Milton,

“ ‘ For this cause he shall forego
Father and mother, and to his wife adhere;
And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul.’ ”

“ We do not know at how early a period of its history the world fell away from the primeval law, but it is certain that, long before the age of the Jewish nation, a very wide departure from it had taken place. The Levitical law, while it reformed some of the grosser and more abominable corruptions which had crept in upon it, and which defiled many nations of the world at the time of its establishment, did not restore the law of marriage to its full purity and integrity. That holy institution was still suffered to remain in a state resembling that of some majestic temple, originally dedicated to the worship of the Deity, but which stands in partial ruin in the midst of a people who are ignorant of its sacred character, and who profane it by using it for common and secular purposes. It was reserved for Christianity to repair the ruin, and to consecrate afresh the desecrated structure. The Author of the new Dispensation declared, according to the passage quoted from St. Matthew's Gospel, that by marriage man and wife become one flesh, that they are so joined together by God, and that, as the bond which unites them derives its force from Him, it is not to be severed by man, except in the single instance of adultery. This declaration at once restored the full religious obligation of the marriage contract, and made it completely and equally binding on both husband and wife. The words of our Lord expressly denounced the Jewish system of divorce; and, as Paley observes, prohibited, by an easy implication, the practice of polygamy: ‘ for if whoever putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery; he who marrieth another without putting away the first, is no less guilty of adultery; because the adultery does not consist in the repudiation of the first wife, but in entering into a second marriage during the legal existence and obligation of the first.’ ”

“ The new doctrine of marriage—new, that is, to the age in which it was delivered, is placed in a very forcible light in several passages in St. Paul's Epistles. I will content myself with quoting one of them. ‘ Let every man have his own wife, and every woman have her own husband. The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife.’ This passage alone would have sufficed to show not only that polygamy was unlawful, but that the marriage contract of the Christian Dispensation united husband and wife in such a manner, as to carry with it, on the part of each of them, an equal and complete surrender of self in all that relates to marriage. In accordance with the words of St. Paul, the Church of England in her marriage service makes the bridegroom say to the bride, ‘ With my body I thee worship,’ to mark what is the distinguishing feature of Christian marriage, that the husband imparts to the wife the entire interest in himself.

“ On the authority of the passages I have cited from St. Matthew's Gospel, and from the Epistle to the Corinthians, and of passages of a similar character in St. Paul's Epistles, polygamy, which, at the date of the establishment of Christianity, had fallen into desuetude, has since that time been considered directly sinful by nations professing Christianity; and in this country, where the purest form of the Christian religion has prevailed, divorce for causes other than adultery is deemed unlawful, as being contrary to the Word of God.

“ I have suggested, that a low estimation of the importance of purity in the female sex, may have been a practical impediment to the reception by the Jews of the prohibition of marriage with the sister of a deceased wife. It can hardly be necessary to remark, that no such impediment exists at the present day, or to point out that if any portion of it, however small, did exist, it would be wholly inexcusable in a Christian people. Without enlarging on

a truth so obvious as that Christianity elevated the female character, I will merely observe that its influence in that respect seems to have been instantaneous. The whole of the Old Testament gives us but three or four instances of women selected from among their fellows, as worthy of being chronicled in the Sacred History. In the Gospels, the most striking examples of faith and piety recorded by the Evangelists are exhibited by that sex; a sex which it is difficult to distinguish by the characteristic of weakness, when speaking of those holy women, whose devotion to our blessed Lord made them the last to leave the cross on which He suffered, and the first to seek the sepulchre in which He was buried; a devotion signally rewarded by their being the first to receive the tidings of His resurrection, and the first to whom He vouchsafed to show Himself after He had risen from the dead.

"Such were the changes effected by the Christian Dispensation. I have already shown that we cannot exclude these changes from our view, in our interpretation of the laws contained in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus, as laws applicable to ourselves. Construing the prohibitions of that chapter by the light of Christianity, we not only reject the eighteenth verse as having reference only to the practice of polygamy, but as we discover satisfactory reasons, peculiar to the Jews as distinguished from Christians, for its having been suffered to negative, under the Levitical Dispensation, the full operation of the sixteenth verse, we reject at the same time its influence on the construction of that verse. Neither in letter nor in spirit can it restrict, among Christians, the full operation of the moral law enunciated in the sixteenth verse. The argument then assumes this practical form—the original law of marriage being restored, and man and wife being "one flesh," each of them becomes spiritually incorporated with the other by the union of marriage. As therefore it is declared to be a violation of the purity of the relationship subsisting between two brothers, for a man to marry a woman who has become so closely united to his brother, it must be an equal violation of the purity of the relationship between two sisters, for a woman to marry a man who has become as closely united to her sister.

"The Christian revelation, as I have shown, has engrafted this result on the Jewish law. I am therefore warranted in asserting that the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, rests on the sure foundation of Holy Scripture."

The real question, if we mistake not, in this painful controversy, is that which Mr. Darling here discusses. Has Christianity made any change in the state of the law of marriage?—and if it has,—what is the spirit of that change? Is it to *relax* or to *restrain*? It seems impossible to doubt, with the facts before us, that the whole law of divorce and polygamy were altered, and the spirit of Christianity, immediately and from the very beginning, directed to curb and restrain the liberties allowed in the preceding dispensations. Indeed, it is evident, that it is not by an appeal to Jewish law—much less to Jewish explanations of law,—that any question of this sort can be determined. It was lawful under certain circumstances to marry a brother's widow. Is it so now? Has Christianity made no change in this particular? If it has, if no one would pretend that it is the *duty* of a man to marry his brother's widow now, on what grounds any one can maintain that it is lawful to marry a wife's sister or niece, it seems difficult to understand.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

THE PULPIT UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

IN the papers on Archbishop Laud and those individuals who are alleged to have suffered under his tyranny, a very curious picture of those tumultuous times has been presented to the reader; and, as the pulpit was employed by the Parliamentary party to instigate the people to the war, it may be well to give a selection of passages from the sermons of the period in question, as an illustration of the perverted notions and the extraordinary proceedings of the men who entered into the contest with their sovereign. Those, who have not devoted themselves to an examination of this particular period, can have no conception of the lengths to which some of the Parliamentary preachers were carried in their sermons, under the plea of doing God service. One great charge against Archbishop Laud related to preaching. It was alleged that he put a check upon preaching in the kingdom at large. But on what foundation does this serious charge rest? On no other than this, that it was deemed necessary to enforce the reading of the Liturgy on the lecturers, and to order catechizing on Sunday afternoons. In no other way was preaching prohibited. The clergy were at liberty to preach as often and as long as they pleased, provided they read the Liturgy and catechized their young people in the afternoon. But this was regarded by the disaffected ministers as a check to preaching, and a restraint upon the Holy Spirit, who was presumed to be the dictator of their addresses. The lecturers were mostly disaffected men, who refused to read the public Liturgy, frequently not attending the church, until the service was over,

and the time for entering the pulpit was arrived; and as catechizing involved the use and approval of the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer, they could not away with it. Hence confusion and disorder reigned in many parishes, to the disgrace of religion and the injury of the people. No one was more inclined to check such an evil than Bishop Williams, though the outcry was principally directed against Archbishop Laud. During several years, therefore, there was a continual struggle between the bishops, who enforced conformity, and the disaffected clergy, who used all their arts to avoid a compliance with the rules which decency and order required. Loud were the complaints of the Puritan ministers at being called upon to conform, though all of them had pledged themselves to submit; and their conduct proved that they had not acquired the essential quality in martyrs—namely, to suffer patiently and in silence. Some of the more violent of the party, indeed, sought a place of refuge on the Continent, or in New England; but the great bulk remained at home, and most of them in their livings, in the expectation of a change in the times, conforming to a certain extent, but evading a compliance with the more obnoxious ceremonies. To keep such men in order was a task of great difficulty, and it became necessary for the bishops to exercise their authority in various instances, sometimes admonishing, at other times suspending, but never depriving any until all the gentler means had failed, and the individuals had determined to resist all authority, and proceed in their course regardless of the laws or their own vows. These proceedings were branded with the odious name of persecution for conscience' sake; yet in the present day no clergyman would be permitted to remain in the church whose conduct should resemble that of the Puritan ministers, who were deprived prior to the breaking out of the great rebellion. In the present day, it is admitted, that laws and oaths must be observed; while the honesty of a man, who should remain in the church and still not conform to her rites, would be called in question. Yet the advocates of the Puritans still utter the cry of persecution in speaking of the times now under review.

Possibly it may be argued against the proceedings of the bishops in enforcing conformity, that they might have allowed the Puritans to worship in their own way out of the church. But this argument is of no avail in this controversy, since a toleration was disclaimed by the Puritans as a heresy of the most deadly character, and fatal even to the very existence of true religion. Since, therefore, a separate form of worship could not be permitted, and was not desired, it was the obvious duty of the Puritans, who formed an inconsiderable minority, even on their own principles, to submit to the ordinances of the church,

which were sanctioned by the laws of the land, and were in accordance with the views and feelings of the great mass of the people.

In our own times all the various bodies of Dissenters act on the same principle as that on which the bishops acted. They enforce an observance of their own rules, or the refractory parties must leave the body. In some instances no little harshness is practised in these matters; and were it not for the provisions of the Toleration Act, not a little oppression and hardship would frequently be experienced by such as are refractory members of the communion. Every Dissenting body feels the necessity of discipline; and as the laws of the society are known by individuals on their admission, they have no right to complain. At the recent Wesleyan Conference more power was exercised over the preachers, who published the "*Fly Leaves*," than was ever claimed by Laud over the clergy. Men were expelled because they refused to admit that they were the writers of the fugitive pieces in question. Yet, after all, as each preacher, on being admitted into the body, agrees to be bound by the decisions of the Conference, the persons who have been so summarily disposed of cannot perhaps reasonably complain of the treatment which they have received, harsh as it may appear. It is, however, certain, that Laud's exercise of power was lenity in comparison of the proceedings of the Conference. We hear of the bondage of the clergy: yet theirs is a state of perfect freedom when contrasted with the condition of a Methodist preacher.

As soon as the Long Parliament had assembled, the disaffected clergy were encouraged all over the country, the chief of them being called to preach before the two Houses on their fast days. Some time subsequent to the meeting of the Parliament a monthly fast was ordered, on which occasion, as well as on other extraordinary days as they were termed, the House of Commons assembled in St. Margaret's church, and the Lords in the Abbey, to hear a sermon from some leading minister among those who had scrupled at the conformity enjoined by the church, of which they were ministers. Usually the sermon was ordered to be printed; and there is extant a large number of these productions preached between the year 1640 and the close of the war. To discover all perhaps would be impossible; but a large pile is now on my table, from which the illustrations in these papers will be given. Some extracts from other contemporary publications may also be added, but such only as serve to illustrate the subject now under discussion—namely, the character of the pulpit addresses of the times.

"Many," says Vicars, "of the well-affected and faithful ministers of London unanimously petitioned the Parliament both

for choice of an assembly, and for the ordering of a monethly fast throughout the whole kingdome." "The monethly Fast was speedily put in practice, which being as it were a spiritual *militia*, (as a reverend and learned Divine calls it most properly) puts the kingdome into a spirituall posture of a God-pleasing holy warfare (if religiously kept both for sin and from sin) that we may, as it were, even fight and contend with God by prayers and tears, by sighs and groans, yea and may be prevailers with God for a blessing upon our Land, our king and Parliament, church and state." *God in the Mount, &c.*, 68.

Let it be remembered that the persons from whose writings our extracts will be given, were clergymen of the Church of England—disaffected indeed to the church though pledged to conformity. Puritans they were—that is, they were anxious for what they called a further reformation, by which they meant the retrenching of some ceremonies and the alteration of some points of church discipline; but Presbyterians they were not at this time, though before long they embraced the Covenant, and with it the whole Scottish system. And this is one of the painful features in the character of these men—namely, the facility with which they renounced, not merely the Episcopacy of the Church of England, but also their own previously acknowledged views, in order that the aid of the Scots might be secured in reducing the king. This feature is painful to contemplate, because it seems to indicate that they were influenced by no fixed principle. Their own imaginary interest appears to have decided their course. But as this point will be more clearly developed as we proceed, it need not be dwelt upon further at present.

Some of the sermons addressed to the Long Parliament were sound and practical, and free from the objections which it will be our business to notice in so many. In these papers such only will be noticed, even of the objectionable ones, as bear most pointedly on the subject which I have undertaken to illustrate. To quote even from all that are now before us, would be impossible in this, or in several papers. Some of the more remarkable passages, therefore, only will be given. In the earlier sermons the note of war was not so distinctly sounded as in the later productions during the progress of the contest. The advancement of the warlike principle will be discovered as we proceed: and thus the reader will be able to trace the course which these preachers of *peace* pursued. As all of them had pledged themselves to conformity, the reader will not fail to notice their inconsistency in rejecting, not only the ceremonies of which they complained, but also the whole government of the Church of England.

Not a little flattery, amounting in some cases almost, if not quite, to blasphemy, was employed by the preachers both in their

sermons and in their dedications of books, in speaking of the Long Parliament. One of the individuals who, to avoid conformity, had betaken himself to the Continent, thus addresses that assembly in 1641. "Right Honourable, there is no fear of your abundant Wisdoms in discerning of these grievous prelatieall maladies, nor of your compassionate faithfulness in applying seasonable remedies: sith all men must needs acknowledge that its a true report they have heard of your acts and wisdom, exceeding the fame thereof. Blessed be the Lord God of England that hath visited and redeemed his people. Let the churches of the Saints in England, Scotland, and Ireland now say his mercy endureth for ever. Let the Nonconformists, (God's hidden ones in those lands) now say his mercy endureth for ever. Yee mighty men of valour, the Lord hath beene with you hitherto, subduing the lyon and the beare (even the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber) that did prey upon the flock. Goe on in this your might to save from (that uncircumcised philistin) the oppressing hierarchie. And let it be noe offence of heart to your honours to be stirred up to goe forward, making the word of God the man of your counsell. And for your better help and guidance may it please your honours to make use of the labours of godly learned interpreters, that have been the excellent lights of the reformed churches, both abroad and also in England, observing withall the apostolicall advertisement touching the custome of the churches of Christ and their comly order, even of the purest reformed churches from all Antichristianisme, both in doctrine and discipline."* In the margin the author gives the names of Beza, Calvin, and Bucer among the foreigners, and those of Cartwright, Travers, Udall, Parker, and Bayne at home; and the churches specified in the note are the "Scots, French, Dutch."

Thus it is evident that the writer of the advertisement to the Parliament wished for nothing less than the most rigid form of the Presbyterian discipline. Cartwright, Travers, Udall, and Parker were notorious by their writings. Cartwright was regarded as the leader of the Presbyterians: Travers wrote a work on the discipline; Udall was one of the chief opponents of the church; and Parker was the author of a folio volume against the ceremonies and government of the church. Yet the Long Parliament, at a time moreover when they professed only a wish to retrench a few things in practice which they alleged

* A Defence of Church Government exercised in the Presbyteriall, Classicall, and Synodall Assemblies: according to the practise of the Reformed Churches, &c. By John Paget, late able and faithful Preacher of the Reformed English Church in Amsterdam. Hereunto is prefixed an Advertisement to the Parliament, &c. 4to. London: 1641.

had been recently introduced, could permit such language to be addressed to them without rebuke or even remonstrance.

The writer of the advertisement, a relation of the author of the book, alludes also to the petitions against Episcopacy at this early period of the Long Parliament. "And is it not exceedingly marvellous also? how after supplicating God in such sort, their spirits were stirred in them to speake to your Honors of the cure-all-court of Parliament in their manifold petitions for reformation, contributing votes by thousands of several counties." These petitions have been noticed in previous papers.

In the dedication of a sermon to the Parliament the author thus applies the unction of flattery to the members. "God in you hath graciously begun to make good that evangelicall promise, Zech. xii. 8. In defending this his English Jerusalem, he hath made him that was weak among you as David: you have conquered the Lion and the Bear: and shall not that uncircumcised Philistin (that numerous beast) who hath not ceased to blaspheme and scatter the armies of the Living God, become like one of these? Behold he lyes grovelling at your feet, there wants nothing but the cutting off his head, which you may do with his own sword. Truly God hath honoured you with little lesse than a miraculous effusion of his spirit heightening your spirits, and strengthening your hands to David-like Prowesse. Our hopes and expectations are now that the great and faithful God will perfect the promise, in making him that is as David among you, like the angel of the Lord, who went out into the camp of the Assyrians and smote an hundred four score and five thousand, 2 Kings, xix. 31." Again: "Surely God hath employed you in one of the choicest and most glorious pieces of service that ever he accomplished by the sons of men, for the enlargement and advancement of his poor church, since her creation by himself, or redemption by his Son. Oh, lay this as an engagement upon yourselves to go thorowstitch with the work of God: for which do you purifie and purge yourselves, I beseech you: that as the work is holy, so you may be holy too, that in future ages this may be called the happy Parliament, the holy Parliament, the Parliament of God: and you, the repayers of the breaches, the restorers of the desolate places, the reformers of the Reformation."*

Another preacher adopts the following strain in a dedication to the Parliament. "Go on and prosper unparalleled worthies. See what you have done already, and mingle your streams of joy with the floods of all your saints ere while drowned in tears and

* Two Sermons lately preached at Westminster, before sundry of the Honourable House of Commons. By Thomas Case, Minister of God's Word. Published by order of the said House. 4to. London: 1642.

sorrow, but now floating in joy and triumph. Behold the faces of the saints, whose tears you have wiped away, and see in the light and cheerfulness of their visages the blessed fruits of your goodness, wisdom, justice and courage. What can be more solations to a Christian spirit, then to see the dying saints reviving, and insolent oppressors dying? Its better to do good then to receive: we are but the cisterns, you have the honor to be our living springs, yet we most honor the sea of goodness, who issues through you upon us.”*

In Case’s sermon there are passages in a similar strain, which were addressed to the members from the pulpit, and which were published by their own order. “To you the worthies of Israel, whom God hath by his own vote and suffrage singled out of all the tribes, for this great and glorious undertaking. Remember I beseech you, wherefore ye came hither; as for us methinks we stood like poor prisoners at the Barre, to be tryed for our lives, and it pleasing the Supream Magesty upon the throne to ask us, *by whom we would be tryed*; we have taken the legall course, and have all cryed out with one voice, by God and the countrey, which countrey are you.”† Another worthy thus addressed them from the pulpit. “My words shall know no flattery, never did England see a Parliament more fitted for the service and work of God, then this now is. A quiver so full of chosen and polished shafts for the Lords work. I have often thought, that God would deale by our present Parliamentary Assembly as Sampson did deale with the Jaw-bone, wherewith he had slaine heaps of the Philistines, which when hee had done, he threw it away: but afterwards thirsting, and being like to dye for want of water, God sent him back to his jaw-bone againe, and tells him that he would cleave that and open a fountain of water to him from thence. So hath God used this great Parliamentary Ordinance for the slaying of many Philistines: but, in these latter times, this Jaw-bone of ours hath beene throwne away, and despised in the eyes of the world: and it may bee now God will open a fountain of water from hence, that we may all be revived and live thereby.”‡

Some of the men, who were called to preach before the Parliament, did not hesitate to intimate that this unscrupulous assembly might be destined to do the Lord’s work in other lands, and even to be instrumental in accomplishing the prophecies connected with the Redeemer’s kingdom. Thus alluding to heathen nations, one preacher says: “Private men may pray for them: but it

* A Sermon lately preached at Westminster, before sundry of the Honourable House of Commons. By Joseph Symonds, sometimes minister in Ironmonger Lane, London. Now Pastor of a Church in Rotterdam. London: 1641.

† Ibid. 15.

‡ Bridge’s *Babylon’s Downfall*, &c. 4to. 1641. Pp. 21, 22.

must be the power of some such Sovereigne Assembly as this is of yours, to send unto them the knowledge of the true God; and who knows, but for this also, you are met together at this time? that when you have repaired our breaches, and done the will of God for us, you may be a blessing and a healing to other nations.”* As a specimen of the degradation of the pulpit in those days of confusion, the following passages may be taken, in which the Parliament are filled with the hope of being the appointed instruments for the accomplishment of the prophecies respecting Christ’s kingdom and the fall of Antichrist. “The new temple is built when the 42 months of the beast’s raigne and the treading down the holy city come to an end.” The preacher fixes on the year 384 as the commencement of the 1260 years; and then adds: “Now if wee should reckon the beginning of the Beast’s reign about the time of that councel, the end of it will fall in, at this very time of ours.” He will not, however, take upon himself to determine the point: yet he closes his remarks on this matter in the following words: “But assuredly, the acceptable yeare of Israel’s Jubilee, and the day of vengeance upon Antichrist, is comming, and is not farre off.” Elsewhere he says, in allusion to the same subject, “Certainly the work is upon the wheel.”† To the same effect another individual. “And although the nature of the warre amongst us be calamitous, and many events of it very sad; yet the main comfort is, the quarrel is apparently between Christ and Antichrist, he that sees not so much now is wilfully maliciously blind. Now the Prophecies in the Revelation serve to foreshew that the ruine of Antichrist shall in a good part be brought to passe by the sword. Methinks the Lord is breeding and apting a generation of men amongst us that shall make the throne of the beast shake. If any censure me for cherishing and blowing up the sparkes of valour in mens spirits, *with me it is a very small thing to be judged of them or of mans judgement.*”‡

The year 1650 is specified by several of the preachers as the period for the final overthrow of Antichrist, and the full esta-

* Gospell Courage, or Christian Resolution for God and his Truth. In a Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Margaret’s in Westminster, at a Publique Fast, the 31st of May, 1643. By Andrew Perne, Master of Arts, now Minister of Wilby, in Northamptonshire. 4to. London: 1643. P. 11. It will be observed, that at this time it was common to drop the designation *saint*, when applied to churches, or other places, though it was readily given to not a few very questionable characters, who were employed in the war against the sovereign.

† A Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late Solemn Fast, Wednesday, March 27, 1644. By George Gillespie, Minister at Edinburgh. Published by Order of the House. London: 1644. Pp. 9, 37, 38.

‡ The Glory and Beauty of God’s Portion: set forth in a Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at the Publique Fast, June 26, 1644. By Gaspar Hicke, Pastour of Lanracke, in Cornwall, a Member of the Assembly of Divines. London: 1644. P. 42.

blishment of Christ's kingdom : and it was argued, that the 1260 days would then expire. Thus the Parliament were exhorted to believe that their war was against Antichrist, and that, by pushing the contest forward, they should be the instruments of fulfilling the prophecies. It has been common for men, who have dwelt much on the prophetic writings, to construct theories, and to fix the period of our Lord's Second Coming, or the close of the 1260 days. At intervals, since the time now under review, men have spoken very positively on this same subject. The excitement consequent upon the first French Revolution gave rise to various theories, which were proved by the event to be visionary. Some writers now living, a few years since, fixed upon the year 1847 as the great period when Popery should be put down, and the kingdom of Christ set up ; but that year has passed away, and their predictions are not verified. While men wish to be wise beyond what is written, and to fix dates, which the Lord did not intend should be known until decided by the event, such theories will continue to be put forth by vain or presumptuous individuals. But unreasonable as such notions may appear to sober-minded men, they are not so absurd as were those, to which we have alluded, because in the case of the Puritan preachers, it was asserted, that the Parliament then assembled was to be the instrument for the accomplishment of the work.*

Fixing the commencement of the period in the year 360, one of our preachers says : " And if so, then the time comes out in the year 1650, as appears to any that shall adde 1290 to 360. Then shall the Turkish power be broken also, as appears from another account, ver. 7 : and before these things come to passe, Rome shall be destroyed, whose last scene is now acting, and her ruine at hand, and the things that shall come upon her make hast. This is the time, and it is a desirable time."† Another preacher, in

* In one of the *Diurnals* it is alleged, that sundry Cavaliers were guilty of swearing and blasphemous language, and it is asked : " Will not the Omnipotent God avenge their blasphemies ? The Scriptures ascertain us that he will. And if we may give any credite to humane predictions, we may conjecture that their judgment sleepeth not, for many grave divines have foretold, since the eruption of these distractions amongst us, that God would certainly confound the cavaliers, because they began to blaspheme his sacred name." An instance is given from a minister in *Transylvania*, and it is added : " Concurrent with these are *Henry Alsted*, and *Master Booker* in his present Almanacke, that Popery should be consumed : *Et quod scelera monstrosa, portentosa, ac prodigiosa, magnam vim malorum et calamitatum nobis ostendant, portendunt, præmonstrant, atque prænunciant* : which no doubt will fall upon those blasphemous cavaliers." Certaine Informations from several Parts, &c., for the better satisfaction of all such who desire to be satisfied of every weekes passage. From the 7. to the 14. of August, 1643. Number 30. P. 237.

† Things Now-a-Doing : or, the Churches Travaile of the Child of Reformation now-a-bearing. In a Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at their Solemn Fast, July 31, 1644. By Stanley Gower, preacher of God's Word at Martin's, Ludgate, London ; and one of the Reverend Assembly of Divines. London : 1644. P. 4. Mr. Caryl, in a Sermon in 1644, on a Day of Thanksgiving,

the dedication of his sermon to the House of Commons, assures them of an approaching storm, "for the ruin especially of Antichrist's kingdom." "There is a marvellous concurrence and agreement, both in the general comminations of the word against sinnes so aggravated, and in the particular prophecies and predictions of the last times, all of them pitching upon this, as that period of time when the Lord will visit." In the sermon the same subject is pursued at much length. "The great earthquake draws neere, if it be not already entered. I may well put an If to it, it is so probable. I much suspect the last 26 yeares, ever since the troubles in Bohemia. I much more suspect the last seven or eight years, ever since the stirres began in Scotland: but most of all, these last foure yeeres, ever since, that by the endeavours of this noble Parliament, the prophets are begun to be raised as it were from the dead. That this grand earthquake is at hand, or else begun, appeares, because the beast Antichrist is so well stricken in yeares, and so neere his end." After mentioning the 1260 years, he adds, "These yeares grow towards their full period and expiration, for it is well neer so much time since they began."* "Honourable Beloved," says another, "I hope you are they shall make the whore naked (such we read of in the following chapter.) Oh! do not suffer her to make you naked: we read that some of these western and northern nations shall do so, and why not you?"†

Most of the preachers, who prophesied these smooth things to the Parliament, lived long enough to see the folly of their predictions. The year 1650 arrived, and the Long Parliament, who were to be the instruments in putting down Antichrist, lost their power, and became a bye-word, and a reproach among the people. Had Presbytery been set up in all its glory, probably some of the Presbyterian ministers, who had so flattered the Parliament, might have regarded that as a fulfilment of the predictions, on the ground that Presbytery was Christ's government, which, if once established, would break down all opposition. But alas! for

on Revelation, xi. 16, 17, says: "All that I shall say is, that I believe the Providence of God is now about to open the unerring interpretation of it. The actions of these times are now a-making, and will shortly make a full exposition of this Scripture. I am sure the businesse of this day will be as a comment upon that part of it read unto you." P. 4. "If we leave ancient prophecies, and peruse but the historie of these latter yeares, what can we conclude lesse, then the *initials of Christ's kingdome, or at least the prognosticks of his Raigne.*" P. 34.

* *Babylon's Ruining Earthquake, and the Restauration of Zion, &c. &c.* in a Sermon, &c., at their Publique Fast, Aug. 28, 1644. By William Reyner, Pastor of the Church of Christ, at Egham in Surrey, and a Member of the Assembly of Divines. London: 1644. Pp. 27, 28.

† *Christ's Warning Piece: giving notice to every one to watch, and keep their garments.* A Sermon, &c., Oct. 30, 1644. By Francis Woodcock, Minister in London, and one of the Assembly of Divines. London: 1644. P. 28.

Presbytery, its authority never was established in England, for it fell before the power of Independency : and about the year 1650, Cromwell was beginning to occupy that place in the country, which the Presbyterians assigned to their discipline and the Long Parliament. More unlucky prophets never existed than these preachers of war and rebellion. Wild, therefore, as were the prophecies respecting Cromwell by some of his admirers, they were not more so than those which were gravely put forth by Presbyterian ministers from the pulpit relative to the triumphs of the Long Parliament.*

In many of the sermons of the time now under review, the cry for *justice* is put forth in terms which cannot be mistaken. After the selection of some passages, the reader will scarcely avoid the conclusion, that Archbishop Laud was pointed at by these merciless preachers, who, nevertheless, had assumed the character of promulgators of the gospel of peace.† Under the running title of *Achan Troubled*, alluding to the punishment of Achan by the magistrate, one preacher exclaims : “ Oh, what a blessing would he bring upon his posterity, oh, what peace and joy to his own soul here, oh, what a crown of glory to reign with Christ in heaven ! Certainly, I verily persuade myself, all the faithfull people of God in the whole land, out of unfeigned good-will to them, would spend whole daies and nights in praises and prayers to God for them, and if it were fitting, fall downe at their very feet and worship them, ring their bells, clap their hands, make burn-fires at

* In 1641, one of the preachers proclaimed, “ It’s like now the set time of God is come for the fall of Babel.” And alluding to the calculation of the 1260 days, he says : “ it casts the beginning of the accomplishment of this prophecie upon the 1650 yeare. But Rome must fall before that. Therefore I conclude that this is an hopefull season. Take heed of delayes.” Symond’s Sermon. 1641.

† The archbishop alludes himself to the treatment which he received from the mob : “ All was well till I passed through *Newgate Shambles*, and entered into *Cheapside*. There some one prentice first hallowed out : more and more followed the coach (the number still increasing) till by that time I came to the Exchange, the shouting was exceeding great.” “ I told you before, the people came in a tumultuous way to call for justice : and half an eye may see how, and by whom they were set on.” This alludes to Strafford. “ Whensoever there was anything proposed in the *House of Commons*, which it was thought *the Lords* would stick at, or the *King* not grant, by and by the rabble came about the *Houses*, and called for this and that *justice*, as they were prompted.” Laud’s Troubles, &c., 174, 178. On some occasions, in the church in the Tower, Laud was preached at. “ May 15, 1642. I made a shift, between my man and my staff, to go to church. There preached one Mr. Joslin. His text, &c., *Curse ye Meroz*, &c. His personal abuse of me was so foul and so palpable, that women and boys stood up in the church to see how I could bear it.” Ibid. 196. “ On *Sunday, Junii 11*. One came and preached in the Tower. In his sermon, after he had liberally railed on me, he told the auditory, that Mr. Pryn had found a *Book* in my pocket, which would discover great things : this to inflame the people against me.” Ibid. 208. Shortly before the taking of the Covenant, we read : “ One preached in the Tower church, in a buff-coat and a scarf, but had a gown on. He told the people, they were all blessed that died in this cause.” Ibid. 210.

the very report of their names, that as Moses to Aaron, so these unto their country should be like God himself to them." Addressing the House of Commons, he proceeds: "Consecrate yourselves to-day unto the Lord, and if all Achans could be hanged up, *Coram isto sole*, let none remaine untill to-morrow." "In procrastinating their execution you hinder the joy, the jubilee of the church. Oh, what joy was in Israel when Moses, Aaron, and Miriam saw the Egyptians dead upon the shore, then they sung and danced: when Debora and Baracke saw Sisera beheaded, then all, but Meros that did not helpe the Lord, rejoyced: and when England shall see these Achans executed, then shall they rejoyce in the Lord."* In another sermon we read: "But though there be this, yet unlesse the troubles of England, the Achans be brought forth to punishment, and throwne overboard, the sea cannot be appeased, the storm will not down. And when the work is done, rejoyce with fear and trembling, wash your feet in the blood of the wicked, and give glory to God." "And I will pray that justice may be done upon all Achans and troublers of Israel, and when it is done I will rejoyce with trembling."†

These passages are from early sermons. As years wore away, the same cry was heard even in a louder note. It was not unusual to allude to the act of Phinehas, and to commend it to the House of Commons. "Blessed be God, that you have now put into the scales of justice, the *archest prelate* of the land. Believe it, such services as these, are the way to procure unto us a Valley of Achor for a doore of hope."‡ This was uttered and published during the progress of Laud's trial: for he was not executed until the following January. Here the allusion was so direct, that no one could mistake the preacher's meaning; and from this time until the day of his execution, the cry for justice was constantly sounded from the pulpit on the Parliamentary fast-days. "It is somewhat a sad thing to note little justice hath been done on bloody traitorous delinquents, enemies to God and man, more than what the Lord himself hath done by the hand of Warre: it may be that fearful way of execution hath and will continue till the more desirable sword of justice be drawn to purpose, in the cutting off the incendiaries of our combustions: the sons of Belial, whom God hath put into your hands to punish."§ In a sermon previously quoted,

* The Troublers Troubled; or Achan Condemned and Executed. A Sermon, &c., at Westminster, April 4, 1641. By Samuel Fairecloth, Pastor of the Congregation of Ketton, in Suffolke. London: 1641. Pp. 35, 47, 50.

† Two Sermons, &c. By William Bridge. London: 1642. Pp. 27, 28.

‡ Salvation in a Mystery; or a Prospective Glasse for England's Case. A Sermon, &c., at Margaret's in Westminster, &c., at the Monthly Fast, March 27, 1644. By John Bond, Preacher at the Savoy. A Member of the Assembly of Divines. London: 1644. P. 49.

§ The Difficulty of Zion's Deliverance Reformation: together with the activitie

we read: "*Be made white againe in your justice upon delinquents.*" "The Lord says, what a doe is here with fasting, *execute true judgment*, &c., else you fast not to him: looke into the prisons if this fasting day be not a feasting day, and if they mock not God with something else than religious fasting on their *Friday*."* "Is not this the quarrell of the war, because delinquents are protected against the hand of justice. Why should any thinke that God will give into our hands those delinquents that are in armes against the great judicatory of the kingdome; if justice be not done upon those that are in our hands already? You know how Israels sparing the Cananites cost them full deare. How can we expect, but if such as have done wickedly, opposed all reformation, be let alone without just punishment; they will help to marre the reformation when it comes to be settled."†

It is almost inconceivable that such sentiments should have been uttered, by professed ministers of grace, from the pulpit, when assembled for the avowed object of humbling themselves before Almighty God for their sins. What a conception must they have formed of the character of Jehovah, to suppose that the execution of prisoners would propitiate his favour. No wonder that such men were not permitted to bear rule. No marvel that the system, of which they were the advocates, was not allowed to take root in the soil of England.

In cases of heinous guilt, it is remarked by one of the preachers, that some extraordinary method of punishment was to be devised; and it is observed, in the way of illustration, that *All Israel were to stone Achan*. "If this be so," says the preacher, "I wonder what punishment will be found out suitable to the crimes of some malefactors now in question, who have wickedly endeavoured to seduce many whole kingdoms, quite to suppress and extinguish true religion in them all, being undoubtedly, if all things were laid together, of the greatest, if not absolutely the greatest, transgressors that ever were since men were upon the earth."‡ In a sermon on the text in the Book of the Revelations, on *Keeping their garments*, another of these pulpit incendiaries thus presses

which her friends should manifest during the time that her cause is in agitation. A Sermon at Margaret's, Westminster, 26th June, 1644. By Humphrey Hardwick. London: 1644. P. 33.

* Gower's Sermon, 23.

† The Glasse of God's Providence towards his Faithful Ones. In a Sermon at Margaret's, Westminster, Aug. 13, 1644, being an Extraordinary Day of Humiliation. Wherein is discovered the great failings that the best are liable unto: upon which God is provoked some times to take vengeance. The whole is applyed specially to a more carefull observation of our late Covenant, and particularly against the Ungodly Toleration pleaded for under pretence of Liberty of Conscience. By Herbert Palmer, B.D., Minister of God's Word at Ashwell, in Herefordshire. A Member of the Assembly of Divines. London: 1644. Pp. 48, 49.

‡ Babylon's Burning Earthquake, &c. By Reyner. London: 1644. P. 46.

the subject. "For the State *Robe of Justice*. And would God this robe were often worn, and dyed of a deeper colour in the blood of delinquents. It is that which God and man calls for, God repeats it, *Justice, Justice*: we echoing God, cry, *Justice, Justice*: and let me say, perhaps we should not see other *garments so much rol'd in blood*, did we not see these so little."* In a sermon on the conduct of Phinehas, a very favourite subject with these merciless preachers, answering a question, why the execution of justice should be called a plague in Israel, the preacher says, that it was a blessing, though a sad spectacle: and then we have the following illustration: "As for instance, should the Parliament put to death an hundred, or but half an hundred, of the traytors and rebels against the state in a day, it would in one sense be a sad spectacle, a kind of plague, but in another sense a blessing in our Israel." Applying his subject to his audience, he calls for speedy judgment. "Evening justice, noon justice, is not so seasonable, so acceptable to the Lord as morning justice." As an illustration of the union of meekness and pity with justice, he cites the case of Moses. "Moses was the meekest man on earth in his dayes, a man full of pitie, and yet he hangs up many, very many of the heads of the people against the sunne before the Lord." His recommendations are sufficiently clear. "Probably the way to sheath one sword were to draw another; and if the sword of justice did more, the sword of warre would doe lesse: the physitian by way of revulsion stops bleeding by letting blood: and did England bleed enough in the *malignant veine*, we have cause to think, that other sad *issues of blood* would be stopt and staunched." This man's closing words are awful and blasphemous. "And now could I lift up my voyce as a trumpet, had I the shrill cry of an angell, which might be heard from East to West, from North to South, in all the corners of the kingdome, my note should be, *Execution of judgement, execution of judgement, execution of judgement*, that is God's way to pacesse God's wrath: then stood up Phinehas and executed judgement, and so the plague was stayed."†

Now the reader will not fail to perceive, and to mark, that these expressions respecting *justice* and *judgment* were the very same as were used by the rabble in the case of Strafford and then of Laud. Nor can we wonder at the conduct of the mob after

* Christ's Warning-Piece: giving notice to every one to Watch and keep their Garments. A Sermon, &c., Oct. 30, 1644. By Francis Woodcock, Minister in London, and one of the Assembly of Divines. London: 1644. Pp. 30, 31.

† Phinehas's Zeal in Execution of Judgment: or a Divine Remedy for England's Misery. A Sermon, &c., before the House of Lords in the Abby of Westminster, at their late Solemne Monethly Fast, October 30, 1644. By Edmund Stanton, D.D., Pastour of Kingston upon Thames, &c., a Member of the Assembly of Divines. London: 1644. Pp. 4, 5, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30.

such an example in the pulpit. Indeed, it is evident, that the people were instructed how to act by these *preachers of peace*. The ministers of religion raised the cry from the pulpit: the mob took it up in the streets, assembling in tumultuous bodies at Westminster and other places; and the Parliament countenanced the proceedings by giving soft words to the petitioners, and by thanking them for their zeal and piety. Thus Strafford first, and afterwards Laud, were sacrificed to clamour and misrepresentation. The agreement between these pulpit cries and the accounts in the narratives of the period of the actual proceedings of the mob is so remarkable, that no one, who makes himself acquainted with the facts, can avoid the conclusion, that the preachers, the rabble, and the Parliament acted in concert.

The following extract is too remarkable to be omitted. "Let all those who are in authoritie learne to doe justice and execute vengeance upon those Babylonians, which God hath put into their hands: doe it speedily: doe it thoroughly: the doing of justice upon the wicked is the way to safeguard the righteous. Without question the hand of God is upon us, and we lose many in the field, because we are too merciful to those in the fold. Let us doe God's will upon his enemies; and if we can live but by faith, we shall see, that he will either secure our friends: or if the enemies have power and heart, to send them hence, he stands ready to receive them into heaven: and what losse is it to them, to be translated from earthly prisons to heavenly enlargements? *Amen.*"* Again: "To forbear, or be mercifull to these Babylonians, is both injustice and cruelty to the church, ourselves, and posteritie."† It is difficult to decide, whether such men were themselves deluded, or whether they were hypocrites, and anxious to delude others. But the passages, which we have given, prove that religion was awfully prostituted in those times.

Subsequent to the imposition of the Covenant, the preachers had another fruitful topic prepared ready for their use in their pulpit declamations, and their exhortations to war. This celebrated production was of Scottish growth, and was the price paid by the English Parliament for the assistance of their Scottish brethren in the war with their Sovereign. The particulars connected with the taking of the Covenant in England are generally known, being detailed in the histories of the times; but some very curious circumstances are to be gleaned from the sermons of the period, and other contemporary publications. It was foreseen by the Parliament, that they could not reduce the King without the

* *An Alarme Beat up in Zion to Warre against Babylon.* A Sermon before the Committee of the County of Kent, the 13th June, 1644, and by the said Committee required to be published. By Joseph Boden. 1644. P. 32.

† *Ibid.*

aid of the Scots, who, having succeeded so completely at home, would not move into England, except on the condition of the Covenant being taken, in order that the Scottish system of church government might be imposed upon their English brethren. Under these circumstances, the English Parliament consented to receive it, though, at the same time, many, who yielded to the majority, never meant to establish the Scottish discipline, being advocates for Independency and liberty of conscience. How far the system recognised by the Covenant was actually imposed in England, and in what respects it fell short of the hopes of the rigid Presbyterians, will be seen in some papers, which we contemplate, on the divisions between the two great parties subsequent to the close of the war. It may suffice at present to remark, that the Presbyterian system never was completely set up in England. The preachers before the Parliament, however, were generally Presbyterians, and Covenanters in the strictest sense; and, therefore, their sermons were usually occupied with denunciations against Covenant breakers, and with exhortations to observe all its requirements.

It is curious to notice the anxiety of the Presbyterians in England at the time respecting the introduction of the Covenant, and their fears lest something should prevent its reception. Vicars, who exceeds all the bounds of decency in his writings, alludes to these supposed difficulties in his very peculiar manner. He tells us of various plots to "hinder our brethren of Scotland coming in to our ayd and assistance." "Give me leave to acquaint thee with another great design they had upon us, and our precious Parliament, to cross and curb the provident proceedings in our most just defence, namely, their deep endeavours to hinder our honest brethren of Scotland from coming forth to help us: wherein also the hand of God will be wonderfully seen for goode, and the passages whereof most worthy to be recorded and enrolled in the number of these our precious Parliamentary mercies, as most highly conducing and contributing to the honour of our most wise *and wonder-working God*, and the great comfort of all his saints and servants." And what were these endeavours? Nothing more than two letters from his Majesty to his Scottish subjects, deprecating a course of rebellion on their part against their lawful Sovereign. But the Covenant was also mentioned. "The other letter was against their godly and gracious Covenant. But praised for ever be our good God, by whose gracious providence their hearts were most wisely and resolutely established not to be dashed and daunted therein."*

* God's Ark overtopping the World's Waves; or the Third Part of the Parliamentary Chronicle. Collected and published for God's high honour, and the great encouragement of all that are zealous for God, and lovers of their country. By the most unworthy admirer of them, John Vicars, 1646. P. 53, 54.

Being resolved to reduce the King by force of arms, the Parliament hesitated not to pay the price which the Scots demanded for their assistance.* Vicars, who sees a judgment against the King and his friends, and a providence in favour of the Parliament, in everything, actually has the effrontery to assert, that the alleged plot of Challenor and Tompkins produced the taking of a covenant. The character of the man is apparent from the triumphant manner in which he speaks of the death of these two individuals, who, says he, "like wicked Haman, were themselves hanged on the gallows which in their hearts they had set up to have hanged God's innocent and harmlesse Mordecayes. And my prayers are, and ever shall be, with holy Deborah, *Even so let all thine enemies perish, O God.*" After this blood-thirsty prayer, he proceeds to detail the manner of introducing a covenant, the text being pointed to by this marginal note: "The malignant conspirators of Londons covenant produced the taking of an honest and happie covenant by the Parliament and well-affected partie." Then in the text, "But now see good readers, what an admirable sweet effect this intended bitter busines hath produced to those innocent ones to whom so much mischief was prepared. For whereas the conspirators had assurance to surprize the Parliament and citie, and to suffer none to remain, but such as would enter into a most accursed covenant to be true to them in their most wicked designe. It now pleased God to put into the hearts of our most religious Parliamentary statists to enter into a vow and covenant with God."† The term *Covenant*, therefore, was a favourite one with the English Presbyterians, even before the introduction of the Scottish, which is known in history as **THE COVENANT**.

The Covenant was taken by the House of Commons on the 25th of September, 1643, and by the Assembly of Divines on the 29th. Vicars says, "All this being done in such a godly, grave, solemn, and substantial manner, as would extraordinarily have affected any truly honest and godly heart to have beheld it."‡ It was

* In one of the *Diurnals* is a curious passage on the vote in the Commons that the Covenant should be passed. "The Covenant thus passing the Commons, there is no doubt but it will have as quick a dispatch in the Lords on Munday, and with all expedition be transmitted back into *Scotland*, which will doubtlesse give more life to the preparations there, if they be not already upon their march into this kingdome, which we have good grounds to surmise they be, but no letters as yet come to confirm the same." A Perfect Diurnall, &c. No. 7. From Munday the 28. of *August*, till Munday the 4. of *September*, 1643. P. 55.

† *Jehovah Jireh. God in the Mount; or England's Parliamentarie Chronicle.* 1644. Pp. 364, 365.

‡ *Ibid.* 424. "The manner of taking it was thus:—The Covenant was read, and then notice was given that each person should immediately, by swearing thereunto, worship the great name of God, and testifie so much outwardly, by lifting up their hands: and then they went up into the chancel and there subscribed their names in a roll of parchment, in which this Covenant was fairly written. But before it was

ordered to be taken in the London churches on the following Sunday, and in other churches throughout the kingdom at a convenient time. Vicars can scarcely contain himself in his meditation on the mercy thus vouchsafed to England. "A mercie involving myriads of mercies in it, and likely to produce manifold inexpressible nation-happifying blessings from it. A mercie of God's own creating, and promised by the Lord himself, to that people which he intended to make most blessed and happie, as the prophet witnesseth with me. *In those dayes (saith the Lord) the children of Israel shall come, they and the children of Judah together (as now Scotland and England doth) going and weeping (as they and we have done in dayes of humiliation,) and they shall seek the Lord their God. Saying, Come and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten.* That thus, I say, at this time (God's own appointed time) we should thus unanimously enter into a covenant with our God, yea, I say, into such a covenant that (as that holy and reverend divine of Scotland, Master Henderson, said, on the day 'twas taken at Westminster) *were this Covenant painted upon the wall within the Popes palace at Rome, it would doubtless put him into Belshazzers quaking condition.*"*

tendered to be taken generally by the people, the two Houses ordered the Assembly of Divines to frame an exhortation to be read before the taking it." Rushworth, vol. ii. part iii. 475. Heylin says, as it consisted of six articles, that it was compared to the "Statute of the Six Articles in the time of King Henry VIII. This Covenant drawing in the Scots, and thereby giving occasion of shedding infinitely much more blood than those Articles did." Life of Laud, 479. The account of the taking of the Covenant in the *Diurnal* is not a little curious. "*Munday the 25 of September. The whole time this day was spent by the Commons and Assembly of Divines in the taking of the National Covenant. The Commons with their Speaker, and Assembly of Divines, together with the Commissioners from Scotland, being congregated in St. Margaret's Church: in the first place Master White, of Dorchester, a grave divine, and one of the Assembly, entred the pulpit, and prayed neere upon an houre, the better to prepare them to take the Covenant, the which done, Mr. Nye (another of the Assembly) tooke his place and made some briefe observations upon the Covenant, &c.: and upon his conclusion Mr. Hinderson, one of the Scotch Commissioners, in the pewe where he sate, made a short declaration of the approbation of that kingdome in that way of Covenant and associating together: and upon the end of this exhortation, Mr. Nye openly read the Covenant in the pulpit, and at the conclusion every man held up his hand, demonstrating his free consent, and then withdrew themselves into the chancell, and there subscribed their names to a Parchment Roll with the Covenant entred upon it: first, the Members of the House of Commons to one Rolle, and the Ministers of the Assembly to another, and to that part the Ministers subscribed, the Scotch Commissioners, representing the body of that kingdome, and as an assured pledge of the chearefull concurrence of that kingdome (as Mr. Hinderson declared) they also subscribed. And after they had all in this manner subscribed, Dr. Gouge, (being one also of the Assembly,) went up into the pulpitt, and made a very hearty prayer to desire a blessing on that they had performed, and after him Mr. Wilson of Kent, to conclude withall, gave out a collected Psalme to be sung out of part of sundry psalmes, very suitable to that occasion.*" A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament, &c., from the 25. of September till the 2. of October, 1643. Number 11. Pp. 81, 82.

* Ibid. 428.

The Peers took the Covenant at a somewhat later period than the Commons. His majesty issued a proclamation against it on the 9th of October, which excited the ire of Vicars in a marvellous degree. "See (notwithstanding the pious Parliaments, Peeres, and peoples honest aymes, loyaltie, and integritie herein) how those venomous spiders of Oxford suckt poyson out of those fragrant flowers and herb of grace, most satanically slandering and abusing this holy Covenant, and the honest Covenanters: which was most evidently seen in a most impious and audacious paper, under the title of a proclamation, which those vipers at Oxford, most villanously and trayterously using and abusing the King's name, set forth and published." Opposite to this choice extract, in the margin is the following note: "Oxford spiders suck poyson out of the herb of grace." Vicars, after quoting the proclamation, and bestowing upon it a few more opprobrious epithets, proceeds: "Notwithstanding, I say, all the adverse brushes and blusterings against it, this blessed Covenant was since that freely and cheerfully taken, both by the rest of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, &c., and by the judges, lawyers, &c., ministers and people; yea and divers who have since deserted the King's partie and left Oxford, that sink of muddy slime and cage of unclean birds, have heartily (as we hope) and freely taken this Covenant."*

Still there was considerable backwardness on the part of many to take the Covenant, not because they adhered to the King, but because they preferred Independency to Presbytery. The pulpit, therefore, was used by the Presbyterian party to stir up a feeling in its favour. A few extracts will give a sufficient view of the proceedings of the ministers in their zealous support of the Covenanted uniformity. Coleman, in his sermon at the taking of the Covenant, on the 29th of September, alluding to the previous Monday, says: "Which of us hath not his heart yet rejoycing, but even to think upon this worke this last Monday in this place? The like duty was never seene in our dayes: it was, I am persuaded, the very birth-day of this kingdome, borne anew to comfort and successe: our hearts were then so elevated, they are not settled yet. You might here have seen the Honourable House of Commons unanimously with hearts and hands lifted up to the heavens, swearing to the most high God. Here might you have seene our dear brethren the noble and learned Commissioners of Scotland, willingly coming into this covenant of truth. Aske your fathers, consult with the aged, whether ever such a thing were done in their dayes." Alluding to the ministers who took a part in the proceedings on the 25th, he says: "Who was not touched with that feeling prayer made by that man of God: that

* Parliamentary Chronicle. Part the Third. Pp. 90, 91, 92.

godly exhortation, which followed from another : that pithy relation by that man of name : that soule-affecting thanksgiving, wherewith a godly docter closed the day ? and that no lesse piety and love of God might appeare in you, after you resolved upon the worke ; you desired that the ordinance might be sanctified to you by the word of God and prayer : you moved me to this employment, and got it ordered accordingly.* The names of the individuals, who assisted on the 25th, and who are designated as "that man of God," "that man of name," and "a godly doctor," were White, Nye, Henderson, and Dr. Gouge.

Coleman exercises some ingenuity in meeting objections to the Covenant. Thus one objection relates to the possibility of the settlement of Episcopacy by the Parliament ; and amongst his reasons for not thinking it possible, he says, alluding to bishops, "All reformed religions in the world have expelled them as incompatible with reformation. They have set three kingdomes together by the eares, for the least and worst of causes, which now lye weltering in their own blood, ready to expire. Experience now shews there is no inconvenience in their want ; either in Scotland or in England."† Soon after the delivery of Coleman's sermon, Caryl, another fiery preacher of the same party, was called upon by the House of Commons to preach on the same subject. We take a few extracts from his sermon. "We are met this day," says he, "to lay the foundation of one tower, and to pull up the foundation of another. Wee are pulling up the foundation of Babel's Tower, and we are laying the foundation for Sion's Tower."‡ To stir up the people in the cause of the Parliament in opposition to their sovereign, they are told by this preacher of the gospel ; "Unlesse a man be free of his purse, as well as of his paines, he bids not up to the demands of this Covenant, nor payes up his own promise, when he enter'd it."§ We

* Coleman's Sermon, &c., at the taking of the Covenant, September 29, 1643. Pp. 17, 18, 19. Heylin says of Coleman : "Though otherwise a principal Erastian in point of government." Life of Laud, 479. The day after Coleman's sermon some consultations took place relative to those members who had not taken the Covenant, and more time was granted. "But they then tooke the Covenant in a very solempne manner in the House, the whole House sitting uncovered while the Covenant was reading, and at the conclusion those that tooke it held up their hands in token of joyning therein, and afterwards subscribed their names to the same Parchment Roll as the rest of the House had done before." Perfect Diurnall, &c. No. 11, p. 88.

† Ibid. 37, 38.

‡ The Nature, Solemnity, Grounds, Property, and Benefits, of a Sacred Covenant. Together with the duties of those who enter into such a Covenant. In a Sermon at Westminster, at that Publique Convention (ordered by the Honourable House of Commons) for the taking of the Covenant, by all such as willingly presented themselves, upon Friday, October 6, 1643. By Joseph Caryl, &c. London: 1643. P. 10.

§ Ibid. 13.

have previously given certain passages from the sermons of the day, in which the preachers express an opinion, that the prophecies respecting the glorious period of the church were about to receive their accomplishment. Caryl chimes in with others on this subject, and even imagines that the Covenant may contribute something towards the fulfilment of the prophetic records. Alluding to Babylon, he asks: "Are not these the daies, and this the time, when out of the North there cometh up a nation against her? As face answers to face in the water, so doe the events of these daies answer, if not the letter, yet much of the mystery of the Prophecy."* The closing paragraph is very characteristic of the men and of their principles. "You that are for consultation, goe to Counsell; you that are for execution, go on for acting; you that are for exhorting the people in this worke, attend to exhortation; you that are soldiers, draw your swords; you that have estates, draw your purses; you that have strength of body, lend your hands; and all you that have honest hearts, lend your prayers, your aids, your tears, for the prosperous success of this great worke."†

In the dedication of some sermons on the Covenant in the following December, Mr. Case actually designates the Parliament and the Assembly "God's two faithful witnesses now in England." It would seem that some persons scrupled at the Covenant in consequence of the vow to extirpate Episcopacy: and Case, like others of his brethren, sets himself to meet this objection by abusing prelacy and prelates. "What is it that hath destroyed Gospel, order, government, and worship, in these kingdoms? Hath it not been prelacy? What hath hindered the reformation of religion, but prelacy?"‡ Of the bishops, he says: "Look into their families, and they were for the most part the vilest in the diocesse, a very nest of unclean birds. Produce me one in this last succession of bishops, (I hope the last) that had not his hands imbrued more or lesse in the blood of the faithful ministry. But was not the calling as bad as the men? You may as well say so of the Papacy in Rome; for surely the prelacy of England, which we sware to extirpate, was the very same fabrick and

* Ibid. 20.

† Ibid. 43.

‡ Baillie, writing to one of his friends, says: "The Covenant rejects absolutely all kinds of Episcopacy—is expressly for rooting out of all Prelacy. The royalists would be well content in any imaginable kind of Episcopacy, being assured, in their own time, to break in pieces and rend all the caveats we can put on it: so it is necessary to hold to that ground, wherein all here do agree, and to which the royalists themselves are on the point of yielding, that no Episcopacy here is tolerable, as being a mere human invention, without the word of God, which wherever it lodged, has been a very unhappy guest." Letters, ii. 84. It is evident that Baillie expected all persons and parties to submit, even the king and his supporters: but the House of Commons intended no such thing. In this matter, therefore, the wary Scots were overreached.

modell of *Ecclesiasticall Regiment* that is in that *Antichristian World*: yea such an evill it is, that some divines venerable for their great learning, as well as for their eminent holinesse, did conceive *sole Episcopall jurisdiction* to be the very *Seal of the Beast*, upon which the *fifth Angel* is now pouring out his *Viall*.*

After an enumeration of the alleged evils of prelacy, he proceeds in the following strain: "Let us call her forth, and say, as thy sword, *Prelacy*, hath made many women *childlesse*, many a faithful minister *peoplelesse*, *houselesse*, and *libertylesse*, their wives *husbandlesse*, their children and their congregations *fatherlesse* and *pastorlesse* and *guidelesse*; so thy mother *Papacy* shall be made *childlesse* among *harlots*, your diocesse *Bishoplesse*, and your sees *Lordlesse*, and your places shall know you no more. Come, my brethren, I say, and fear not to take this *Agag* (*Prelacy* I mean, not the Prelates) and hew it in pieces before the Lord." The Covenant, in the estimation of this individual, was to effect wonders. "I am humbly confident that the same shores shall not bound this Covenant, which bound the two non-covenanting nations: but as it is said of the Gospel, so it will be verified of this Gospel Covenant. *The sound thereof will go into all the earth, and the words of it to the ends of the world*." Case, however, proved a false prophet, for, so far from spreading over all the world, the Covenant never took root in England. He calls upon his audience to notice, "That this is the last Physick that ever the church shall take or need: it lies clear in the text: for it is an everlasting Covenant."†

We discover the feelings of the various parties, who were the actors in the Covenant, from Baillie's Letters. It is evident that the Lords were not so ready to take it as is insinuated by Vicars, in the passage previously given.‡ The House consisted but of very few, so that Baillie calls them "the little House of Lords." "Being all agreed, as the Assembly and House of Commons did swear and subscribe that Covenant, the little House of Lords did delay, for sake of honour as they said, till they found our nation willing to swear it as then it was formed."§ Baillie does not

* The Quarrell of the Covenant, with the Pacification of the Quarrell. In three Sermons, &c. By Thomas Case. London: 1644. Pp. 45, 47.

† Ibid. 51, 62, 66.

‡ That all the parties intended to deceive each other is pretty clear from the results that followed. Sir Philip Warwick says:—"Here the Commissioners of the several nations endeavour to outwitt one another: and so the Scots must alter our English Church, according to the best reformed churches: (and that must necessarily be the Kirk of Scotland) and sly Sir Henry Vane adds according to the Word of God: and that would as tolerably propose for a pattern Independency. And thus they willingly cozened themselves, and one another, and as many more as would swallow this gilded pill." Warwick's Memoires of the Reigne of Charles I. 266.

§ Baillie's Letters, &c., i. 392. Baillie says that the Covenant had passed, with a

conceal the differences between the Scotch commissioners and the Parliament, with respect to the Covenant. "The English," says he, "were for a Civil League, we for a religious Covenant. When they were brought to us in this, and Mr. Henderson had given them a draught of a Covenant, we were not like to agree on the frame: they were, more than we could assent to, for keeping of a door open in England to Independency. Against this we were peremptor."^{*} The Scots saw the necessity of assisting the Parliament against his majesty, or that he would prove superior in the contest: yet they were resolved to refuse, except on one condition, that of the Covenant. To this the Parliament at last consented, because they could not bring his majesty into subjection without the aid of the Scots.

During the remaining years of the war we find the preachers pressing the observance of the Covenant in their Fast sermons: and, it is evident, from their complaints, that many of the members of the House of Commons were indifferent on the subject: in short, that the principles of the Independents were rapidly advancing in the Parliament as well as in the army. One preacher, after other advice to the Commons, says: "The third thing I desire may be specially cared for is the general pressing and prosecution of the National Covenant: a thing pleasing to God, profitable to the kingdoms by which there is, and through God's blessing may be, the most famous blow given to the whore of Babylon and her bastard impes, that ever yet was. Now to have this sticke amongst us, or laid aside, whilst malignants and sectaries live in our bosome, blessing, and in secret applauding themselves, that they have neither taken this, nor any of your former protestations: many moneths have passed over and no account made, nor any questioned or dealt with for refusing."[†] Another individual attributes the continuance of the war to the

little alteration, before the Commissioners arrived. "This they took in evil part, that any letter should be changed without our advice." He acknowledges, "the chief aim of it was for the propagation of our church discipline in England and Ireland." Ibid. i. 393. Heylin intimates that the hope of bringing Laud to punishment influenced the Scots. "And yet all these temptations were not of such prevalency with the principal Covenanters, as an assurance which was given them of calling *Canterbury*, their supposed old enemy, to a present trial; who having been imprisoned upon their complaint almost three years since, seems to have been preserved all this while for no other purpose than for a bait to hook them in for some new employments." Life of Laud, 477. Heylin adds: "The taking whereof conduced as visibly to the destruction of this most reverend and renowned prelate, as to the present subversion of the government and liturgy." He says of the fourth article: "which article seems to have been made to no other purpose but to bring the archbishop to the block, as the like clause was thrust into the *Protestation*, anno 1641, to make sure work with the Earl of Strafford." He adds, that the Covenant "was swallowed without much chewing by the Houses of Parliament, who were not then in a condition to deny them any thing." Ibid. 478.

^{*} Ibid. 381.

[†] Hardwick's Sermon. June, 1644. P. 33.

neglect of the Covenant. As a remedy he would have the Covenant read every Fast day. "Let me now make another humble motion, *for the Covenant to be read in the close of every such day.* I cannot but again say, I am much afraid, it hath been little pondered by the most of us since we have taken it. And undoubtedly the great businesse aimed at in every rightly observed Fast, is the renewing of a Solemne Covenant with God. It is a duty altogether indispensable. And unto this Covenant we have very great bonds lying upon us to tye us most strictly. *We lifted up our hands to God in it, in the day of our calamity, in the time of our feare and trouble, when we were very low. And since that time God hath raised us up very high. I do not forget that the sword was unsheathed and raging among us, before this Covenant was entered into. But I must needs believe that the cause why the Covenant hath not overcome the sword, is because we have not kept it so faithfully as we should, and that upon this not keeping it we are to charge all the vengeance that we have smarted with, ever since we took it, and so it will be fit for us to doe, ever hereafter.*"*

Between the rigid Presbyterian ministers in London, and the Scottish Commissioners, there was a mutual understanding, that every necessary step should be taken to hurry on the Parliament to establish the Covenanted Uniformity. "How much trouble and hazzard," says one of the ministers with a view to gratify the Scots, "have our deare brethren of Scotland undergone to themselves and kingdom to keepe you from the danger of popery and slavery?" Baillie magnifies the Scots for coming to the rescue of the English in their war with the sovereign. "Surely it was a great act of faith in God, huge courage, and unheard of compassion, that moved our nation to hazard their own peace, and venture their lives and all, for to save a people so irrecoverably ruined both in their own and the world's eyes."† According to Baillie, therefore, the Parliament was saved from destruction by the Covenant: for on no other condition could they obtain assistance from Scotland. The preacher previously quoted winds up a catalogue of alleged mercies with a laudation of the Covenant. "Instead of the *High Commission*, which was a scourge to many godly ministers, we have an *Honourable Committee*, that *turns the wheele* upon such as are scandalous and unworthy. In the roome of *Jeroboam's Priests*, burning and shining lights are multiplied. In the place of a *Long Liturgie*, wee are in hope of a pithy *Directory*. Instead of *Prelatical Railes* about the Table, wee have the Scripture *railes of church discipline* in good forward-

* Palmer's Sermon. August, 1644. P. 42.

† Baillie, i. 397.

nesse. Where Popish *altars* and *crucifixes* did abound, wee begin to see more of *Christ crucified*. Instead of the *Prelates Oath*, wee have a *solemne Covenant*, ingaging us to indeavoure *reformation*, yea and the *extirpation of Popery*, and *prelacy* itselfe.”*

After some disasters to the Parliamentary army in the West of England, at a special Fast, Newcomen, one of the preachers, thus attributes them to the non-observance of the Covenant. “I am sure you have not forgotten, for it is not yet a full yeare since you did with your hands lifted up to the most High, *even in this place*, sweare a SOLEMNE LEAGUE AND COVENANT, in a most solemne and religious manner. I may say to you as *Joshua* did unto the people when they had renewed their covenant with God, *Behold these stones are a witnesse unto you*, that you have made a *Solemne Covenant with God*, as ever people made. Sure you have not forgotten it. I am sure *God hath not*: God remembereth it, God hath remembred it in mercy all this yeare hitherto: and now God seemes to begin to *remember it in Judgment*. Methinks this stroake of God upon us so *neere that time twelvemonth*, wherein we took the Covenant, seemes to speake as if God intended once a yeare to require an account of this Covenant at the hand of England. *The Jews have a Proverbe, Non est pœna super Israelem in qua non sit uncia vituli*. There is no punishment upon Israel, in which there is not one ounce of the golden calfe, meaning thus: That was such a transgression, as it is in God’s remembrance every time he plagues them, and hath some influence in every calamity that falls upon them. In like manner we may say, *Non est Pœna super Angliam in qua non sit uncia Fœderis*. We fall under no punishment, but there is an ounce of our Covenant in it.” He then enumerates their sins against the Covenant. “What hath the Assembly done? What hath the Parliament done in the *reformation* of religion? When will some order be settled for the worship of God? When will the government of the church be established according to the word of God? I feare God takes it very grievously, that since we have made a Covenant for reformation, we have spent now a yeare and done so little.”†

* The Season for England’s Selfe Reflection and advancing Temple-Work. In a Sermon, &c., at Margaret’s, Westminster, August 13th, 1644, being an Extraordinary Day of Humiliation. By Thomas Hill, B.D., &c. London: 1644. P. 28. Baillie has the following passage on this sermon, and that of Palmer’s, on the same day, already mentioned: “On Tuesday last there was a Solemn Fast. Mr. Palmer and Mr. Hill preached that day to the Assembly two of the most Scottish and free sermons that ever I heard any where. The way here of all preachers, even the best, has been to speak before the Parliament with so profound a reverence as truly took all edge from their exhortations, and made all applications toothless and adulterious. That style is much changed of late: however, these two good men laid well about them, and charged public and parliamentary sins strictly on the backs of the guilty: amongst the rest, their neglect to settle religion according to the Covenant.” *Letters*, ii. 51.

† A Sermon tending to set forth the right use of the Disasters that befall our

He adds: "We have covenanted to *bring incendiaries, malignants, and evill instruments to punishment*. Since this Covenant God hath delivered many of yours and the kingdoms chief enemies into your hands. I will not inquire what justice you have done upon them." Liberty of conscience also is lamented as a sin against the Covenant. Upon this subject I shall dwell at large in another paper in detailing the squabbles between the Independents and the Presbyterians: but the following passage is too remarkable to be omitted in this notice of the use made of the Covenant in the pulpit to inflame the public mind. "If once we come to this that any man be suffered to teach what he pleaseth, to seduce whom he lists, to be of what faith or religion seemes good in his own eyes, *Farewell Covenant, farewell reformed religion, farewell the peace and glory of England*. If that day once come. It is not usuall, nay, it is not possible, that they which love God sincerely should desire to cherish differing religions, for it is most certain, he that admits contrary religions beleeves neither of them."^{*}

At this time Independency was making rapid progress in the army, the Parliament, and in the country; and even in the Assembly it was strong enough to thwart the Presbyterians in the debates on church discipline. Though the Covenant had been taken a year, yet nothing had been substituted in the room of Episcopal government. It was easy to pull down: not so easy to build up. The covenanted system, therefore, never did prevail. It was merely tolerated, as any other system. The allusion to the punishment of malignants is in the usual merciless strain: and it cannot fail to strike the reader, that, had the voice of the pulpit been heeded as the preachers wished, England would have exhibited a more awful scene of bloodshed than was actually witnessed: for had the Parliament put their prisoners to death, a fearful retaliation would have been inflicted by the royalists. No thanks, however, to the Presbyterian preachers, that such a line of proceeding was not adopted.

Newcomen says, moreover, "we have covenanted against *profanenesse*. But what hath been *done* against it? True it is you have made pious ordinances for the *strict observation of the Lords Day, and dayes of solemn humiliation*. But for want of a strict course prescribed, for the bringing of such as shall yet dare to profane these dayes to severe and exemplary punishment, not only in the *country*, but here in the *citie*, and before your eyes

Armies. Preached, &c., at a Fast specially set apart upon occasion of that which befell the Army in the West, September 12, 1644. By Matthew Newcomen. London: 1644. P. 35, 36. The writer says: "had we kept this Covenant, O what saints should we have bin: all our *families* would have been as so many *churches*: England would by this time have been the *Holy Island*." Ibid.

^{*} Ibid. 38, 40.

Sabbaths and Fasts are as much contemned as ever." He then alludes to some notorious crime—a crime evidently known to the public, and committed, not by a malignant, but by one of their own party. "There was a thing done, not many dayes since, not farre from this place, I think the like was hardly ever done before in *England*, or in the Christian world, I meane that *scandalous abominable* —— I know not what to call it, I doubt not but you know what I meane: how farre your wisdomes will thinke fit to take notice of it, and enquire after it, I know not. But certainly it was such an *affront* to the *justice of God*, such a *dare* to the *power of his wrath*, now burning against us: such a *scorne* to the *whole nobility, gentry, and Parliament*, as both your *owne honour* and *God's* call upon you to show your just indignation against it. Had some young gallants in *Rome* (while heathen) played such a trick, the *censores morum* would have at least degraded them."*

This picture of the state of morals under the domination of the Covenant is anything but flattering. A more wretched picture, indeed, was never given by the Puritans of the state of things under the prelates.

Another worthy, alluding to Solomon's apostacy, warns the Parliament of the like sin, by reminding them of the Covenant. "*Consider his failings, and beware of them.* He had many wives, even *seven hundred wives, and three hundred concubines*. Let not us have as many religions. To prevent the like we have a Covenant. God and his angels are witnesses of it. The publique faith of the kingdome is engaged to it. The stones of *these walls*, and the timber of *this house* will rise up in judgment against us if we forget it. Copies of it are by your owne order sent abroad to all the *reformed churches*. And though there be no comparison between a man's covenant and God's, yet I hope I may say of this, it is *holy, just, and good*. *Urge it, renew it, but above all keepe it*. And if we be stedfast herein, we shall be wiser in this respect than *Solomon* himselve."†

On some occasions, however, a triumphant, rather than a despairing, tone was adopted by the preachers. Thus, after a victory obtained near York by the forces of the Parliament, consisting of English and Scottish troops, we find one of the Presbyterian ministers attributing the success to their observance of the Covenant. "Let all men fortifie their hearts against the evils that follow good successe, that wee be not made more loose in our Covenant than before, for we have reason to account this day to be the fruit of our entering and holding fast unto that: I say this

* Ibid. 39.

† Solomon's Choice; or a President for Kings and Princes, and all that are in authority. In a Sermon, &c., before the House of Commons, &c., September 25, 1644. By Lazarus Seaman, &c. London: 1644. Pp. 44, 45.

day, which shews you the two nations formerly *two*, now made one in a covenant, in the field together, in a victory together, and in a pulpit together, paying unto God his praises.”*

These are only a sample of the allusions to the Covenant in the sermons of the period now under review; but they are amply sufficient to enable the reader to form a judgment of the state of religion in those melancholy times. Such an awful desecration of the pulpit and of sacred things was never witnessed in England. We may well wonder, after contemplating the picture, that the confusions were not even greater than was actually the case. Nor will it escape the reader's notice, that these exhortations to war, and to the execution of justice, under the plea of religion, were the fruit of the Presbyterian system, which the Scots and their adherents in England wished to set up in every parish throughout the kingdom. Great as was the guilt of the Independents in bringing their Sovereign to the block, we cannot but be thankful to that party for preventing one of the worst species of spiritual tyranny ever exhibited in the world. The magnitude of the deliverance will appear in this series of papers, especially when we come to the consideration of the subject of liberty of conscience and toleration.

The Scots, as has been observed, were the prime movers in the business of setting up Presbytery; but they had some zealous supporters in England, chiefly among the parochial ministers, and especially in London. Yet it is now made evident from Baillie's Letters, that the Scots, though they did not publish their dislike, were opposed to certain things practised in England by those ministers even who regarded themselves as thorough-paced Presbyterians, and were ready to risk all for the Covenant. We have an illustration of this fact in Baillie, which is not a little amusing. Pym, it will be remembered, was a great leader of the Presbyterian party in the House of Commons. At his funeral, which took place in December, 1643, Stephen Marshall was appointed to preach before the two Houses of Parliament in Westminster Abbey. Not a little adulation of the deceased was poured out in the course of the sermon. “I am called to speak of a man so *eminent* and *excellent*, so *wise* and *gracious*, so *good* and *usefull*, whose works so praise him in every gate, that if I should altogether hold my tongue, the children and babes (I had almost said the stones) would speake. Upon whose herse could I scatter the sweetest flowers, the highest expressions of *rhetoricke* and *eloquence*, you would thinke I fell short of his worth: you would

* *Magnalia Dei ab Aquilone*: set forth in a Sermon before the Lords and Commons, Thursday, July 18, 1644, being the day of publike Thanksgiving for the great victory obtained against Prince Rupert and the Earl of Newcastle's Forces near Yorke. By Richard Vines, &c. London: 1644. P. 21.

say, *this very name*, JOHN PYM, expresseth more than all my words could doe, should I say of *him*, as they of *Titus*, that he was *Amor et deliciae generis humani*.* “Nor could the offers of the greatest promotions (which *England* could afford) in any measure be a block in his way, in *that hee* was as another *Moses*, (the only man whom God went about to bribe,) who desired that *hee* and *his* might never swim, if the cause of *God* and his people did ever sink.”†

This sermon, it appears, was displeasing to the Scottish Commissioners, though no intimation was given of their displeasure to their brethren in England. Baillie, however, in his correspondence with his friends in Scotland, did not conceal his sentiments on any subject: and highly amusing is his account of the funeral sermon for Pym. In a letter to Spang, he thus alludes to Marshall’s sermon. “On Wednesday, Mr. Pym was carried from his house to Westminster, on the shoulders, as the fashion is, of the chief men in the Lower House, all the House going in procession before him, and before them the Assembly of Divines. Marshall had a most eloquent and pertinent funeral sermon, which we would not hear: for funeral sermons we must have away with the rest.”‡ It is not difficult to understand what he meant by “the rest”—namely, all the practices which were distasteful to the Scots, so resolved were they to impose their own system in all its details. They would not attend the sermon: yet their absence was not resented by the English brethren, because the assistance of the Scots was still needed in the war against the King. One cannot but contrast the bigotry of the Scottish system with the moderation of the Church of England, which has given no rules respecting occasional sermons, leaving such matters to the option of her ministers. The Scots, however, were outwitted by the Parliament: and in his subsequent letters, as will be seen when we come to the question of toleration, Baillie charges most

* The Churches Lamentation for the good man his losse: in a Sermon to the two Houses of Parliament, and the Reverend Assembly of Divines, at the Funerall of that excellent man, JOHN PYM, Esquire, in the Abbey Church at Westminster. By Stephen Marshall, B.D. London: 1644. P. 25.

† Ibid. 29.

‡ Baillie’s Letters, &c. i. 409. Vicars, who contrives to see a judgment whenever it suits his purpose, alluding to a victory, says: “And one thing more (as a very observable passage of God’s Providence heerin) I cannot omit, namely, that the knowledge of this victory (as wee were credibly enformed) came to *Oxford*, just upon the very same day on which they were making Bonfires at *Oxford* for joy of the death of that ever most worthily honoured, and most pious and prudent *Patriot*, one of the most famous and never to be forgotten *Atlases* of this *Church* and *State*, I mean learned and religious Mr. *John Pym*: which relation of their loss at *Alton* could not but be as it were a strong showre of rain to quench the prophane flames of their wicked fiery jollity at our loss of so precious and choice an instrument of so much good as God had made him to the *Cause* and *Kingdome*.” *Parliamentarie Chronicle*, part iii. p. 99.

of the members with Erastianism, and asserts, that they were more troublesome than all the sectaries.

What might have been the consequences of the full establishment of Presbytery in England, it is impossible to say: but that they must have been pernicious is evident, both from the attempts at the time in question, and also from the conduct of the party after the Revolution. Subsequent to 1688, Presbytery, though established in Scotland, was under restraint by means of the operation of the Toleration Act: but the conduct of the Presbyterians to the Scottish Episcopalians, who for a long time were not protected by the Toleration Act, was so outrageous, that it could only result from a most merciless system. At a comparatively late period, some of the Scottish ministers maintained the doctrines of the Covenant in all their vigour: and their acts proved, that they would have persecuted even to the death, had they been armed with power. The rise of Independency disarmed the Presbyterians of the sword of authority; so that their system was only permitted, not imposed, in England previous to the Restoration. And in Scotland, it was suppressed from 1660 to 1688. At the same time, the ministers caused their voice to be heard during the period previous to the Revolution: and for many years subsequent to that event, the intolerant character of the system was indicated by the treatment which the Episcopalians received, as well as by the writings of many of the preachers. A very curious sermon was published in 1713, which almost exceeds any of the Parliamentary productions for the violence of its language, and the bitterness of its spirit. It was directed against prelacy, and was ushered into the world by a preface, and under the running title, *Prelacy an Idol, and Prelates Idolaters*. It had been preached previous to the Revolution, as it seems from the preface. The writer says: "As the Holy Scriptures, and this sermon do condemn prelacy, so these lands were solemnly sworn to extirpet prelacy: we need, therefore, by this, or the like sermon, to be put in mind of our engagements to, and horrid breach of covenant with, God." In 1713, it seems, that some of the Scottish ministers were becoming wiser and more moderate: for this author says: "This sermon, by necessary consequence, condemns the hateful neutrality, and connivance at prelacy, in the ministers of Scotland at this day." The sermon abounds in passages, which prove the author to have been, in heart, a most violent persecutor. "O, what apostacy hath followed this Idol of Prelacy. I fear all the Bairns that are baptized by the Curats, God reckons them as children of whoredom: when the *sword, famine, and pestilence* will rage in this land, then shall ye say, *Wo to Idols*, wo is me that ever I heard a Curate." Alluding to the wars in favour of Presbytery, he asks: "Did all these worthies fight, to die up for nothing?"

There are some folk looks on these things as matters of so small concernment, that they think God, and all his gracious servants fools, that ever did make such a work about it, as they have done.”*

“Prelacy and the curats are now generally disowned by all the godly in the land. Hath not the Lord so dreadfully witnessed against this weed, that all who adhere to it are so cursed, that they carry the mark of hell upon them.”†

It will be seen that the extracts refer to the period prior to the Revolution; but they were printed in 1713, because the author considered the mere toleration of Episcopacy as an evil of the greatest magnitude. Strange as is the fact, yet such is the case, that this sermon was reprinted in 1742: and on what account does the reader imagine? The reason is given in an advertisement. “The foregoing Preface was prefixed to a former edition of this sermon, printed 1713. And the design of reprinting the same at this time is, for the conviction and reclaiming of those in this church, who, contrary to our avow’d principles which we are solemnly sworn to, have followed after, and countenanced, *Mr. George Whitefield*, who openly professed himself to be of the communion of the Church of England: and also as a seasonable warning to the professors of the Reformation in Scotland, against the evil and danger of Prelacy, whereunto the present Latitudinarian scheme of principles, introduced by the said *Mr. Whitefield*, seem preparatory.” The appearance of Whitfield in Scotland raised no small commotion among the Presbyterians, though in matters of doctrine there was no great difference between them. An address was published at the time of the appearance of the above sermon, which shows, that the old covenanting principles were even then flourishing in some parts of Scotland.‡ The very title, which I give in the note, is a curiosity. But the great objection to Whitfield was, his avowal of the principles of the Church of England, though every one knows how loosely he conformed to her ceremonies, and how lightly he regarded her discipline. The author says: “I am now fully convinced, that the preacher we speak of, his ministration in Scotland, are taking the

* Prelacy an Idol, and Prelates Idolaters: all Prelatists, maintainers of, and compliers with Prelacy, charged with Idolatry and Proven Guilty. A Sermon. By the Reverend and Learned Mr. James Fraser of Brae, Minister of the Gospel at Culross. Second Edition. Glasgow: 1742. Pp. 23, 25, 26.

† Ibid. 31.

‡ A Warning against countenancing the Ministrations of Mr. George Whitefield, Published in the New Church at Bristow, upon Sabbath, June 6, 1742. Together with an Appendix upon the same subject, wherein are shewn, that Mr. Whitefield is no minister of *Jesus Christ*: that his call and coming to Scotland are scandalous: that his practice is *disorderly* and *fertile* of disorder: that his *whole* doctrine is, and his success must be, *diabolical*: so that people ought to avoid him, from duty to God, to the Church, to themselves, to posterity, and to him. By Adam Gib, Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh. Edinburgh: 1742.

field against reformation work therein : and that the countenancing thereof is contrary to the Word of God, our Confession of Faith, and our Covenants National and Solemn League.* Whitfield is designated *This Foreigner*. "As this foreigner comes here without any scriptural mission or call : so his known and avowed principles are prelatical, and thus contrary to the Word of God. That Mr. W——d is no minister of Christ, appears from the manner wherein that office he professes to bear is conveyed to him. He derives it from a diocesan bishop."† Thus Whitfield could find no mercy at the hands of the Covenanters, because he allowed of his orders from a bishop : though it is evident, from his principles and practice through life, that the want of such orders would not have prevented him from exercising the ministerial office.

I pause for the present, intending to resume the inquiry into the principles of the period of the Long Parliament, as evidenced by the language of the pulpit. In the present article, I have been able only to touch upon a few topics, and those chiefly of a preliminary character ; but as we proceed, we shall meet with not a few direct exhortations to war and bloodshed from those, who professed to be preachers of peace and righteousness.

THOMAS LATHBURY.‡

BURNET'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

(Continued from p. 327.)

MY DEAR SIR,— I send this month, with Baker's notes, the first article from his MS. Appendix, most of the pieces in which are from printed books, but as Baker has thought it worth while to copy them out, I have not hesitated to do the same, especially as in the present case a copy of the book from which the extract is made is not to be found in the University Library.

I am, very truly yours,

J. E. B. MAYOR.§

St. John's Coll., September 10.

* Collection. Book III., No. X. [line 1. The words of St. John.] [St] deest in MS. orig.

* Ibid. 2.

† Ibid. 3, 10.

‡ I may mention, in reference to the letter of "M." in the last number, that Leighton's death is not recorded in the Lambeth Register. This fact was kindly communicated to me by the rector of Lambeth, the Rev. C. B. Dalton, to whom I applied in the month of July.

§ The following have escaped me in my last communication :—P. 311, for *concernunt*, read *concernunt*; p. 318, line 7, for *Edoardus*, read *Edvardus*; p. 322, note †, for *ust*, read *est*.

Ibid. [*among the signatures Joannes London is placed before Cuthbertus Dunelmen.*] In the original MS. Cuth. Dunelm. is plac'd before Johan. London.

No. XI. [p. 178. Injunctions to the Clergy made by Cromwell.] These Injunctions are printed under this Title: *Injunctions exhibited the — daye of — anno 1538.* At the end thus: *Thomas Berthelet Regius Impressor excudebat cum privilegio.*

Ibid. [line 7 from foot. one little lesson.] *lyke.* P. 181. [line 8. the Tithes] *his.* Ibid. [line 18. or of Divine.] or Divine. Ibid. [line 20. transported] transposed. Ibid. [line 35. the other suffrages *add*] beinge most necessary & effectuall. Ibid. [line 41. shall seem convenient] shall be sene convenient.

No. XV. [Letters Pat. for printing the Bible in English.] v. Rymer *Acta publica*, tom. xiv. p. 649, 745. [See *Jenkyns's Cranmer, Letter 253.*] Ibid. [*at the end Baker has added.*] *willyng & commanding all Maires, Shirefes, &c. to be ayding &c. Witness ourself at Westm. the fourteenth day of Nov. [Burnet dates it Nov. 13.]*

No. XVII., p. 193. [See *Sir H. Ellis in the introduction to Letter 142 of Series II., where he says of this Letter from Cromwell*; "In the first vol. of his History Burnet has printed another letter from Cromwell to the King, . . . still more incorrect than this (Letter 142,) and with great omissions; so much so, that with the exception of two or three paragraphs, it hardly appears to be the same letter."]

No. XIX., p. 197. [Judgment of Convocation for annulling the marriage with Ann of Cleve.] [See *State Papers*, vol. i. part ii. No. 138.]

No. XXI. p. 201. [Margin. Ex MSS. D. Stillfleet. *sic.*] These MSS. did not belong to Dr Stillfleet, but to the Earl of Salisbury, and Right should have been done here to that Family, by entituling it to these MSS.; w^{ch} probably descended from my old Ld. Burgley [*sic*], and were two of these six or seven volumes spoke of by this Author in this vol., p. 171.

Ibid. [line 18 from foot. prejudice to the truth,] of. Ibid. [line 17 from foot. in *hæc* parte] *hac.* Ibid. [line 16 from foot. I think that the Scriptures do.] I think that though the Scripture do. Ibid. [line 14 from foot. 1 Tim. 10.] 1° ad Tymoth. tertio.

P. 202. [line 4. vocem Sacramenti, mihi.] v. S., hactenus mihi. [Ibid. line 5. in *hæc* significatione] *hac.*

Ibid. [line 12. which signifieth.] which word signifieth.

P. 203. [line 5. Sacramentum; which is as much to say in English, as a Mystery, a secret.] Sacramentum. Howbeit in the Greek tongue it is called Misterium &c. Ibid. [line 20 from foot. The Ancient Doctors.] MS. Authors. Ibid. [line penult. Augustine.] MS. St. Augustine.

P. 204. [line 7. Thomas Aquinas . . . reperiri.] Thomas de Aquino . . . reperi. Ibid. [line 17. to many.] to very many.

P. 205. [Sacrament is taken of the Holy Authors, to be an Holy sign, which maketh to the sanctification of the soul, given to God against sin for our salvation.] given of God.

P. 206. [line 18 from foot. nullum invenio.] MS. nullum in Scripturis invenio.

- P. 207. [line 21. *noverint.*] *noverim.*
- P. 208. [line 29 from foot. *Cinis.*] MS. *Cineres.* Ibid. [line 9 from foot. *Baptism.*] *Baptismus.*
- P. 209. [line 15. *fiunt.*] *sint.* [line 20. *reddit.*] *redit.* [line 25. *repetere.*] *repete.*
- P. 210. [line 10, *after* Authors *add*] or not? MS. [line 22. *after* any more *add*] MS. or for that there be no more.
- P. 214. [line 9 from foot. *Matter*] *matter.*
- P. 215. [line 17 from foot. *union.*] *re-union.*
- P. 216. [line 9, *for* that are *read*] as. [line 10 from foot. *significancia.*] *sanctificancia.*
- P. 217. [line penult. These *seven* Sacraments only, Baptism, the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, Pennance.] *four.*
- P. 218. [line 31 from foot. *no mention.*] *no manner of mention.*
- P. 220. [line 21 from foot. *of that sort.*] MS. of the one sort.
- P. 221. [line 9. *Princes and Masters.*] MS. or. [line 21. *Asts* (*sic*) 22.] Act 20. [line 5 from foot. 1 Tim. 1.] 2 Tim. 1.
- P. 222. [line 18 from foot. *Duties.*] *Services.* [line antepen. if there had been.] if there had then been.
- P. 223. [line 15 from foot. *no.*] MS. *not.*
- P. 224. [line 4 from foot. *and Priests.*] *and Bishops.* [line ult. *after* was common *insert*] MS. Philip. I. Act. 20.
- P. 225. [line 10. *chink.*] *think.* [line 21. *this.*] *his.*
- P. 226. [line 7 from foot. *to Excommunicate.*] *or, MS.*
- P. 228. [line 8 from foot. *not.*] *no.*
- P. 231. [line 23 from foot, *after* but *insert*] *also.*
- P. 232. [line 20 from foot. *haberemus.*] *haberem.* [line 9 from foot, *after* In *add*] *hujusmodi.*
- P. 233. [line 17. *cap. I.*] *cap. 10.* [ibid. *cap. 2.*] *cap. 112.* [line 19. *exorantur.*] *exoratur.* [line 21. *in such a*] *in that case of. MS.*
- P. 235. [line 16. *ipsum principem.*] *ipsum.* [ibid. *after* hoc *add*] *quantumvis.*
- P. 239. [line 32 from foot. *them.*] *him.*
- P. 240. [line 15 from foot. *nonnullis.*] *novellis.* [line 13 from foot, *after* Sentence *insert* of Excommunication. [line 8 from foot. *Joh. 26.*] *Joh. 20.*
- P. 243. [line 3, *after* Robertson (*sic*) *insert*] at the beginning. MS.* [Through T. Cantuarien. Baker has drawn his pen, adding,] Thus dasht in the Orig. MS.
- No. XXIII. p. 246. [Foundation of Bprick of Westminster.] v. Heylin. Examen Hist. p. 112, 3. Tho. Thirlby consecrat. Bp. of Westminster. Decembr. 9. an. 1540. Mason de Minister. L. 2. cap. 12, p. 184.
- No. XXIV. p. 250. v. Registr. Goodrich, fol. 12, where this Proclamation is entred, Printed, as sent down by the King. Together

* This means that in the MS. Robertson's name is at the beginning of his paper. (Burnet says, p. 243, margin, that every man's name is at the end of his paper.)

with his Majestie's order for reading it in, & affixing it to the Doore of every Church in the Diocess of Ely: w^{ch} was accordingly executed in that Diocess. [*See Baker's MSS. xxx. 208-9. Proclamation for the great Bible in English to be had in every Church.*]

Ibid. [line 1 of the text. Whereby.] Where, by. [line 14 from foot. neglected.] negligently omitted. [at the end. p. 251.] Excusum per Richardum Grafton et Edvardum Whitchurch. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. [*See Jenkyns's Cranmer, Letter 253.*] No. XXVI. p. 255. [line 1. Trussures.] Tonsures. MS. Jo. Ep. Elien.

P. 256. [*Baker has enclosed in brackets the paragraph beginning, Item, and ending .. contrary, and has this note in the margin,*] Deest MS. Jo. Ep. Elien.

P. 257. [*at the end of the heading of the list of prohibited books.*] with additions from a MS. of John Bp. of Ely. [line 16. upon the 4th chap.] 7th. [line 19. the Epistles of St Paul and Rom.] ad. [line 23. the Epistle of St Paul and Romans] ad Romanos. [*Then follow the additions. A notice of some of these books may be found in More's Works, p. 341, seq., 343, seq.*] The wycked Mammon. The Parable of the wycked Mammon. The Lyberte of a Cristen Man. The Booke called Ortulus [*sic*] Animæ in Inglysche. The Supper of the Lorde of George Joye's* dooyng. The Disputation of John Frethe agaynst Purgatory: The Answer of Tyndale unto Sr Tho. Moore &c. The Prologe of Genesis translated by Tyndall. The Prologes before Exodus, Leviticus, Numer. & Deuteronom. The Obedyens of a Cristen Man. The Booke of — made by John Owld Castell. The Summe of Scripture. The Preface before the Salter in Inglysche. The Dyaloge between y^e Gentyman & the Plough Man. The Booke of Jonas in Inglysche. The Dyaloges of good-all. The Defensör. Pacis of Saxon's Translation into Inglysche. The Summe of Christianitye. The Myrror or Glasse of them that be syke & in payne. The Lytell Tretyse in Frensche of y^e Soper of the Lorde made by Callwyn. The Works every one of Callwyn. The A. B. C. agaynst the Clergy. The Booke made by Fryer Roye agaynst the 7 Sacraments.

No. xxvii. p. 257. [After the Title.] Corrected from the Original MS belonging to my L^d Salisbury. [line 9 from foot. solit.] solitæ.

P. 258. [lines 1 and 12. A recta memoria.] A recta. Memor. [line 8. 35] 25. [line 19. 9. q. z.] 9. q. 3.

Ibid. [line 19. Nemo z.] Nemo 3. [*Dr. Jenkyns reads Nemo 2.*] [line 27. gr] 92.† [97 Jenkyns.]

P. 259. [line 21. 3. z. q. 5.] 2. 3. q. 5.] [24. q. 2. Jenkyns.]

P. 260. [line 15. after imprison them insert] MS. and put them. [*this is omitted by Dr. Jenkyns.*] [line 18. De Truga . . . Trugas.] De Treugâ . . . Treugas. [line 5 from foot. de pænis Felicium.] De Penis. Felicis. [line antepen. 8.] 8^{vus}.

* "An. 1517. Apr. 27. Geo. Joy & Will. Buckmaster admissi socii Coll. Petr. Cant.—Regr. Coll. Petri." Baker. Note in Joye's Exposition of Daniel. Library Coll. Jo.

† This may possibly be intended for 97, but it is much more like 92.

P. 262. [line 1. sequitur] sequuntur MS. [Supple] et 96. Illud et bene quidē de reb. Ecclesiæ. [line 14. 13.] 12. [line 18. 6.] 7. [line 20. *after nullus insert*] aliud.

P. 263. [line 15. Et si] Etsi. [line 9 from foot. q. z.] q. 3. [line 6 from foot. 9. q] q. 5.

No. xxviii. p. 264.* [Mandate for using the Prayers in English.] Register Goodrich. Fol. 164. [line 20 from foot. place] pece [*So too Mr. Hunter.*] [line 16 from foot. forsaketh nor repealeth] forsaketh ne repelleth. [*nor repelleth. Mr. Hunter.*] [line 15 from foot. example] examples [*so Mr. Hunter.*] [line 9 from foot. Calling] calling on. [*So Mr. Hunter.*] [line 7 from foot. Procession] processions [*so Mr. Hunter.*]

P. 265. [line 6 *godly* and joyously] gladly [*so Mr. Hunter.*] [At the end.] Given under our Signet, at our manor of St James, the 11th of Jun. The 36th year of our Reign. In capite vero earundem sic scriptum est. By the King. Inscriptio autem hæc est. To the most Rev. Father in God, our Right Trusty & Right well Beloved Counsailor Th'Archbisschopp of Canterburye.

P. 267. No. xxx. *This has been printed in the Egerton Papers, Camd. Soc. 1840, p. 41. Mr. Collier the Editor remarks, that in Burnet it is "so incorrectly printed as much to injure its authority."*

Appendix. [at the beginning.] Sanderum quis nescit? Tunc illum perditum transfugam, virulentum calumniatorem——testem citare audeas? Notum vero jam orbi satis, quot in Libello illo famoso de schismate congesserit prodigiosa mendacia &c. vide Tortur. Torti. Pag. 143. La même année [1585] on vit paroître a Cologne L'Histoire du Schisme d'Angleterre. Ce dernier Livre [Histoire &c] eut un si grand debit, que des l'année suivante il fut reimprimé a Rome, puis a Inglestad; mais ces nouvelles éditions sont si différentes de la première, qu'on peut dire que c'est un nouvel ouvrage. Richston, qui avoit fourni la copie sur laquelle les Imprimeurs de Cologne avoient travaillé mourut a Sainte Menehou la même année, qu'ils donnerent cette première édition, de sorte qu'il n'a en aucune part a toutes les additions qu'on a faites dans les suivantes——Cependant M^r Burnet ne fait pas même semblant d'en avoir entendu parler. Il n'accuse que l'édition de Rome, & je ne scay point d'autre raison de cette ignorance affectée, si ce n'est qu'il a voulu charger Sanderus de quarante neuf fautes prétendues, qu'il n'a pas faites. v. Le Grand Histoire du Divorce de Hen. VIII. Tom. 2^d. p. 6, 7.

P. 273. [line 29. Sanders's Book kept up as long as he lived; in it he defames Elizabeth &c.] The first edition of Sander's Booke was at Cogn. an^o 1585. The following editions have many additions made perhaps by other hands, & Sanders no ways answerable for them. Had this been observ'd, it would have struck of part of the censure.

P. 275. [line 12 from foot. Sanders having said, that the Queen

* This Letter has been printed in Mr. Hunter's Ecclesiastical Documents, edited for the Camden Society. No. XXI. He remarks that Burnet has given it "very imperfectly."

bore 3 Sons & 2 Daughters, Burnet rejoins, that *all the Books of that time* speak of 2 Sons, and one Daughter.] Antisanderus* a Booke quoted by his Ldp. speaks of three Sonns & two Daughters. p. 10.

P. 276. [line 21. Wolsey made ABp. of York. 7. Regni.] Wolsey was promoted to the See of York an. 6. Hen. 8 as appears by his summons to Parl. that year. v. Dugdal. Summon. Proc. ad an. 6 Hen. 8. But this the Author seems to say p. 8 of this vol. & Fulman in y^e 2^d vol.

P. 279. [line 1. Rastal's Life of More never seen by any one but Sanders.] Rastal did write S^r Tho. More's Life. v. MS. Gresham.

Ibid. [line 6. Roper's Life of More, since printed.] I have seen Roper's Life of S^r Tho. More MS. in the Public Library, Cambridge, but it was never printed. Quære. [*Baker is right; it was not printed till 1716.*]

P. 280. [line 4. More, in a letter to Cromwell, implies that at one time he approved the Divorce.] That letter to Cromwell plainly implys he was against the King in his opinion all along, only kept his opinion to himself to prevent giving offence. And so says George Lilly (in his Life or elogium) and that for that reason he parted with the Chancellorship. And so likewise Gul. Covrinus Nucerinus in his epistle Phil. Montano, where he gives an account of S^r Tho. M. death thus—*Rex—aliquot annis moliebatur repudium.—Morus præsagens quo res esset evasura, ultro deposuit Cancellarii munus, alia quædam causatus, ne cogeretur ejus negotii exequutor esse, quod apud sese non probabat.* Stapleton says the same thing. De tribus Thomis. cap. 7. p. 1013. cap. 14, p. 1033. Nor does S^r Tho. More sign the letter to the Pope ap. Herbert. p. 306. See Antiq. Brit. p. 327. Great endeavors were us'd by the King, by many & divers ways, to bring over S^r Tho. More in the matter of the marriage, and for that reason the K. the rather made him Lord Chancellor. But S^r Tho. could never satisfy himself, tho' he considered the matter impartially. And tho' the opinions of the Universities &c were carry'd down by him to the House of Commons, at the King's request, yet he did it so as not to show of what minde he was himself, and fearing that farther attempt might follow by reason of his office, he made suit to be discharg'd, as he was. All this is averr'd by Roper in his MS. Life of S^r Tho. More.

P. 282. [line 5. a Forgery of Pole's] Ecclesiastic. Unit. Lib. 3. p. 54. [line 12. Burnet attacks Sanders for saying that Clarke Bp. of Bath wrote for the lawfulness of the Marriage.] S^r Tho. More in his letter to Cromwell, writ before he was imprison'd, plainly implys that Clarke Bp. of Bath had writ a Booke to this purpose, w^{ch} Booke was lent S^r Tho., & afterwards by him burnt, by the Bp's order. [*The passage stands thus in More's Works, p. 1427. F. where after disclaiming any knowledge of Abel's and other books against the King, he says,*

* When I sent the papers relating to the author of this book, Cowell, I should have referred for an account of him to the British Magazine, vol. xxvii. p. 135. I have before remarked on Burnet's mistake in line 5, where he says that the volume of More's works was printed 1556, instead of 1557.

"Moreouer where I had found in my study, a booke y^e I had before borrowedde of my lord of Bathe, which boke he had made of the matter at such time as y^e legates sate here thereupon, which boke had ben by me neglegētly cast aside, & that I shewed him I wold sende him hōe his boke againe, he told me y^e in good faith he had longe time before discharged hys minde of y^e mater, & hauing forgotten that coppy to remaine in my hād, had burned his own copy that he had therof at home : and because he no more minded to meddle anything in the matter, he desired me to burne the same boke to. And vpon my faith so did I." And so Stapleton in his (S^r Tho. More's) Life cap. 14, and so Pits p. 725.

P. 283. [line 19. Determination of Millan (*sic*) for the Divorce.] I doubt the Determination of Milan cannot be produc'd or prov'd.

P. 284. [at the top. an adventure of Pole's recorded without proof.] This is reported by Lud. Becatellus a contemporary of Pole's and intimate Friend, who writ his Life, and pretends to have had it from his own mouth. v. Vit. p. 15. [line 14. Holman Bp. of Bristol (according to Sanders) wrote for the Marriage. Burnet rejoins that the Bprick was not founded till 13 years after.] This is no great mistake. For Holman was afterwards made Bp. of Bristol, by Q. Mary. And he wrote a Booke in defence of the Marriage. See Wood's Athen. Ox. an. 1558. See Pits. p. 725. [line 23. Burnet speaks of 12 Universities as favouring the Divorce. In the History p. 129 he said 19. See Baker's note there.]

P. 288. [line 2. Burnet had seen some letters of Lyst respecting Forest. They are printed by Ellis. Ser. III. Letters 209—213.]

P. 289. [line 15. no. 70.] vid. p. 334, 336, 337.

P. 291. [line 1. Sanders having said that Gardiner and Tonsal, through fear, wrote apologies for the King. Burnet replies that Tonsal was a man of too great probity to have done so.] Tonsal's & Stokesley's Letter to this purpose was printed at London, an. 1560, w^{ch} Tonsal own'd to have been writ by him, before ArchBp. Parker, 14 days before he dy'd. The Letter was writ & sent to Pole then Cardinal at Rome, whome they exhort to return to his Duty to the King, and to surrender up his Red Hat to the Bp. of Rome. Printed cum Privilegio an. 1560. v. Cl. v. 20. 5. This the Bp. had seen, but it seems had forgot it, v. p. 137 in this vol. ; Tonsal's Sermon to this purpose preach'd on Palm Sunday an. 1538 is printed in Becon's Reports of Certain men. p. 270, 272 &c. And likewise his & Stokesley's Letter ib. p. 266, 267. &c. where see of Sampson, Gardiner, Bonner &c. [line 6 from foot. The railing of two Franciscans at the King to his face was passed over with a Reproof.] It was not passed over. For Stow says, These two Fryars with the Rest of their Order were banisht shortly after. See Stow. p. 562.

P. 297. [line 21. Abbots of Glassenbury, Colchester, and Reading attainted of Treason.] They were all of them concern'd in promoting the Rebellion that year. See Bale's Mystery of Iniquity. p. 31. [line 9 from foot. This Book (Sanders's) first came out in Foreign Parts, and was printed at Rome, in the Reign of Sixtus V.] It was first printed at Colen. an. 1585. It is printed at Rome. an. 1586.

P. 300. [line 20 from foot. Essex.] Warwick.

P. 314. [*These Signatures are printed by Mr. Brewer. Fuller vol. iii. p. 159. n. A Fac-simile is given by Mr. Tierney in the new edition of Dodd, vol. i.*]

[I hope your readers will pardon an error which I have committed in the publication of these notes, inasmuch as it originated not in oversight, but in a too scrupulous adherence to the original. In Burnet's third volume, as most readers will remember, are contained (Appendix, No. IV.) some corrections sent by Baker; on these Baker has made some notes, which I had read before I sent you the first of these papers, but was unwilling to disturb the arrangement of the notes in any point whatever. Henceforth I will insert these additional notes in their proper places, giving notice at the time that they are taken from the Appendix. Baker has also corrected Strype's notes (Appendix, No. VI.,) as will appear from the notice which follows; these corrections, also, I shall henceforth dispose in their proper order.] Note on Strype's observations, (Burnet, Vol. III. Append. VI. p. 415.) The Mistakes of the Press I have corrected from his own hand. For my own share I have not done so much,* though there be several mistakes in that part, as well as through the whole Book.

Note on vol. i. p. 26. [Will Sautre burnt by Writ de Hæretico comb.] See the writ in Rymer. Tom. 8, p. 178. See Gibson's Cod. vol. i. pag. 411, 412. Ejus tempore [Simonis Islep Archiep̄ Cant.] quidam Londini concremabantur, ob læsam, ut dicunt Religionem. v. Baleum in vita S. Islep. Centur. 6, pag. 466.

Ib. [Relating to the Customs beyond Sea.] v. Brook's Abridg. § 458. v. Harpsfeld Histor. Wiclef. p. 722. See Sr Rog. Twisden's Historical Vindication, p. 141, 155-6, &c. See Wicliff's Life, p. 24. See Prynne's *Sword of Christian Magistracy supported*, pag. 52, 53-4, &c.

Note on vol. i. p. 149. [in which Baker states that he has two Letters of Pole to Cranmer, containing reflections on his protestation.] Nefarium illud perjurium, quod (ut nunc primum intellexi) Scriptum quoddam profers, quod ejus rei testificationem continet, a te coram certis testibus secreto adhibitum, priusquam ad jurandum venires, eamque manu et sigillo notarii comprobata. Hæc autem testificatio quid aliud ostendit, nisi te duplicatum perjurii scelus admisisse?—Quid tandem aliud tua illa testificatione prolata es consecutus, nisi ut tuum illud occultum perjurium omnibus testatum ac notum faceres. v. Poli Epistolam dat. vi. Idus Octobr. MDLV. MS. Coll. Jo. Cant.

Strype's note on vol. i. p. 204, line 14 from foot. [for Wetspall r. Wythspall.] Wythepoll. *In Burnet the name is not Wetspall but Wythepoll.*

* Where Baker's original note was more full than that printed by Burnet, I have always given it as it stood. I have now collated Appendix IV. anew with the original, and give the variations in their proper places—all such variations, that is to say, as affect the sense—for the form of expression is almost always different.

Note on p. 221. [Baker had not seen the first edition of Pole's book *De Unitate Ecclesiasticâ*.] I have since seen the first edition, in the Royal Library at Cambridge. Sic autem inscribitur. *Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis Britanni ad Henricum Octavum Britan. Regem pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis defensione Libri Quatuor*. Ad calcem codicis, sic. *excussum Romæ apud Antonium Bladum Asulanum*. Fol. Annus Impressionis non designatur. The Book being since stole (by M^r Justice) I am glad I took this note. It is *excussum* in the first edition.

Note on p. 349. [Baker thinks Lesley's book was published in English before 1580.] an. 1584.

Note on p. 356. [The King's book.] Henrici viii., Regis Angliæ, Assertionem vii. Sacramentorum contra D. Martinum Lutherum *Romæ* 1543 in 4^{to}. Joannis Fischeri opus esse vel solius, vel maximâ ex parte, Scriptum reliquit Sanderus, de Schismate Angl. Lib. I. ad A. C. 1535. Librum hunc non tam Adolescente Rege, quam exercitato quodam Theologo dignum judicat Strauchius Dissert. Juris public. I. th. 18, pag. 24, nominatque Thomam Morum & Fischerum Roffensem, Auctores hujus Scripti creditos. Quibus Erasmus Rot. superaddit D. Korthold, De variis S. Scripturæ editionibus. Cap. xv. num. 27. [*It should be 28, pag. 234.*] At ipse Lutherus Edvardum Leum scripti hujus Parentem censet. Tom. III. Altenburg. pag. 686, & Tom. II. pag. 189, &c., vide Placcium de Script. Pseudonymis. Lit. H. pag. 342, num. 1322.

Strype's note on Collection, vol. i. p. 180. [line 6, after *and r. wall.*] *woll.*

Note on Collection, vol. i. p. 201. [D^r Stillingfleet's MSS.] **In the Catalogue of MSS. C.C.C. are two volumes of Cranmer's Common Place Books, now wanting in the Library. My friend Mr. P.† being in the King's Library at St. James's, met with 'em there in two vol. Fol. all in Cranmer's own hand, with a Letter prefixt from Sr. Willm. Cecil to ABp. Parker, wherein he presents them to that ArchBp.,** [& are doubtless the same *that are wanting at Benet College,*] & are probably two more of those six mentioned by this Author. Of these six volumes see a Letter from S^r W^m Cecill to ArchBp. Parker, in M^r Strype's Life of Parker. Lib. 2, cap. 15, p. 137.—Sed Quære, whether wanting in *y^e Library*. See M^r Casley's Catalogue of MSS. pag. 123, num. xi. xii.—They were doubtless intended by ArchBp. Parker for Benet College. How they came to the King's Library, Quære.

Strype's Note on Collection, vol. i. p. 315. [line 17. add *Brueza.*] De Bruera.

[Before I proceed with the notes on the second volume of Burnet, I will give two or three documents from Baker's MSS., which throw light upon some portions of the history of Edward's reign. The first

* The words between asterisks are struck out in the original.

† Peck?

of these relates to a matter treated of by Burnet (vol. ii. p. 158-9,) and furnishes, if I am not mistaken, a new incident in Abp. Parker's life.]

(Baker's MSS. xxx. 213.)

"Suppressio Altarium in omnibus et singulis Ecclijs parochialibus infra Decanat. de Cant. Chesterton, Barton, Shengety, Bourne, et Camps Elien. Dioc. extra Insulam Elien.

M^d quod die Sabbati viz. septimo die Mensis Decembris Anno Dñi 1550, et anno Regni Illustriss. Dñi nostri Regis Edwardi Sexti Dei grā. Angl. Fran. et Hibñ. Regis, fidei Defensoris, et in terra Ecclię Anglicane et Hibernice supremi capitis quarto, in Eccliā paroch. S^{cę} Trinitatis Burgi sive ville nostre Cant. convocatis et personaliter comparentibus omnibus et singulis Rectoribus, Vicariis et Curatis, necnon Iconomis sive Gardianis Eccliarum parochialium omnium et singulorum infra Decanat. Cantabr. Barton, et Chesterton Elien. Dioc., contumaciter absentibus tantum exceptis, facta primitus concione, verboque Dei in Lingua Materna per Vñ. Virum Magrūm Mattheum Parker S. Theol. Professorem publice exposito et declarato: Providus et discretus vir Magr. Edwardus Leedys Artium Professor, Rev. in Christo Patris et Dñi Dñi Thome Miseratione divina Elien. Epī commissarius in hac parte legitime constitutus in prefata Eccliā Dñę Trinitatis judicialiter sedens auctoritate et vigore Literarum Regiarum Dñi nostri Regis antedicti prefato Epō. Elien. aut commissario sui cuicunque, ut apparuit, direct. et transmissarum districte injunxit, ac nomine et auctoritate dicti Dñi Regis firmiter precipiendo mandavit, quatenus dicti Rectores Vicarii et Gardiani Eccliarum omnes et singuli, omnia et singula Altaria et superaltaria, tam in Ecclijs suis paroch. quam in Capellis Oratoriis et locis aliis quibuscunque infra fines et limites Parochiarum suarum predict. antehac erecta atque ex lapidibus seu aoli quoquo modo facta et construct. citra Festum Natalis Dñi prōx. post Dat. suprascript. futūr. funditus ac penitus destruant et evertant, seu sic destrui et penitus everti faciant et faciat eorum quilibet, et vice ac loco eorundem ac eorum cujuslibet unam Tabulam sive Mensam congruam & decentem pro sacramento corporis et sanguinis Dñi nostri Jhū Christi inibi ministrand. et participand. in unaquaque Eccliā parochiali predict. devote et solempniter erigendo et ponendo citra Festum predictum, sub pena Indignationis Regie et periculo in ea parte incumbente.

Item pari et simili modo injunctum et firmiter mandatum fuit auctoritate qua supra omnibus et singulis Rectoribus Vicariis Curatis et Eccliarum Iconimis Infra Decanat. de Bourne et Shengety dict. Elien. Dioc. decimo die mensis predicti anno Dñi suprascript. in Eccliā parochiali de Melborne juxta Monitionem Regiam eis et eorum cuilibet in ea parte factam legitime comparentibus.

Item consimile Mandatum sive Preceptum Regium factum fuit, auctoritate qua supra per supranominatum Magrūm Edwardum Leedys undecimo die Mensis predicti anno suprascripto in Eccliā proch. de

Lynton dict. Eliën. Dioc. omnibus et singulis Rectoribus Vicariis et Iconomis sive Gardianis Eccliarum infra Decanatum de Camps Eliën. Dioc. antedict. residen. & existen. sub pena suprascripta."

[The second paper supplies some interesting particulars respecting Dr. John Redman, and his opinions. Compare Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 92-3.]

(Baker's MSS. xxxii. 495-6, among "Letters to, or from, Mr Roger Ascham, MS. Jo. Ep̄i Elien., not originals, nor indeed correct copies, & yet valuable, as giving some account of so noted a Man, especially for Letters.")

"Salutem in Christo. I have received your Letters written unto me. As concerning a privilege to be procured for you, so that y^e reading Greek in Cambridge might be fre from *Celibatus*, & such Acts as Fellowes of the House be bound unto, I have also showed Mr Cheek your Request, & have as yet noe answeere of him. Your Lettres of newes, written to all the Fellowes of St. John's, are as yet reserved there, & came not as yet unto my sight. As touching the Imprisonment of the Duke of Somerset & his wief, th' Erle of Arundell, the L. Paget, the L. Gray, & other that be lately put in the Tower, other men that knowe more than I doe, may write unto you therof better then I can. The Bpricks of Lincoln, Roulcester, & Chechester be as yet voyde, & appointed as yet certenly to no man for so much as I knowe. Mr Horn is Dean of Durām, Dr Redman is decessed, & Dr Bill by the Kinge appointed to be Mr of Trinitye College in Cambridge, & I to succeed him in the Mastership of St. John's. Dr Redman being in a consumpcōn did loke certenly for death, & did ever talk of Religion, as one that had clean forsaken the world, & did loke & desire to be with God. I will shewe you parte of such talke as Mr Yonge of Cambridge did presently hear of Dr Redman himself, & did shewe unto me afterward. First D. Redman being desired to answeere unto Questions of Religion his Judgment, did say, that he would answeere betwixt God & his conscience his mynde without any worldly respect. Then being demaunded what he thought by the Sea of Rome, he said, it was *Sentina Malorum*: but doe not you also thinke, that we have a stinkinge Pumpe in the Church of England? To the Demaund of Purgatorie, he said, there was no suche Purgatorie, as the Scholemen doe ymagen, but when as Christ shall come, & *Ignis* is *circuitu ejus*, then all metinge him shall there be purged, as I thinke, said he, & as many ancient Autors doe take it. And to make the Masse a Sacrifice for the dead, to be playne against Christ. And to this Proposition, Faith onely justifieth, he answered, that was a comfortable & swete Doctrine beinge rightlye understood of a true & lively Faith: & that noe workes could deserve Salvacōn; no, not the workes of Grace in a Man that is justified. When he was asked what he thought of Transubstancōn, he said, he had studied of that matter this xii. yeres, & did find that Tertullian, Irenæus, & Origen did playnly write contrary to it, & in the other ancient writers it was not

taught nor maynteyned. Therefore in the Scholemen he thought he should have found playne & sufficient matter for it, but in them was noe good ground, but all were ymaginations, & great or grosse errors. As concerning the presence, he said that Christ was in the Sacrament really & corporally, as M^r Yonge told me, & yet asked whether that was Christ's bodie, w^{ch} we see the Priest lifte up. He said* that Christes body could neither be lift up nor downe, & carreinge it about to be honoured, said he, is an evill abuse. Also he said that evill men do not receive Christes bodye, but the Sacrament thereof. He advertised M^r. Yonge to read & studye the Text of Scripture, & to beware of men. He said also that the Booke, w^{ch} My Lord of Canterburie set last forth of this matter, is a wonderfull Booke, & willed M^r Yonge to read it with diligence. M^r Yonge said unto me, that whereas he was aforetime as redy & willinge to have died for the Transüb. of the Sacrament, as for Christs Incarnacōn, he is nowe purposed to take deliberacōn, & to studye after a more indifferent sort, to ground his Judgment better then upon a common consent of manye, that have borne y^e name of y^e Church. I trust that not only M^r Yonge, but many other be drawen from y^r obstinacye unto more Indifferency by this D^r Redman's communicacōn. If I be M^r of S^t John's Colledge, I shall be desirous to have you at home, & not unwillinge that you should have & enjoy any privilege that maye incourage yow to better knowlege of the greek tongue. Since I wrote last unto you, there be dead of your acquaintance D^r Neveyson, & D. Redman, & D. Bill the Phisitian. All other your Friends & Acquaintance be in good health for so muche as I knowe. When ye talke with God in Meditacōn & Prayer, remember me. Videte, vigilate, orate, orate, orate. Scribled at London 13 of November.

Faythfully your's

[Tho. Lever admissus Magister Coll. Jo.

Tho. Lever.

(Regiis Litteris) Dec. 10, 1551.]

Baker's Notes on Burnet, vol 2.

[On the fly leaf.] Hayward. Ed. 6. p. 16, 47, 82, 128. [on another leaf.] King Edward's Imprese was a Phoenix† in his Funeral Fire, with this Motto: Nascatur ut alter; w^{ch} might give occasion to the story of his Mother's Death.

P. 1. [Q. Jane died the next day after Edward's birth.] 12th day after her delivery. Glover Catalog. of Honor. p. 229. and so Grafton's Abridgement. p. 154. Two days according to Stow, p. 575. On the 14th day of Octobr. according to Hall. Fol. 232. [See Mr. Brewer's note on Fuller. vol. iv. p. 112.]

* I have retained Baker's punctuation, but should it not be "and yet [when] asked, &c., he said, &c.?"

† Compare the epigram in Heylin, Hist. Ref., p. 8:—

Phoenix Jana jacet, nato Phœnice. Dolendum est
Sæcula Phœnices nulla talisse duas. (duos?)

P. 2. [line 1. D. of Suffolk Edwards godfather when he was bishopped.] v. Sandford F. 467. 473. 482. v. Antiq. Brit. p. 330. 329. v. Fox. vol. 2. p. 333.

P. 3. [Margin. A design to create Edward Prince of Wales.] See an Account of the Order of creating him Prince of Wales in Mills, where it is sayd the solemnity was prevented by the King's death.

P. 5. [Margin top of page.] v. Dugd. p. 361, 362. v. Hist. Ref. p. 17.

Ibid. [line 7 from foot. The Protector declared Lord Treasurer. Feb. 2] Feb. 10. Dugd. p. 361. [and Earl Marshal] Feb. 17. ib. p. 362.

P. 6. [line 18. The new Bishops, made by Edward, not required to take out Commissions for their Bpricks.] Ferrar who was made Bp. by this King, & consecrated in Septembr. an. 1547, seems to have had such a commission, as appears from his answers to the 1, 2, 3 &c & 38th articles against him in Fox. vol. 3. p. 204. 208 &c.

P. 8. [Margin. Secular Men had Ecclesiastical Dignities.] v. Wood. Antiq. Oxon. an. 1455, 1456. p. 220.

P. 17. [line 14. the Seal was put into Lord S^c John's Hands.] Dugdall's Catalogue of L^d Chancellors. p. 23.

P. 24. [line 18 Monks preferred to benefices, that the King might be relieved from paying their pensions.] v. Latymer's Serm. before K. Edw. 6. p. 37.

P. 26. [line 21. A Letter (Collection Numb. 7.) written the fourth of May.] It should be the first of May. v. Registr. Tunstal. Fol. 38. And yet in the Letter printed in the Collect, it is sayd quarto die. Quær.

P. 34. [Margin. Battle of Pinkey.] See The Expedition into Scotland, publish'd by Will. Patten. Jun. ult. an. 1548. Lond., who was himself in the Action, & gives a very full & particular Account, who being one of the Judges of the Marshalsey, as M^r W^m Cycyl was the other,—had libertie to ride & leysure too note occurrences &c. See the Peroracyon ad fin.

Ibid. [line 7.] So W. Patten's account.

P. 35. [line 18. The Protector returned, having lost not above 60 Men, as one that writ the account says.] So *W. Patten*, who writ the Account.

P. 36. [line 17. Images in London overthrown on the day on which the battle of Pinkey was fought. Fox.] vol. 2. p. 669. Tho' this is contradicted by Heylin, p. 47, from Stow, who says the Images were not taken down till Novembr. 17.

P. 51. [line 7 from foot. Herman refused a Cardinal's Hat.] If ever he refus'd it, he afterwards accepted, for he was made Cardinal an. 1555. Sleidan.

P. 53. [line 18. Peter Martyr had been an Augustinian Monk.] properly there were no Augustinian Monks. Peter Martyr was a Canon Regular of the Order of St Augustin. The other Order of Augustinians were Fryers.

P. 58. [line 28. When the Marquess of Northampton sued for a divorce, Cranmer made Collections on the subject from the Fathers,

with Reflections.] The Quotations are nakedly put down, without any Reflections.

Ibid. [line 31. Another paper was given in of quotations against the divorce. "But most of the Fathers there cited are of the latter Ages; in which the state of Cælibate had been so exalted by the Monks &c."] The Fathers & Canons cited in that Paper are Hermes, Tertullian, Origen. The Councils of Arles, Elvira, & Milevi: Basil, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin, Chrysostome. So that this must be either a mistake, or else put down for the sake of y^e Reflection upon y^e Monks & Canon Law.

Ibid. [line 37. Eight Queries put to some learned Men; (who these were does not appear)] It does not indeed appear, who these Learned Men were: For it seems to be only one Learned Man, who speaks of himself, (as usuall) in the plural number [nos]. For these Answers are afterwards confirm'd by the authority of fathers, & Proofs & objections alledg'd by way of argument; w^{ch} is not usual, where Learned men give their opinion; & in the same Paper, as is done here; for they might not all have agreed in the same Reasons.

P. 60. [line 9. A Letter of the Council for the removal of images. Feb. 11. 1548.] Feb. 21. Plura vid. Append. n. 23.

P. 62. [line 14. The Bps of London, Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford gave in their answers (to questions respecting the Mass) in one paper together 1548.] The Bps of London, Worcester, Chichester & Hereford's Answers related to another set of Quæstions. And on the back of the paper London is left out, tho' mentioned before the Answers.

Ibid. [line 21. D^r Cox set his Hand and Seal to his Answer.] It is not D^r Cox's seal; for there is no Impression on the wax. All the mystery is this, that Cox's Paper had been sent in folded, & a Drop of Wax us'd to close the Paper. The Foldings still appear very plainly upon Cox's Paper, & according to the folding the Paper had been seal'd, & is now torn, where it had been seal'd, & some of the Paper left upon the wax. This I can say upon my own observation. For I have seen the MS.

P. 71. [Cranmer's Catechism. 1548.] I have seen this Catechism [printed an. 1548 for Gualter Lynne] in the Public Library Cambridge. In the Title Page is writ thus. *This Catechisme is but a meer Translation of a Catechisme set forth Vitebergæ ex officinâ Petri Seitz. an. 1539.* My L^d ArchBp of Cant. in a Booke by him translated, called Catechisme, did affirm, publish, & sett forth the true Presence of Christ's most precious Body & Blood to be in the Sacrament of the Altar.—Quær. For these are Bp. Gardiner's words at the proceedings against him apud Fox. Edit. i. p. 794.

P. 79. [line 10 from foot. In the Pontifical it is declared that Latria is due to the Crosier Staff.] This must be a mistake for y^e Cross, to w^{ch} the Pontifical says Latria is due. v. Pontifical. p. 480. Tit. Ordo ad recipiendum processionaliter Imperatorem.

P. 87. [line penult. Calvin writ to the Protector Oct. 29. 1548.] 22^d of Octobr. This Epistle must have been writ the following year. For it both supposes the First Liturgy to have been then in use, w^{ch} it

P. 111. [line 19 from foot. Joan Bocher.] One Joane of Kent, w^{ch} was in this foolish opinion, that our Savior was not very Man, & had not received flesh of his Mother Mary.—Her opinion was this.—The Son of God (sayd she) penetrated through her as through a Glass, taking no substance of her. Latimer in his Sermon on S^t John's Day. p. 168.

Ibid. [line 7 from foot. Sir John Cheek.] He was not knighted till the year 1551 Octobr. 11. See K. Edw. Journal. p. 36.

P. 117. [line 13 from foot. Answer to the Rebels penned in a high threatening style.] So if you provoke us farther, we swear to you by the Living God, by whome we reign, ye shall feel the power of the same God, in our sword, w^{ch} how mighty it is, no subject knoweth; how puissant it is, no private man can judge; how mortall it is, no English heart dare think. But surely, surely, as your Lord & Prince, your only King & Master we say to you, repent yourselves, & take our mercy without delay, or else we will forthwith extend our Princely power, & execute our sharpe sword against you, as against very Infidells & Turks. Given at Richmond, 8 July, 3rd of our Reign. Printed by Rich. Grafton. Jul. 1549, cum Privilegio.

P. 118. [line 1. The rebels 20,000 strong.] 16,000 A. Neuyil. p. 36. [line 5. Parker comes among them.] v. Alex. Neuyllum De furor. Norfolc. Ketto duce.* p. 40. 42. &c. Holinshed. p. 1030.

P. 119. [line 20 from foot. The Marquess of Northampton with 1100 Men.] 1500. v. Neuyll. p. 84.

P. 120. [line 24. The Visitors (at Cambridge. 1549.) were required to procure the resignation of some Colleges.] There were no other Colleges to be suppressd except Clare Hall, in order to found a New College of Civilians, either by uniting it to Trin. Hall, or by augmenting the number at Trin. Hall to Twenty Fellows, as appears by K. Edward's Statutes (drawn up before the Visitors came down) compar'd with his Injunctions drawn up after.—See Black Book.—I suppose this Author thought, King's Hall & Michael House had been now dissolv'd, being referr'd to in the Collection. But that Dissolution happened under Hen. y^e 8th. The best account of the Fellows refusing to resign might have been given from a MS. at Clare

* London, Henry Binneman, 1575. The Latin verses on Sign. aij. reverse, and aijj. are signed G. A., which Baker deciphers, "Geo. Acworth si recte conjicio." Of the author, Baker says: "Alex. Nevell Joannensis admissus in Album sive Matriculam Academiæ Cantabr. Nov. 10, an. 1559." (Notes in a copy in St. John's Coll. Library. Class mark Gg. 6, 17.) In page 132, Baker has marked off by brackets lines 10—13, from "Wallos" to "despexerunt." I give his marginal note, supplying in brackets some letters which have been cut off in binding: "[Ver]ba ista uncis [inclu]sa, eo quod [Wall]os graviter of[fend]erent, in non [pau]c[is] exemplari[bus] omittuntur, [præmi]sitque Auctor [apo]logiam ad Wal[he] Proceres. MS. [in] Bibliothecâ [Coll:] Jo. Cant." The reference is to another copy of Nevyl's book, (class mark C. 10. 6 in the Library of St. John's) at the end of which is the Apologia &c, occupying 12 pages of small quarto size in MS. In this copy the obnoxious pages 132-3 are very much altered. This copy wants the letter to Grindal, which is prefixed to the other (Gg. 6. 17.) Cfr. Baker's note on the fly-leaf of this last. "Liber iste continet Epistolam scriptam Edmundo Grindallo Archiepō Ebor., quæ exemplaribus nonnullis deest."

Hall, much to the honor of that Society, had they not divided y^r plate. There is a MS. account of this Visitation in the Library at Benet College, which this Author might have seen : from thence it appears, that the Master of Clare Hall, Bp. Ridley's countryman, was then expell'd with one of the Fellows &c. [*In Baker's MSS. in the British Museum, vol. ii. p. 161. are "particulars with regard to the projected dissolution of Clare Hall." Index. p. 38. Further particulars concerning this Visitation may be found in volumes ix. and x. of the MSS. See Index. pp. 68 and 160. See too Dr. Lamb's Documents &c. p. 102. seq.*]

P. 121. [line 11. Greek in England was pronounced like English.] It was not pronounc'd like English (for the pronunciation was alike in all parts of Europe. v. Asch. Epist. Huber. L. 3.*) but as the Modern Greeks pronounc'd it, who then taught it everywhere.

Ibid. [line 16. Cheek was put from his Chair, or left it to avoid the Indignation of so great and so spiteful a man as Gardiner.] It does not appear he was put from the Chair, for after this he was Greek Professor, whilst Gardiner was Chancellor. v. Smith, Chec. & Asch. Epist. Brandisb. Lib. 2.† v. Dodington vit. Nich. Carr. p. 59. 'Till sent for to Court to instruct the Prince.

Ibid. [line 22. Smith confirmed Cheek's Opinion.] It was S^r Tho. Smith's opinion, & Cheke only a second in the cause. S^r Tho. Sm. Booke was writ in 1542, printed an. 1568. Lutet.‡

P. 129. [line 15 from foot. The Answer "Because there is none other that fighteth for us &c" first introduced in 1549.] This Answer stands in the First Liturgy of Edw. 6th, & could be no otherwise changed, than by leaving it out.

P. 134. [line 13 from foot. None "stuck to" the Protector, but Paget, Smith, and Cranmer.] He might have added Ridley, who suffer'd the displeasure of the Court upon this account. See what he modestly says of himself in Fox vol. 3, p. 517.

P. 139. [Margin. under "But their hopes soon vanish."] See an Order of y^e King in councell to this purpose, apud Quirinum Reuterum.

P. 140. [line 21 from foot. Book of Ordination.] wth was printed in March an. 1549 by Richard Grafton.

P. 141. [line 13 from foot. A Bill for the Form of Ordaining Ministers.] This Act passt in Parliament held Novembr. 4. an. tertio Edw. 6th whereby such Form of making & consecrating ArchBps, Bps, Priests, & Deacons &c, as should by six Prelates, & six others Learned in God's Law—appointed by the King—be devised & set forth under the Great Seal, before the first Day of April following—should by virtue of this Act be lawfully used & none other.—The

* Epist. 12, p. 248, seq. Ed. Oxon. 1703.

† Epist. 9, p. 73, seq.

‡ See further on this subject Ascham, Epist. 2, Lib. i., p. 20, and a letter of Hubertus Leodius to Ascham, at the end of Ascham's Epistles, p. 404; Dr. Lamb's Documents from MSS. C. C. C. C., p. 43; Baker's Reflections upon Learning, chap. iii. § 4; Index to Strype.

Forme of making & consecrating of ArchBps, Bps, Priests, & Deacons, was printed in March. an. 1549 in Quarto, by Richard Grafton.

P. 144. [line 16. Chalice with bread in it.] [See Gutch. Collectan. Curios. ii. 209.]

P. 150. [line 1. Ridley Bp. of London and Westminster was to have 1000£ a year of the rents of the Bprick.] Ridley by a Grant April 2 an. 4 Ed. 6 had the mannors of Ashwell, Stivenache, Holwell, Cadwell, & Datchworth, with the Rectory of Ashwell, & all the Rights, Appurtenances &c lately belonging to the Bprick of Westminster granted to him & his Successors, paying yearly 100^{li}. The Rest of the Revenues of that See were wasted by Thirlby, v. Sr Hen. Chauncy, Antiq. Hertf. p. 34; w^{ch} Grant was vacated, & afterwards by Licence from Cardinall Pole renew'd by Q. Mary. Mar. 3. an. Reg. 1. By virtue of w^{ch} Grant the Bps of London have since enjoy'd these Mannors. ib.

P. 153. [Margin. Bucer's opinion concerning the Episcopal vestments.] v. Bucer Scripta Anglicana p. 681.

Ib. [line 5 from foot. He writes to Hooper.] v. Bucer Scripta Angl. p. 705.

P. 154. [line 28. Earl of Warwick wrote to the ABp, begging him to dispense with the Oath of Canonical Obedience in Hooper's case.] This Oath is so unexceptionable, that there can be no ground for scruple. It seems to have been the Oath of Supremacy, w^{ch} at that time contain'd expressions that might be *burdenous* to a good man's *conscience*, being a kinde of et cætera Oath, requiring Obedience to all Acts & Statutes made or to be made.—[v. Form of Ord. Edw. 6.] Parsons expressly says, it was this Oath. De tribus Convers. Par. 3. Chap. 6. § 68. And Fuller, who was of the other opinion in his Church History, yet alter'd his opinion in another Booke, upon this & other Reasons, alledg'd by Bp. Hacket. v. Fuller's Worth. in Somersetsh: p. 21, 22. The other Objection from the words in the conclusion of the Oath, *So help me God & all his Angells*, does not lye; for these words are not contain'd in the oath of Edw. 6th.

Ib. [line 33. 4th of August.] Aug. 5th. Fox, vol. 3, p. 146.

Ib. [line 35. Hooper suspended from Preaching.] So he might, for he was imprison'd. v. Troubl. Frankfort, p. 42.

Ib. [line 36. John a Lasco with a congregation of Germans, who were driven from their country by the persecution consequent on the Interim, settle in London.] They were most of them Netherlanders, or French, & consequently not concern'd with the Interim. Only a few Germans, & the Language they officiated in was the Low German, French, or Italian. v. Utenhov. Narrat. de institut. & dissipat. Belgarum &c. Ecclesiâ, p. 12, 28, &c. All those 175 that went off with Alasco were Low Germans, French, English, or Scots, & differing from the Lutherans in their opinion of the Sacrament, ib., p. 22. v. Bucer. Scripta Anglic., p. 863.—v. Melch. Adam's vit. Lasci, p. 20.

Ib. [line 4 from foot. Polydore Virgil who had now (1550) been almost 40 years in England.] Pol. Vergil had been in England

above 40 years. For he was in England an. 1504. v. *Anglia Sacra*. vol. i. p. 576. He was made Archdeacon of Wells an. 1507, & continu'd in England ever after, ib.—In the Order of Leave for him to depart, it is sayd, The s^d Polydor had serv'd K. H. 7, K. H. 8, & us, viz., Edw. 6, by the space of 40 years & above. *Athen. Ox.* p. 638.

P. 155. [line 2. Prebend of Nonnington.] in the Church of Hereford.

Ibid. [line 11. Common Prayer Book translated into Latin by Alesse for Bucer's use.] wth Common prayer Booke M^r Strype, by a very great mistake, takes to be a Booke writ in German by M. Bucer, & translated into Latin by Alesse, entitul'd, *Ordinatio Ecclesiæ seu ministerii Ecclesiastici in Florentissimo Angliæ Regno*. v. Stryp. *Mem. Lib.* 3, cap. 23.

P. 158. [Altars removed.] [*See Day's letter to Cecil. Ellis Ser. III. Letter 368; and Baker's MSS. xxx. 213, given above.*]

P. 162. [line 18. D^r Smith wrote a letter to Cranmer, which Burnet prints.] This & the other Letter were writ to ArchBp. Parker, as appears by Bp. Parker's answeres pasted on the back of Smith's Letters, in Bp. Parker's own Collection of Letters. *MS. Coll. Corp. Chr. Cant.*—As well as from the Body of the Letters; it was Parker, not Cranmer, that had writ concerning Priests' Marriage; & in the Second Letter here cited M^r Person is styl'd his Grace's Chaplain, who was Chaplain to Parker, & afterwards one of the Prebends of Canterbury, &c.—But Parker's Letters put the thing beyond doubt, being subscribed with his name, & the Letter dat. Aug. ult. 1559, directed to S^r John Mason & M^r D^r Wright, Commissioners to the Queen, at Oxford. v. *Epistolæ virorum Illustrum MSS. Col. Corp. Chr. F.* 110, &c. See what is sayd in Parker's Life, in *Antiq. Brit.*, wth further clears this matter. P. ult. in *Mathæo*.

P. 163. [line 3. Smith recanted some opinions respecting the Mass, but what they were, Burnet could not find.] The particulars were, concerning submission to Governors in Church & State: 2, Concerning Unwritten Traditions. 3, Concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass. All this may be gather'd from the Retraction itself, printed Lond. An. 1547 cum privilegio, Intituled, *A Godly & Faithfull Retraction made & publish'd at Paul's Cross in London. An. 1547, 15 May, by Master Richard Smith, D.D., & Reader of the King's Majestie's Lecture in Oxford, revoking therein certain errors & faults by him committed in some of his Books.* The same Retraction was made openly at Oxford in August following, with Protestation that he would abide in that opinion untill Death. v. *Becon, Reports of certain Men*, p. 266. It was made at Oxford, Jul. 24, printed Lond. 1547. Therein he confirms his former Retraction, declares it was done freely & without force, &c.: that he would always set forth, maintain, & defend it, & owns it amounted to a Recantation, tho' styl'd a Retraction.

Ib. [line 31. Sees of London, and *Westminster*.] Winchester.

Ib. [line 16 from foot. Bucer died Feb. 28.] *Primo die Martii*

hujus Anni (viz. 1551) obiit Cantabrigiæ Martinus Bucerus, & sepultus est in choro Beatæ Mariæ magnæ. v. Antiq. Brit. in Append. script. a Parkero vel Capel.—Pridie Calend. Martias juxta Petr. Martyr. Epist. Conrad. Huberto.—Obiit Calendis Martiis. Ita Nich. Carrus in Epistolâ ad Joh. Checum. Dat. Id. Mart. 1551; funeri interfuit; v. Bucer Scripta Anglic. p. 867. v. Stryp. Mem. p. 416. Calend. Mart., v. Haddon Orat. de Obitu Suffolc. Fratrum, qui contigit Id. Julii.—Febr. 28. v. Edw. 6. Journ. Feb. 27. v. Melch. Adam's vit. Bucer, p. 220.—Feb. 28. v. Bucer Scripta Anglicana, p. 610.—But Parker's & Haddon's account, (viz. that Bucer dy'd March 1) is most authentick; these two Parker & Haddon having been present at Bucer's death, & having been left executors of his Will. Dat. Febr. 22, An. 1551. v. Bucer Script. Anglican in Præfat., with whome agrees N. Carr. [See respecting Bucer Dr. Lamb's Documents from MSS. C.C.C.C. p. 152 seq.]

Ib. [line penult. Haddon University Orator.] Haddon was never University Orator, as appears from an authentic Catalogue in the Orator's Booke. Roger Ascham was then Orator, whose deputy he was, for that day.

P. 164. [Margin.] De concessione pro Bucero & Fagio, viz. 100^{lib} per ann. v. Rymer Tom. 15, p. 192-3.

Ibid. [line ult. When Gardiner was in a passion the vein between his thumb and forefinger palpitated.] This Gardiner disowns, contra Bucerum, p. 2. Scripsi tamen immotis venis, quas Bucerus pro sui fingendi licentiâ quasi pro moustro in manibus meis, dum cum Scoto illo inepto (viz. Alex. Alesio) contenderem, scribit se animadvertisse.

P. 165. [line 7. Griffith and Leyson, two Civilians.] Griffith Leyson is only one Civilian, the other Civilian was John Oliver, L.L.D. This Griffith Leyson was so ill a man, that his Name deserves to be treated in this manner. He was now one of those that condemn'd Bp. Gardiner, in Queen Mary's time he did the like or worse for Bp. Ferrar, having had a hand in burning him, of w^{ch} see a remarkable passage in M^r Fox.

Ib. [line 14 from foot. Gardiner sentenced April 18.] Febr. 16th according to Fabian. Febr. 14 according to Fox, p. 865. Ed. I., being the true account.

P. 166. [line 14 from foot. Cranmer and Ridley said to have framed the articles.] v. Ch. Gov. Par. 5. § 168, 169. v. Dr Wake. State of the Church, p. 599.

P. 171. [line 30. Two of the King's Chaplains to be sent into Lancashire] & Darby. [line 33. two into Norfolk] & Essex.

P. 176. [The Sweating Sickness.] [See Jenkyns's Cranmer. Append. No. 42.]

P. 182. [Seals taken from Lord Rich.] There are several Inconsistencies in this Story. 1. The Duke was already condemn'd, & there could be no use of Information. 2^d. Had there been any such discovery, the Seals would not have been sent for by three such Great Lords. 3^d. He was really sick when the Seals were sent for. 4. They were not taken from him, only deliver'd to the Bp. of Ely during his sickness. v. K. Edward Journ. p. 42, 43. And lastly Fuller, who

first reported this story from the E. of Warwick (Ch. Hist. L. 7, p. 408,) says the D. of Norfolk was then in the Charter House, w^{ch} mistake the Bp. has corrected, but the whole relation seems a Fable. And Fuller in probability mistakes the Charter House for Christ Church in Aldgate, commonly call'd Duke's Place, because the Duke of Norfolk dwelt there, tho' not so soon as this accident is sayd to happen.

P. 195. [line 11 from foot. Convocation (1552) agreed to the Articles.] non constat.

Ib. [Margin. Reformation of Eccl. Courts.] He should have sayd, *A Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws*. For so is the Title. Of this see Stryp. Mem. L. i. chap. 30. v. Fuller's Ch. Hist. L. 7, p. 420.

P. 196. [line 28. first of Nov.] eleaventh of Novembr.

Ib. [line 7 from foot. In the Preface to Reform. Leg. Eccl. Cranmer is said to have done the whole work almost himself.] All that is sayd is this, Summæ negotii præfuit Tho. Cranmerus Archiep. Cant. Impress. an. 1571.—The work was carry'd on by Cranmer, with the assistance of Haddon, Rol. Taylor, & Pet. Martyr. v. Melch. Adam. vit. Martyr, p. 44.

P. 202. [Margin. Poverty of the Clergy.] v. Latymer's Sermons before King Edw. p. 30, 37, 63, 46. v. Lever's Sermons.

P. 203. [line 5. Heath was imprisoned.] That Heath was made a Prisoner, I very much doubt. It is very certain that he was confin'd a year or upwards to the Bp. of London's House. See Letters of the Martyrs, p. 39.—He was some time a Prisoner in the Fleet, & afterwards for his health remov'd to the Bp. of London.

Ib. [line 25. Hooper called Bp. of Worcester, not of Gloucester and Worcester.] v. Appendix, p. 396. v. Collect. L. 2, num. 12. v. Anth. Harm. p. 133, 118. v. Stryp. Mem. L. 3, ch. 2, where Hooper is sayd to be depriv'd of the Bprick of Worcester by the Restitution of Heath; & remov'd from Gloucester for his marriage & other Demerits; & this from the Register of Ch. of Canterb. v. Heylin Hist. Ref. p. 101. Par. 2, p. 21. Hooper subscribes a Declaration in Q. Mary's time, dated May 8, an. 1554, thus, *John Wigorn and Glouc. Episcopus alias John Hooper*. See Fox, vol. 3, p. 102.

P. 204. [line 14. Sir Ant. St. Leiger, then Deputy, recalled from Ireland.] upon his second going over L^d Dep. he was accused of treason by George ArchBp of Dublin, (says Bale, *Vocation* p. 32) who thought by such services to obtain the high Primacy of Ireland from the ArchBprick of Armagh, as he did indeed. Full well bestow'd. v. Stryp. p. 38. That the Primacy was transferr'd from Armagh to Dublin, an. 1551, & restor'd to Armagh by Q. Mary. v. War. de Præs. p. 36.

Ib. [line 23. Bp. of Valence sent to Ireland by the Q. Dowager of Scotland.] He was not sent by her, but by the King of France. Melvil Memoir, p. 8.

Ib. [line 27. Wauchop a blind Scot.] [*After the note printed in vol. 3 Baker adds*] De eodem. v. Spondan. an. 1546, § 3.

P. 205. [line 15. Bale Bp. of Ossory.] Bale was a Friend of

Knox's; & no Friend to Ceremonies. v. Troubl. Frankfort, p. 20, 25. Likewise a Friend & Companion of Joh. Fox, both in England & Germany, as he says of himself in his account of Fox. v. Fuller Hist. L. 9, p. 68. Bale was not recommended by any, but promoted by the King himself of his own proper motion, having hit upon him in his progress to Southampton, within 5 miles of his Parsonage of Bp.'s Stocke, having been told before that he was dead. This was Aug. 15, an. 1552. Aug. 16 A Letter was writ by the K. & Councell to that purpose (w^{ch} I put in y^e Appendix.*) But Bale refus'd, alledging impediments of Poverty, Age, & Sickness, w^{ch} were not accepted. Decemb. 19 he tooke his journey, & Jan. 21 tooke ship, with his wife & one servant, & in two days landed at Waterford, He & Hugh Goodaker were consecrated on the day of y^e Purification of our Lady, according to the new Form of Ordination, by George ArchBp. of Dublin, Tho. Bp. of Kildare, & Urbane Bp. of Duno assisting. But there is nothing sayd of two others promoted at the same time. [*Burnet says that there were two others then promoted.*] v. Vocation of Joh. Bale to the Bprick of Ossorie, p. 16, 17, 19, &c., where he says of himself that he was put into that Bprick by the King, against his own will, by the K. of his own meer motion without suit of Friends, mede, labour, expences, or any other sinister meane els. ib. p. 4. After that he went into his Diocess, & soon after betwixt Easter & Ascention Day receiv'd News, that Hugh Goodaker ArchBp. of Armagh was poyson'd at Dublin by procurement of certain Priests of his Diocess for preaching Gods word, & rebuking their vices, ib. p. 22, & advis'd to take care of himself, ib., & he underwent great dangers; some of his Servants were slain, p. 28. He was no Friend to Ceremonies, particularly to the Cope, Crosier, & Mitre, w^{ch} he was unwilling to wear, p. 24 ib.—In Q. Eliz. time Bale cared not to return to his Bprick, but sat down content with a Prebend of Canterbury, where he dy'd Novembr. an. 1563, aged 68 years, & is bury'd in the Cathedral Ch. there. v. Waræum de Præsul. & de Scriptor. Hiber. p. 136 of Bale & Goodaker. See Bal. Centur. p. 109 Append.

P. 208. [line 13 from foot. The Queen] Dowager.

P. 209. [none but a — lass] skittering. Melvil, p. 14.

Ib. [line 10 from foot. the Constable himself told Melvil.] p. 9. But the Bp.'s politic Reflections are most his own.

P. 216. [line 8. Ridley in one of his Letters writes that he was named to be Bp. of Durham; but the thing never took effect.] Ridley in that Letter (w^{ch} may be seen in Fox, vol. 3, p. 505, 507,) says he was not only nam'd by King Edward to the Bprick of Durham, & openly denounced in court, but likewise says twice in that Letter, that he was elected thereto. He was a native of Northumberland [*Burnet says of Durham*] (ib. p. 432) & his Relations nam'd in that letter were of the same county. See also Bp. Wren de Custodibus Pembroch, under Ridley.

P. 219. [line 25. a new Catechism, compiled, as is believed by

* Baker has inserted in his copy an Appendix of MSS. This letter I give elsewhere.

Poinet.] Mr Strype Memor. p. 294 produceth a conjecture of Dr Ward's, that it was compil'd by Alex. Nowel.* But he was not then considerable enough to be the Author. For Bp. Ridley says (see Fox, vol. 3. p. 43) it was made of a Great Learned man, and one that passed him (Ridley) no less than the Learned Master his young Scholar. Ridley owns he noted many things for it. [Fox. ib. p. 72] & so it is probable it was the work of several Hands. Cranmer himself seems to have been the Compiler. See Fox vol. 3. p. 43, 72, 80, 581, 582, 647, 657. Tho' there be great probability that Poinet was the compiler thereof. For Joh. Bale, who liv'd in Poinet's Family says Poinet wrote *Catechismum Latinum ad Regem* beginning thus, *Cum Brevis & explicata Catechismi*—The very words of Edw. 6 before the Catechism here mention'd. v. Bal. Centur. Oct. p. 694. v. Ch. Gov. Par. 5. § 168, 169, proving Cranmer y^e Author.

P. 221. [line 31. Edward reported to have been poisoned.] Haddon gives a very different account of this matter in his answer to Osorius. L. 1. p. 25. Beuther ad an. 1553 says, *Omniumque erat indubitata opinio veneno extinctum esse.* Another Author, a German, under the name of P. V., who was in England at K. E. death in a Treatise De Immaturâ morte Edw. 6th says thus. *Unde non jam suspicio, sed fides omnibus facta est, Regem veneno interfectum esse.* —Inter Scriptores German. Tom. 2^d. Fol. 1885.

P. 222. [Margin. Edward leaves the crown to Jane.] See King Edward's device for the Succession, together with the Originall Act of Council, signed by all the Council &c. in Dr Burnet's Reflections on the third & fourth Tome of Mr Varillas. p. 107, 108, &c.

P. 225. [line 27. Edward wrote many letters to Fitz-Patrick.] with Instructions concerning his Religion & Learning &c. v. Fuller Worth. in Middlesex.

Ib. [line 9 from foot. whipping boy, always to be whipt for the King's faults.] Quær.

Ib. [line 8 from foot. Fitz-Patrick made by Eliz. Baron of Upper Ossory.] He seems to have been so by Inheritance. For Joh. Bale (Vocation p. 23) speaks of Barnaby the Baron of Upper Ossorie's son, a considerable Person in England in K. Edw. 6. time.

P. 234. [line 19 from foot. Lady Jane had learnt the Latin and Greek tongues.] She was likewise skilfull in the Hebrew. v. Præfat. Laurentii Humfredi, De Interpretatione Linguarum &c.

P. 235. [line 23. An answer written to Mary, signed by Cranmer &c.] as likewise by R. Rich & John Gates. In all three & twenty. So Fox's copy of this Letter. vol. 3. p. 15.

P. 238. [Margin. Ridley preaches for Lady Jane's title.] Sunday Jul. 16 Dr Ridley Bp. of London preached at Paul's Cross, where he declared in his Sermon—The Lady Mary & Elizabeth to be Illegitimate & not lawfully begotten &c., according to God's Law,—and so found both by y^e Clergy & Acts of Parliament in Henry 8th's time—

* In Strype's note on this passage (Burnet, vol. iii.) Baker corrects Pagnet into Poinet, and then says much the same as he does here, referring further to Strype's Eccl. Memor. ii. 368.

w^{ch} the people murmured at. v. MS of ArchBp. Parker, Coll. Corp. Chr. Cant. Miscellan. P. Fol. 1615 alias 616.

P. 239. [line 7 &c. The Earl of Arundel.]*

Ibid. [Margin. Mary proclaimed.]† See the Form of y^c Proclamation in Italian in Giul. Rosso p. 21, 22, who was in England in that Reign. The Queen retains the Title of Supreme Head of y^c Church. It is dated Jul. 19.

P. 240. [line 5. Mary received all suppliants favourably except Ridley] sent back by her from Framlingham to the Tower. v. Fox. vol. 3. p. 16. [line 7. Ridley's sermon a pretext for severity against him.] v. p. 238.

Ibid. [line 7 from foot. Henry had purposed putting Mary to death.] The King did not mean death, but imprisonment, as appears from Morice's account of this matter publish'd in Stryp. Mem. p. 431. L. 3. ch. 30. And the Queen's Letter can be interpreted no otherwise, w^{ch} must be understood of such a punishment as was reconcileable with hopes of better times & expectations of Deliverance.—Only imprisonment meant; see Antiq. Brit. p. 341. v. Godwin Annal. ad an. 1554. p. 279.—Fox understands this punishment of Death, Contra Osorium, Lib. 3. p. 277.—Quum Henricus Rex Mariæ Pater in filiam capitali commotus acerbitate necem illi, occultis quibusdam de causis, pararet, venerandus Archiepiscopus modesta interpellatione iram Patris reflexit, vitam conservavit Filiae, quæ suo conservatori mortem postea pro vitâ conservatâ retulit.—And so does Sanders, from whome, I suppose, this account was borrow'd. v. Sander. De visib. monarch. p. 662.

P. 241. [line 1. Katherine sent to Mary a Life of Christ, perhaps by Thomas a Kempis.] ‡*Or rather, the Life of Christ, writ by Catherine of Siena, being more agreable, as writ by a St of the Queen's own name, & under whose protection she might possibly be.*‡ A Booke with that Title, but not by Her.

P. 242. [line 12 from foot. The Great Seal after being for some days in Hare's keeping.] 14 [was on the 13th of August given to Gardiner.] On the 23^d according to Godwin Annal. an. 1553, & Heylin Hist. Refor. Par. 2. p. 20. Holingshed p. 1090. Stow p. 616. —An. 1553. 1. Mar. Steph. Gardiner Bp of Wint. made Chancellor of Eng. 21 Sept. Pat. 1 Mar. See Dugd. Catalog. of L^d Chancel. p. 24.

P. 243. [line 23. The Duke's son, the Earl of Warwick.] v. Dugd. Summon. p. 579. So likewise he is styled E. of Warwic in the Bill confirming his Attainder. 1 Mar. Chap. 16.—See Jo. Dee's Preface to Euclide, Fol. 6.

Ibid. [Margin. the Duke at his death professes he had been

* See a Life of this Earl, edited by Mr. J. G. Nichols, in the Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1833, &c., which contains several interesting particulars relating to these times.

† See in Ellis, Series II., No. 148, a letter from the Council to Mary, announcing their proclamation of her title.

‡ The words in italics are erased in the original.

always a papist.] He does not say this in His dying Speech printed by the Q. own Printer Joh. Cawood, cum privilegio. v. Clas. v. 20. 5. —printed in Latin, Romæ an. 1570, translated by Ric. Shelley. Clas. F. 7. 27. Bibl. Col. Jo. —Shelley said to be the Translator in a MS note.

P. 244. [line 1. The Duke desired the people would drive out these Trumpets of Sedition, the new Preachers.] Nor is this expression in his printed Speech. ib. [for himself, whatever he had otherwise pretended, &c.] nor this ib. But see another Lat. printed Copy of y^e Speech; Script. Germ. vol. 2. p. 1889.

Ibid. [lines antepen. and 16 from foot. Edward buried Aug. 8th: Cranmer performed all the offices of the Burial in English.] Cranmer was confin'd to his House about the beginning of August.* v. Stryp. p. 307 et Append. num. 109. —Day, Bp. of Chichester, preaching, executing in English, & administering the Sacrament according to the manner—in the Reign of K. Edward.—v. Bp. Godwin Annual. an. 1553. v. Holingshed p. 1089, 1090. —Pollanus says, this was done by Cranmer's procurement, but he had not then power to order or direct.—It was reported, that Cranmer offer'd to say Mass, at the buriall of King Edw. 6th, w^{ch} tho' false, yet there could have been no possible ground for such a report, had he perform'd all y^e offices in English. See Letters of the Martyrs, p. 25.

P. 247. [Judge Hales.] v. The Communication betwixt my L^d Chancellor & Judg Hales being among other Judges to take his Oath in Westminster Hall. an. 1553. Octobr. 6.† v. Cl. F. [now F*] 13. 40. [In the University Library.]

THE COMMVNICA-

tion betwene my Lord Chauncel-
lor and iudge Hales, being among
other iudges to take his oth
in VWestminster hall

Anno. M.D.Liii.

Vi. of October.

Chauncelor.

Master Hales, ye shall vnderstand that like as the quenes highnes hath hertofore receiuid good opinion of you, especiallie, for that ye stode both faithfullie and lafulli in hir cause of iust succession, refusing to set your hande to the booke amonge others that were against hir grace in that behalfe; so nowe through your owne late desertes: against certain hir highnes dooinges: ye stande not well in

* "Cranmer was called before the Council in the beginning of August,—& was commanded to keep his house, &c. See page 221 of this [3rd] volume." Baker's additional note in vol. 3. Appendix, p. 409.

† Baker, in the remainder of the note, has given only an extract from this little piece. I have given the whole, as it is curious, and, I suppose, scarce. See further, Letters of the Martyrs, p. 286, &c., 884—pp. 220, 238, &c., 295 of the reprint.

hir graces fauour. And therefor, before ye take anie othe, it shal be necessarie for you to make your purgation.

Hales.

I praie you my Lorde, what is the cause ?

Chauncelor.

Informatiō is geuen, that ye haue indicted certain priestes in Kent, for saiiing of Masse.

Hales.

Mi Lorde it is not so, I indicted none, but in dede certaine indictamentes of like matter wer brought before me at the laste assises there holdē, and I gaue order therein as the lawe required. For I haue professed the law, agaist [*sic*] which, in cases of iustice wil I neuer (god willinge) procede, nor in ani wise dissemble, but with the same shewe forth mi conscience, and if it were to do againe, I wolde doe no lesse then I did.

Chauncelor.

Yea Master Hales, your cōsience [*sic*] is knowne wel inough. I know ye lacke no conscience.

Hales.

Mi Lord, ye mai do wel to serch your owne conscience, for mine is better knowne to mie selfe then to you, and to be plaine, I did aswell vse iustice in your saide Masse case bi mi cōscience as bi the law, wherin I am fulli bent to stand in trial to the vttermost that can be obiected. And if I haue therin done ani iniuri or wrōg: let me be iudged bi the lawe, for I will seeke no better defence, considering chieflī that it is mi profession.

Chauncelor.

Whi master Hales, althoughe ye had the rigour of the law on your side, yet ye might haue hadde regard to the quenes highnes presēt doinges in that case. And further although ye seme to be more then precise in the law: yet I thinke ye wolde be veri loth to yelde to the extremitie of suche aduantage as mighte be gathered againste your proceedinges in the lawe, as ye haue some time taken vppon you in place of iustice. And if it were well tried, I beleue ye shuld not be wel able to stand honestli therto.

Hales.

Mi Lord i am not so perfect but I mai erre for lacke of knowledge. But both in consience [*sic*] & such knoledge of the law as god hath geuē me, i wil do nothing but i wil maintain and abide in it. And if mi goodes and all that I haue be not able to counterpaise the case: mi bodie shal be redi to serue the turne, for thei be all at the quenes highnesse pleasure.

Chauncelor.

Ah sir, ye be veri quicke and stoute in your answers. But as it

shoulde seme, that which ye did was more of a will, fauouring the opinion of your Religion against the Seruice nowe vsed, then for ani occasiō or zeale of iustice, seinge the quenes highnes dooth set it furthe, as yet wishinge all hir faithful subiectes to imbrace it accordingly: & where ye offer both bodie and goodes in your triall, there is no such matter required at youre handes, and yet ye shall not haue your owne will neither.

Hales.

My Lord, I seke not wilful will, but to shew my self as i am bound in loue to God, and obedience to the quenes maiestie, in whose cause willigly for iustice sake (al other respectes set apart) i did of late (as your Lordship knoeth) aduenture as much as i had. And as for my religion, i trust it to be suche as pleaseth God, wherein i am redy to aduenture aswell my life as my substance, if i be called therunto. And so in lacke of mine owne power ad wil, the Lordes wil be fulfilled.

Chauncelor.

Seing ye be at this point Master Hales, i wil presently make an end with you. The quenes highnes shal be enfourmed of youre opinion, and declaration. And as hir grace shal therupon determine, ye shall haue knoledge, vntil whiche tyme ye may depart, as ye came without your oth, for as it appeareth, ye ar scarce worthi the place appointed.

Hales.

I thancke your Lordship, and as for my vocation, being both a burthen and a charge, more then euer i desired to take vpon me, whensoever it shal please the quenes highnes to ease me therof: i shall moost humbli with due contentation obei the same.

And so departed from the barre.*

P. 248. [line 6. The fear of impending cruelties turned Hales's brain.] He chang'd his Religion, w^{ch} was the occasion of his melancholy. v. Fox Martyr, vol. 3, p. 957, 19, 185. See a Letter to Bp. Hooper, printed with his Apology, against a report, that he should encourage such as cursed the Queen. See Letters of the Martyrs, p. 384.

P. 250. [line 17. an Order sent to John a Lasco, &c. to be gone.] Utenhov. says nothing of this order. All that was done was, to interdict them the use of y^r ministry, & they thought themselves oblig'd not to desert their Flock & ministry. v. Utenhov. p. 20, 30, &c. Fox, vol. 3, p. 39, says, Alasco went, in pursuance of a Gen. Proclamation against Foreigners in generall. v. Stow, p. 622.

Ibid. [line 25. a Lasco ill received in Denmark.] Uterque Concionator Reg. testatur—dubium non esse, quin Rex facilius sit toleraturus Papistas, in Regno suo, quam nos.—Utenhov. p. 92. v. Melch. Adam. vit. Lasci. v. Collect, p. 202, 3.

* The little book here reprinted is a 12mo, of eight pages, two of which, viz., the reverse of the title and the last page, are blank. I have retained the faulty punctuation.

P. 251. [line. 3. Cox's *Prebendary at Westminster.*] *Deanery of.* [line 21. Horn refused to accept of his Bishoprick.] administration of his Episcopal power. [*In the margin against the note on this passage in Burnet, vol. 3, Baker has written.*] See M^r Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. 2, p. 367, 395, 533, & Quære.

Ibid. [line 14 from foot. Grant to the E. of Sussex, that he might cover his head in the Queen's presence.] Of this grant to the E. of Sussex see Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 635, 636, from the Originall. See the Patent in Heyl. Hist. Reform. par. 2, p. 20. Dat. Octob. 2. An. Reg. 1, w^{ch} only grants leave to him to wear his Cap, Coyfe, or Night Cap in her presence. The like honor was granted to Francis Brown, Father to Ant. Brown of Tolethorp in Rutland Esq. v. Fuller's Ch. Hist. L. 9, p. 167. By w^{ch} it should seem, this honor was not very unusuall.*

Ibid. [Margin. Mary is crowned.] At her Coronation, she tooke the oath of obedience to the Pope, (see Fox, vol. 3, p. 676) w^{ch} makes it improbable, that she retain'd the Title of Supreme Head, as is asserted in the following page.

P. 252. [line 24. In all Writs the Queen retained still the Title of Supreme Head.] In the Statutes printed an. 1554, cum privilegio Reg. The Queen is (in the Title) styled, *In Earth Supreme Head.* So says Coke, upon Littleton, L. 1, cap. 1, p. 7. See Heyl. Hist. Ref. par. 2, p. 20. See Fox, vol. 3, p. 41. See Coke Institut. par. 4, p. 344. v. Ch. Gov. par. 5, p. 65. It was question'd, whether the writs of Summons were Legal, because they wanted this Title. Seld. Titl. p. 60. v. Dyer Novel Cases, p. 98. v. D'Ewes's Journ. p. 38, 44. Stat. 1 & 2 Ph. & Mar. Ch. 8. v. Heyl. Hist. Ref. par. 2, p. 20. v. Nicholson's Hist. Lib. par. 3, p. 7.

Ib. [line 20 from foot. One Beal speaks of Bishops being violently thrust out of Parl. for not worshipping the Mass.] His name in Fox is Hales, & this passage is not fairly represented. v. Fox Mart. vol. 3, p. 977, 978. Very unfairly represented. v. ib. Nor is Hales's a fair account, as appears from the passage of Alex. Nowel, compar'd with the Bp.'s account from the Journal of the Commons. v. Fox, ib. P. 978. Hales's account is an Oration, & it seems he takes the liberty of an Orator.

Ibid. [line 24. Parliament opened Oct. 10.] The Speaker in this Parl. Joh. Pollard, Esq., was chosen Oct. 5th, according to D^r Brady. See MS. of Parl. The Summons was for 5th Octobr. See Dugdal. Summon. p. 514.—And wher your Highness Soveraygne Lady, since your coming to the Crown of this Realm, of a good & Christen Conscience, omitted to wryte the sayd style of Supremacy—as well in Gifts, Graunts, Letters Patents, as in Commissions, & other wrytynga v. Stat. an. 1^m° et 2^d° Phil. et Mar. cap. 8, fol. 22. Edit. an. 1555. v. Strype's Memorial of ArchBp. Cranmer, p. 324, 333, 319.

P. 257. [line 16. Cranmer attainted Nov. 8.] *13 of Novembr.

* Hen. VIII. granted the same honour to Dr. Gwent. Baker's MSS. (Brit. Mus.) vol. xx. p. 43.

*Godw. Annal. An. 1553.** Nov. 3 ArchBp. Cranmer was in the Guildhall in London arraigned & attainted of treason, namely, for aiding the Duke of Northumb. with horse & Men against the Queen. Holingshed, p. 1093.

Ibid. [line 19 from foot. It was resolved, that Cranmer should be considered Abp. until his degradation.] In the Pope's Commission to proceed against Cranmer & degrade him, &c., he is styled, Olim Archiepiscopus Cantuar. v. Commission Dat. 19 Cal. Januar. an. 1555. ap. Fox Martyr. vol. 3, p. 997, 998.

(Baker's MS. Appendix to Burnet, vol. ii. referred to above.)

"A copy of a Letter sent from the Lords of the Councill
to Joh. Bale.

To our very Loving Friend Doctor Bale.

After our Hearty Commendations. For as much as the King's Majestie is minded, in consideration of your Learning, wisdom, & other virtuous qualities, to bestow upon you the Bishopric of Ossorie in Ireland presently void, we have thought meet both to give you knowledge thereof, & therewithall to let you understand, that His Majestie would ye made your repair hither to the Court, as soon as conveniently ye may, to the end that if ye be enclined to embrace this charge, His Highness may at your coming give such order for the farther proceeding with you herein as shall be convenient. And thus we bid you heartily Farewell.

From Southampton the 16 Day of Aug. 1552.

Your Loving Friends, W. Winchestre, J. Bedford, H. Suffolk, W. Northampton, T. Darcy, T. Cheine, Johan. Gate, W. Cecill.

Vocation of J. Bale, p. 16, 17. Printed an. 1553.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions
of his Correspondents.

REFUSING TO BURY A BURGLAR IN LONDON.

DEAR SIR,—The above case is admitted by many to be a difficult one; to act or not to act on such an occasion officially, that is the question.

The circumstances of the case are most deplorable, and leave little room indeed for Christian sympathy, either with the departed or the survivors.

Still, there are, and have been, instances in which, if I may so say,

* The words in italics are struck out in the original.

the charity of the church has been strangely put to the test; and, I confess, that in this one my conscience would not have prevented my performing the service had it been a part of my duty to deal with it in a parish.

Canon 68 of the Church of England says—"No minister shall refuse, or delay, to bury any corpse, &c."—"convenient warning having been given." The exception is "*majori excommunicatione*;" and "the major is that thereby a person is cut off from all society with other Christians, becomes an outlaw, is disabled from defending his rights by bringing an action into a court of justice, &c."

The "lesser" bears reference to the Lord's Supper. "Grievous and notorious," doubtless, was the "crime," and "no man able to testify his repentance;" yet "it is the duty, says Rogers, of the minister to bury all Christian persons dying within the parish." It will be said, this was not a Christian person, judging by his actions and intentions. But Rogers seems also to state, from Chief Justice Abbott, that "If a person refuse to bury the body of a dead person brought for interment in the usual way, then he is by no means prepared to say" that the "court would not grant a mandamus to compel him."

I know it is no easy matter to hope here against hope. I know that "no murderer hath eternal life."* I know that the will implies the sin. I am conscious that our burial service is best adapted for real, true, sincere, Christians. But, are we capable of thoroughly judging the matter as it lies before God? Are we sure that implicit reliance can be placed upon others? Are we certain that, dark though the character of the crime, there was, and could be, nothing to reconcile it to us (thus to express it,)—that the burial of a dog was absolutely required? Is our service altogether personal? Does it not say "the resurrection," &c.? Did the mourners give no room for sympathy?

In complying with the request of burial, I conceive that we do not necessarily compromise our church, and so, our faith. In refusing—I take it—that we may be establishing a point in which, as a principle, there may be much to recommend; but it can be little satisfaction to us as churchmen, to leave without the rites of burial the corpse of one whose spirit is far beyond human reproof, and reproach, and all earthly beings.

I could have wished to have entered further and more fully into my reasons, and the considerations to which both sides of the question give rise; but, forasmuch as "*brevis esse laboro*." Adieu.

Yours very truly,

CLERICUS C. & C.

PS.—Whatever the original intention of the church, has she given orders for such cases? or has she positively left it to the discretion of individual ministers?

Since I sent the foregoing letter I see by the *Times* that certain arguments, "however conclusive" to one person, "were far from being conclusive" to the other. Although several parties to whom I have mentioned the matter inclined, more or less, to refusal, a rector of a

* 1 Jo. iii. 15.

parish very justly observed, that he did not see where such exceptions were to end.

I. The state of the man.

II. The position of the clergyman, (and herein th **Rubric**, and the **Service**.)

III. The nature of the difficulties.

These, and such points, ~~doubtless~~, bring before us many considerations.

But does the ~~church~~ **enforce** in all its strictness every particular? She does **give** openings for the discretion of the minister. Is he required, however, thus to exhibit his discretion? We cannot in cases of ~~much~~ better characters absolutely assert that we use the expressions with the same satisfaction as over the "excellent of the earth." In a large parish how often must there be misgivings if we seek to apply minutely in each case.

Whatever uneasiness it may seem to create, I can scarcely think that, even if it were optional to vary according to our view of each life, there would be any great amount of real good.

As it is, we show in those lively sayings what a funeral ought to evince—and though we may regret that of all we have not the best hope. The God of the penitent thief reigns, who, I trust, will not punish our church, or her ministers, for allowing Christian burial, though undeserved—for spreading forth the voice of those lovely words which pervade our service—rather than leave unburied the corpse of the sinful, of whose repentance though "none can testify," still decency, and propriety, unless there is some positive order to the contrary, require to be buried with some service, and we have but one. It is, dear sir, I think, a great mercy that the responsibility of determination rests not so with the minister, as that, even in cases little intricate, he should be obliged to decide. Are not the grounds of opinion often connected with much that is intricate? and must our conclusion be sufficient from inadequate premises?

Our church seems to have placed the matter in a considerate aspect. Her care is for the "dear brother" and the "dear sister." But, in that which amounts to the law of the land, she makes the threefold exception—of those without holy baptism, of those excommunicated from the faithful, and of those whose own hands have been their ruin. The first speaks for itself. Of the second I have taken notice before; and we know how the case stands in the third exception.

In a case where we certainly may bury and, I conceive, with a safe conscience, it is well to call to mind how far in a way of fairness even tender consciences need be affected. It is a good word of Bishop Sanderson—that "we must ever do that which, according to the exigence of present circumstances, (so far as all the wisdom and charity we have will serve us to judge) shall seem to us most expedient and profitable to mutual edification."

Out of the world in mercy, doth not God take even the wicked? To those who can hardly be "absolutely certain" of the result in the end, "different degrees of hope" have been recommended. Suppose the hope "very faint," have we not a most charitable "desire?" If

we do not feel "full assurance" will not affection turn—if she cannot to good evidence, yet to probability; and lean upon the nearest approach to testimony, rather than even seem censorious?

Encouragement in sin there need not be, if we do bury an intentional murderer and burglar. For the good promises are to the faithful in Christ. As to others, "God is the Judge," and reason and religion both assure us "His mercies are great."

ST. AUGUSTINE ON THE MILLENNIUM.

REV. SIR,—St. Augustine is usually claimed by the adversaries of the primitive millenarian doctrine as one of its opponents. Whether he is really to be so regarded or not; in other words, in what sense and to what extent he may be justly styled an opponent of the millenarian doctrine, is a question which deserves candid and careful consideration.

In the note on the Millennium in Mr. Dodgson's translation of Tertullian, it is stated that "S. Augustine at one time looked for a spiritual Millennium, and delivers it as an undoubted truth. 'That *eighth day* (John, xx. 26) signifies the new life at the end of the world; the *seventh* the rest of the saints, which shall be on the earth. For the Lord will reign on the earth with his saints, as the Scriptures say, and will have a church here, where no evil shall enter. For the church shall appear first in great brightness and dignity and righteousness.' (Serm. 259, in die Dom. octav. Pasch. § 1, 2.)"

It is then added, that "he differs from Irenæus in that he supposes the Millennium to succeed the Judgment." But in the extract which follows, and which I here subjoin, may not St. Augustine clearly be understood to mean what Mede styles "*the morning judgment*,"—i. e., that "of Antichrist and all his partakers, whom Christ shall *destroy at the appearing of His coming*,—2 Thess. ii. 8," (Mede, Book V. c. iii. § 1;) and thus the views of St. Irenæus and of St. Augustine, as here expressed, will exactly agree. The extract is given thus: "After the sifting of the day of judgment, the mass of the saints will appear [separated from the chaff] resplendent in dignity, very mighty in good deeds, and showing forth the mercy of their Redeemer. And this shall be the seventh day. When that sixth day" [of the reformation of men after the image of our Creator in Christ] "shall have passed away, then shall come the rest after that sifting, and the saints and righteous of God shall have their sabbath. But after the sabbath, we shall pass into that life and that rest, of which it is written, that 'eye hath not seen nor ear heard,' " (ib.)

The writer of this note then remarks, that "S. Augustine, even when he had changed his view, speaks very tenderly of the spiritual Millennium. 'They who, on account of the first words in this book, (Rev. xx. 1, sqq.,) have imagined that there will be a first corporeal resurrection, have, among other things, been chiefly moved by the number of "1000 years," as though there ought thus to be fulfilled in

the saints as it were a sabbath of such duration, a holy rest—namely, after the labours of 6000 years since man's creation and ejection from the bliss of paradise, entailed by that great sin, into the sorrows of this mortal life: so that, since it is written, 'one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day,' the 6000 years [of the duration of the world] being accomplished, as it were six days, there should follow, as it were, the seventh day of the sabbath in the last 1000 years, the saints, namely, rising again to celebrate their sabbath. *Which opinion would be at all events unobjectionable, if it were believed that the saints should, in that sabbath, have [any] spiritual joys through the presence of the Lord.* For we, too, so thought once. But since they say that they who shall then rise again, shall be wholly given up to most immoderate carnal feasts, in which there shall be so much eating and drinking, as not only to preserve no moderation, but even to pass the bounds of heathenism itself, these things cannot be believed except by carnal men." (De Civ. D. xx. 7.)

The natural and, we may add, necessary inference from what is here stated appears to be, that St. Augustine originally held what was the opinion generally maintained in the church on this subject, until a prejudice had been raised in his mind against it by such a corruption of the primitive doctrine as he states at the close of the preceding extract. If such a vile and scandalous perversion of the primitive doctrine was in his time held and taught by any persons, his language of censure in respect to it seems to err rather on the side of leniency than of severity. Certainly, however, no such gross and carnal notions were taught by the early fathers whose testimony has been adduced in my former letters as advocating the primitive doctrine concerning the kingdom of Christ upon earth. Not only does St. Irenæus, for instance, profess his "belief that the saints will in that Sabbath have spiritual joys through the presence of the Lord;" but he teaches that the grand object of the millennial kingdom is to train up the saints, who shall partake of the glories of it, for the more immediate presence and vision of God in the final state of blessedness. "Regnabunt justi in terrâ, crescentes ex visione Domini, et per ipsum assuescent capere gloriam Dei Patris, et cum sanctis angelis conversationem et communionem et unitatem spiritualium in regno capient." "Sicut vere resurgit, sic et vere præmeditabitur incorruptelam, et augebitur et vigebit in regni temporibus, ut fiat capax gloriæ Patris." (Irenæi Adv. Hæres. Lib. v. § 35.) Such a doctrine as this, even when for the reasons assigned he had been led to adopt an opinion in some respects different from the primitive one, St. Augustine's own words above quoted declare that he regarded as unobjectionable; and that he did not intend, in the concluding part of the extract, to condemn. If, therefore, he is to be regarded as an opponent of the millenarian doctrine, it is clear that this must be taken in a very limited and qualified sense; and that his opposition, such as it was, originated from causes similar to those which gave rise to that of St. Dionysius, as described in my last letter. Even had it been much more decided, and expressly manifested against the doctrine as taught by the primitive fathers, the words of a writer of the last century, in

reference to the case of St. Dionysius, would be strictly applicable in such an instance: "it is no way just or congruous with good sense to set up the authority of one man against so many and so considerable fathers who preceded him, and had greater opportunities to search into the truth of things than himself, as living, some of them especially, so near the time of St. John the Apostle." (*Spes fidelium*. By a presbyter of the Church of England, 1714.)

I will conclude with the following extract from a letter of Mede to Mr. Estwick (Book iv. Ep. 64. Vol. ii. p. 1026.)

"Besides you say S. Austin intimates that some held some such carnal beatitude. I answer: So he intimates that some did not, and that himself was once of that opinion, and that to hold so was tolerable. 'Quæ opinio esset utcumque tolerabilis, si aliquæ deliciae spirituales in illo Sabbato affuturæ sanctis per Domini (i. e., Christi) præsentiam crederentur. Nam nos etiam hoc opinati fuimus aliquando.' De Civit. Dei, Lib. 20. c. 7."

I remain, Rev. Sir, very respectfully yours,

M. N. D.

SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS.

SIR,—In your September Number you inserted a list of bishops, in which I gave my reasons for maintaining the consecration of Bishops R. Sampson of Chichester, and W. Barlow of St. Asaph, and subsequently of Chichester. Since then, I have put my hand upon some extracts from the *Register at Chichester*, (which were sent to me from thence several years since,) in which *the fact* of the consecration of both these bishops—and also of Bishop Day, in 1543—is distinctly affirmed. The Introduction of Bishop Sampson's Register contains this passage, "qui fuit electus, confirmatus, *et consecratus*," though it does not specify the day. The record of his installation also speaks of him (in the genitive case) as "*rite et canonice electi, confirmati, et consecrati*." In Bishop Day's case, both the commencement of his register, and the record of his installation (by proxy) on 21st May, 1543, speak of him as *consecrated*. In the case of Bishop Barlow's *translation* to Chichester, it is remarkable, that in the opening part of his register, his consecration is distinctly affirmed, "qui fuit electus, confirmatus, *et consecratus*;" which is unusual in cases of *translation*, like this. Indeed, in the record of installation in the very same case, the election and confirmation are alone (as we might expect) named.

With respect to Bishop Barlow's original appointment, whether he were consecrated to St. Asaph in February, 1535-6, or to St. David's on 11th June, 1536, I would remark, that many of the records of consecrations about that time are omitted in the Lambeth registers, and appear as entered in the provincial registers; for example, those of Bishop Hilsey to Rochester, and Bishop Fox to Hereford. Now, Lindsay in his continuation of Mason's "*Vindication*," (*London*, 1728) at p. 27 of his "*Appendix*" to the same, informs

us, that Farrar Barlow's successor in the see of St. David's *burned* many of the ecclesiastical books of that see; and perhaps the very register containing the record of this consecration! Lindsay, however, hints that as Barlow was *in the North* at the time of his election to St. Asaph, and was confirmed *by proxy*, 23rd Feb. 1535-6, so that "it is very likely he was consecrated in the country, by virtue of the archbishop's commission." Nay, is it not possible that he may have been consecrated *at York*, and that the *York registers* might throw some light upon it?

I remain, Sir, yours, &c.,

CLERICUS D.

RUBRICAL QUERIES.

SIR,—In Mr. T. Stephen's History of the Scottish Episcopal Church, in vol. iv., there occurs the following passage: "The congregation of Trinity Church, Helensburgh, was formed in 1841; and during the life of the first incumbent the offertory was collected, the sentences were read, and the prayer for the church militant was read; but in consequence of the present incumbent being only in deacon's orders, these pious and good offices, used in obedience to the rubric, have been discontinued," (p. 637.) May I ask if it is not quite as lawful for deacons, under such or similar circumstances, to read these portions of the Communion Service, as it is for them to read that part of it which precedes the sermon, as, we know, they constantly do? I would also ask, whether the little prayer (I use the word "prayer" advisedly, see Wheatly on 2 Cor. xiii. 14, in the daily service) from the communion service, "The Lord bless us and keep us," &c., is not a better substitute for the usual benediction, "the peace of God," at the close of our service, in the case of deacons officiating, than the repetition in that place of the prayer from 2 Cor. xiii. 14? I would also ask whether, *on communion Sundays*, it is not best to use the Collect, "Grant, we beseech thee," alone, after the sermon, *without any benediction or benedictory prayer*, as it seems to sanction the withdrawal of the non-communicants?

2. Can any of your readers inform me of the origin and date of the beautiful "prayer for unity," in the service for the Accession? It does not occur in the service of 1704 in Queen Anne's reign (Keeling.) In a Prayer Book of George II.'s reign, which I have, it *does* occur. The royal mandate for the other three services bears date of the year 1728; but there is a separate mandate, dated 8th Oct. 1751, ordering, "that *this* form of prayer," (viz., that for the Accession) shall be used on 22nd June, instead of the 11th June, as it had previously been used. Hence the "prayer for unity" certainly existed in 1751, and probably in 1728; but the precise date of its origin I have been unable to ascertain.

3. In announcing the lessons from the Apocrypha, is it allowable to use these words: "Here beginneth the — chapter of the book in

the Apocrypha, called 'Tobit,' or as the case may be? Would not Hooker's hint, that "*as often as these books are read, . . . the style of their difference may expressly be mentioned,*" (Book V. c. xx. s. 11,) imply something of this kind?

I remain, Sir, yours, &c.,

CLERICUS ANGLICANUS.

P.S.—The Rubrical anomaly respecting the "notice" of the Communion being given after the Nicene Creed, and the "Exhortation" being read "after the sermon or homily ended," together with Wheatly's ingenious solution of the difficulty, are well known; I wish to submit for consideration another solution—viz., that the brief "notice" be given, as usual, after the Creed, and the "Exhortation" in full, be read after the prayers at *the evening service*, which is undoubtedly "*after the*" morning sermon, though not immediately after (as Wheatly says of the "Collects *after the offertory,*"') and is, I think, as admissible as the course suggested by Wheatly?

BAPTISMAL REGENERATION. SIR H. J. FUST'S JUDGMENT.

Re GORHAM *v.* THE BISHOP OF EXETER.

(*From the Ecclesiastical Gazette.*)

SIR HERBERT JENNER FUST gave judgment in this case. The learned judge said—The case on which the court was called upon to decide had been most ably and elaborately argued in the early part of the year. The nature of the question to be decided, the vast body of learning which was imported into the discussion, and the important bearing which the decision would most probably have on the interests of the church and on religion, had created more than an ordinary degree of interest in the matter, and, as might well be imagined, had created a corresponding amount of anxiety and sense of responsibility in the mind of the court. Greatly was it to be lamented when any difference of religious opinion arose between members of the same body; but still more was it to be lamented when the parties litigant before the court stood in the relation, as it was in that case, of a beneficed clergyman and his diocesan—the parties in that case being Mr. Gorham, vicar of the parish of St. Just, in the county of Cornwall, diocese of Exeter, and the lord bishop of that diocese. But it was useless to indulge in observations of that kind; it was now too late to derive any advantage from them, for the case had arrived at such a stage as absolutely required the court to pronounce its decision. The circumstances out of which these proceedings originated were these:—The Rev. Mr. Gorham, an ordained minister of the Church of England, a Bachelor of Divinity, and therefore of considerable standing in the church, was presented to the vicarage of St. Just, in January, 1846, by the then Lord Chancellor, to whose patronage the living belonged. On that occasion, Mr. Gorham, on presenting himself for institution to the bishop, produced such testimonials as to his learning,

ability, his moral conduct, and his sound religious principles, that the bishop did not think it necessary to subject him to any personal examination with a view to ascertain the correctness of the testimonials with which he had been furnished. Mr. Gorham accordingly entered on the duties of the benefice, and which he still continued to possess; but circumstances occurred which made it desirable for him to change that living for another; and, accordingly, he was presented by the present Lord Chancellor with the vicarage of Brampford Speke, in the county of Devon, and in the same diocese as his parish of St. Just, that living being also in the patronage of the Crown. That presentation bore date 2nd December, 1847; and on the 6th of that same month Mr. Gorham wrote the bishop, requesting his Lordship to appoint an early day for his admission into the benefice, and suggesting that, as he was not removing into another diocese, neither the testimonials nor the exhibition of his letters of ordination were requisite, but at the same time saying, he should cheerfully comply with his Lordship's wishes in that respect, as far as was practicable. An interchange of letters took place between Mr. Gorham and the bishop's secretary, Mr. R. Barnes, to which it was not necessary further to refer at that time than to state, that the bishop declined to institute Mr. Gorham into the living of Brampford Speke until he had had an opportunity of satisfying himself of that rev. gentleman's fitness for the charge. That determination on the part of the bishop appeared to have originated in certain expressions made use of by Mr. Gorham in the course of his correspondence with his lordship. The bishop, whether rightly or wrongly, conceived doubts as to the soundness of Mr. Gorham's religious opinions, and more especially with respect to his views on baptism, which, in his lordship's opinion, as it appeared in the case before the court, was the foundation of all Christian doctrine. Whether the suspicions of the bishop had any sufficient foundation or not, was immaterial to the question, the fact being that the examination of Mr. Gorham did take place, and the result of that examination formed the subject of the inquiry then before the court. It might be proper to state, however, that the Lord Chancellor, in the exercise of the patronage of the Crown, which was vested in him by virtue of his high office, very properly required that the intended presentees to benefices within his gift should produce testimonials from three beneficed clergymen of the neighbourhood in which they resided, and such testimonials should be countersigned by the bishop of the diocese. Mr. Gorham having obtained his testimonials from three beneficed clergymen as required, forwarded them to the bishop for his counter-signature, but his lordship did not think fit to comply with that request, but he signified to the Lord Chancellor the doubt he entertained concerning the soundness of Mr. Gorham's religious views upon certain points of doctrine, and, accordingly, on the margin of the testimonial the bishop inserted these observations:—"The clergymen who have subscribed this testimonial are highly respectable. But, as I consider the bishop's counter-signature of such document, if it be unaccompanied by any remark as implying his own belief that the party to whom it relates had not held, written, or taught anything

contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the United Church of England and Ireland, and as my own experience, unfortunately, attests that the Rev. George Cornelius Gorham did in the course of last year, in correspondence with myself, hold, write, and maintain what is contrary to the discipline of the said church; and as what he further wrote makes me apprehend that he holds also what is contrary to its doctrine, I cannot conscientiously countersign this testimonial." That testimonial was dated 12th August, 1847; it was signed by three beneficed clergymen, who said, "We have had opportunities of observing his (Mr. Gorham's) conduct, that during the whole of that time we verily believe that he lived piously, soberly, and honestly; nor have we at any time heard anything to the contrary thereof, nor hath he at any time, as far as we know or believe, held, written, or taught anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the United Church of England and Ireland." That was the testimonial, and such were the words written by the bishop on the margin of it when it was sent back. The bishop therefore thought it right to apprise the Lord Chancellor that in his opinion Mr. Gorham held opinions, on some subjects, that were contrary to the doctrines as well as the discipline of the Church of England, and he thought it right that he should not allow those testimonials to go to the Lord Chancellor, without expressing his opinion of the unfitness of Mr. Gorham for the office to which he was to be appointed. The testimonials, so marked, were then forwarded to Mr. Gorham, and some correspondence seemed to have taken place between that gentleman and the bishop—the result of which, however, was, that the bishop declined to take any other course than that which he had adopted. On that refusal, Mr. Gorham, on the 11th of September, 1847, communicated the whole of the circumstances to the Lord Chancellor by letter, and also by an official letter dated on the 21st of the same month. The Lord Chancellor having fully considered the statements contained in these letters, together with the testimonial and the bishop's writing on the margin, in that same month announced to Mr. Gorham that he proposed to sign the fiat for his presentation notwithstanding the absence of the bishop's counter-signature to the testimonial, declining, however, to enter into the question which had arisen between Mr. Gorham and the bishop; and on the same day he (the Lord Chancellor) wrote to the bishop, saying he thought it right to sign the presentation, adding that, having been furnished with testimonials which were perfectly satisfactory, he was satisfied it was his duty to do so, without deciding or even entering into conflicting religious opinions. As to the propriety of the decision come to by the Lord Chancellor, there could not be two opinions. As the representative of the Crown, in the dispensation of church patronage, he deemed it right to satisfy himself, by the best means in his power, of the qualifications of the person to be presented to the benefice; and, having received highly satisfactory testimonials, although they were unaccompanied by the counter-signature of the bishop, his lordship rightly and wisely, if he might be allowed so to speak, considered that, whatever power the law gave the bishop over the appointment, must follow the presentation. He therefore signed the presentation, and

sent it to the bishop, who thereupon declined to institute Mr. Gorham until after he had been subjected to an examination. The bishop had a perfect right to satisfy himself of the due qualification of Mr. Gorham, and having done so, it was quite impossible for him to enter into an examination, or to put the matter into a course of investigation, until the presentee was placed in such a situation as would enable the bishop to enter upon that inquiry which by law he was invested with the power to institute. Whether the bishop exercised his discretion wisely was beside the question the court had to determine; yet, at the same time, it might at least admit of a doubt whether the bishop was not justified in considering his counter-signature of the testimonial as suggesting something more than the mere respectability of the clergymen by which such testimonial was signed. However, be that as it might, he was determined to proceed to an examination of Mr. Gorham. That examination was commenced on the 17th of December, 1847; it was continued on the 18th, 21st, and the 22nd days of the same month; and, after an interruption of some duration, the examination was renewed on the 8th of March, 1848. It was continued on the 9th, and it was finally terminated on the 10th. On the 11th of that month Mr. Gorham was informed that the bishop would decline to institute him to the living of Brampford Speke; and on the 10th of March formal notice was delivered to him, assigning the reasons for the refusal of the bishop to be, that Mr. Gorham held unsound doctrines on the question of baptism. There the matter rested until June, 1848, when a monition was issued out of the registry of that court on behalf of Mr. Gorham. In that monition it was stated that he (Mr. Gorham) had been presented to the living of Brampford Speke; that he had offered himself to the bishop for institution; that he was prepared to subscribe the articles required by the 36th canon, and make the declarations required by the Act of Uniformity, and to take all the necessary oaths which the law required. That, although he (Mr. Gorham) was fully qualified by age, by learning, and by the purity of his life, to be instituted to the living, yet, nevertheless, the Lord Bishop of Exeter, who was well acquainted with all the premises, and therefore ought to have admitted him to the aforesaid vicarage or parish church, declined, and refused to do right and justice in that behalf, &c. The tenour of the monition was to call upon the bishop to institute, within a certain time specified, Mr. Gorham into the said vicarage of Brampford Speke, in the county of Devon and diocese of Exeter, or to show cause why he should not be instituted, at the same time intimating that if the bishop did not appear and clearly show lawful cause to the contrary, the judge of the court would proceed to institute Mr. Gorham to the parish church aforesaid. The bishop appeared to the monition by a proctor. That proctor prayed to be heard upon petition, the object being to state the grounds on which the bishop justified his refusal to institute Mr. Gorham into the living. To that petition Mr. Gorham replied; a rejoinder was then made on the part of the bishop; the case was argued before the court, and the case was then ripe for decision. Now, before entering on the merits of the case, he felt bound to say a word on the

manner in which the question had been brought under the notice of the Court. Upon a former occasion, he had taken the opportunity of stating that the mode of proceeding which had been adopted was neither convenient nor consistent with the formal practice of the court; and he was satisfied, by every step which had been taken in the cause, that that opinion so thrown out by him was not erroneous; on the contrary, he was more convinced that the formal proceeding was not merely the best course for the convenience of the court, but it was also best calculated to deal with the question before the court. In the petition the pleading was very vague and loose; the answer to the petition was also very vague and loose. If the proceeding by plea and proof had been adopted, the court would then have had the whole case brought to its notice—the doctrine of the Church of England, and the rules of the bishop would have been specifically and precisely stated; and those points on which it was said Mr. Gorham had impugned the doctrines of the Church of England would also have been precisely before the court. As the case then stood, that which had been stated in the course of the argument was not without foundation—viz., that it was impossible to collect, from the manner in which the examination had been conducted, what were the real opinions of Mr. Gorham upon the subject of baptism and regeneration, which was the question brought before the court by the petition; and from the way in which the case was then before the court, it was very difficult exactly to define what was the real question which the court had to decide. The evidence which had been produced before the court—if evidence it could be called—was most unsatisfactory, and the mode in which it had been produced was still more unsatisfactory. It consisted of two short affidavits, one of them made by Mr. Gorham, and an affidavit made on the part of the bishop, together with a book annexed to the petition, of some 200 or 300 pages of print, of 149 questions addressed to Mr. Gorham, together with his answers to these; and on these the whole question before the court turned. Now, of itself that should scarcely be considered in the nature of evidence, strictly speaking, but without a single explanation being offered to the court, the book was brought into its registry—the cause came on for argument, and the court was to find its way as well as it could, in order to arrive at what the doctrines of the Church of England were, and to come to a decision whether Mr. Gorham's opinions were contrary to those doctrines. He again would say that such a mode of proceeding was not a usual one, and was not correct according to the formal practice of the court. When a case came before the court upon a preliminary objection, undoubtedly it ought to be by plea and proof, by examination of witnesses, and if that was not sufficient, parts of the book ought to have been pleaded in order to set out the opinions of Mr. Gorham, which were said to be contrary to the doctrines of the church. Now the court was well aware of the difficulties in which, from the want of former precedents in cases of this description, parties might be placed; but still it was found in the books of practice, by Clerk and other writers upon ecclesiastical courts, to which the court was in the habit

of looking—Watson, Godolphin, and Deggs—that the proceedings should be by plea and proof, by answers and examinations of witnesses; and the formal proceeding was deliberately set forth in great detail by Oughton, p. 157. It would be in vain to refer more particularly to that to which he had already adverted, because both parties had adopted this mode of proceeding. The bishop annexed to his petition a book, which was said to contain the whole of what passed at the examination, both as to questions and answers, protests and remonstrances, and everything connected with the examination; and what was contained in that book, which was produced before the court, was, in fact, the only evidence before it. Both parties were, therefore, in error, and the court had no opportunity of correcting the practice until the case came on for hearing. The bishop's petition was, in fact, brought in before the court had an opportunity of seeing it, and therefore could give no opinion as to the propriety of the proceeding. The bishop being called on to make an answer to the monition, appeared by his proctor, and his petition was intended to contain the grounds upon which the bishop justified his refusal to institute Mr. Gorham. A question was raised in the course of the proceedings as to which was to be considered as the party proceeding in the case—upon whom the *onus probandi* lay. The court thought it perfectly immaterial whether the bishop was to be considered as the defendant or Mr. Gorham; but Mr. Gorham had made out a *prima facie* case in his affidavit, and upon the monition, entitling him to be instituted to the vicarage, unless cause was shown to the contrary. He asserted his presentation, which was not denied; that it was offered to the bishop; that the bishop had been prayed to institute him—that he was qualified by age, ordination, and standing in the church, by presentation, by the offer to do all that was required by law before he was instituted to the living. Mr. Gorham thus made out a *prima facie* case, which called for an answer on the part of the bishop, to justify his refusal under these circumstances. He therefore held that the *onus probandi* lay on the bishop, and that Mr. Gorham was not in the first instance called on to state more than he had done in the monition. On behalf of the bishop it was objected, that Mr. Gorham having, in the month of August, 1847, been presented by the Crown to the vicarage of Brampford Speke, soon after applied to the bishop for institution—that the bishop proceeded to examine him first, to ascertain his fitness to hold the vicarage, as he was in duty bound to do, by the statutes of the realm and the constitution, and the canons of the church. That, in the course of the examination, Mr. Gorham pronounced some unsound doctrine respecting that great and fundamental point, the efficacy of the rite of baptism, inasmuch as he held and persisted in holding that spiritual regeneration was not given or confirmed in the holy sacrament, and that particularly therein infants are not made members of Christ and children of God. The bishop went on to state that this was contrary to the plain teaching of the Church of England, in her articles and liturgy, and especially contrary to the office of confirmation and the Catechism contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and the other

rites and ceremonies of the church, and that upon that account he refused to institute Mr. Gorham to the said vicarage; and he further alleged and submitted that the holding of that unsound doctrine concerning the sacrament of baptism by Mr. Gorham was a good and sufficient cause why he should refuse to institute him to the vicarage; and then there was annexed the book which was stated to contain the whole of the examination of Mr. Gorham before the bishop, the questions addressed to him by the bishop, and the answers given by him to those questions. Now this was the case as originally set up on behalf of the bishop in justification of his refusal to institute Mr. Gorham. But here it was not clearly and distinctly pointed out what the doctrine of the Church of England really was. The court was forced to travel through the whole of these proceedings, the whole of the book, and the whole of the various answers given to the questions, in order to ascertain, as well as possible, the doctrine which was alleged to be the doctrine of the Church of England, as well as those matters in which the opinions of Mr. Gorham were said to be contrary to those doctrines. The answers of Mr. Gorham to the statement of the bishop was to this effect. First of all, there was the admission that the book put in by the bishop's proctor contained an accurate account of what had passed; and further, that Mr. Gorham was a fellow of King's College, Cambridge; that he was ordained a priest of the church in England, in February, 1812, and therefore that he was qualified by age and ordination for holding the benefice. Then it was alleged that Mr. Gorham discharged the duties that devolved upon him in six several dioceses for thirty-five years, but omitting the names of the bishops in whose dioceses he had officiated. He did not mean to say that there was any imputation upon Mr. Gorham that he had held unsound doctrines during the whole of that period. The bishop had been satisfied in the former instance with the testimonials he produced as to his good conduct, his moral character, his learning, his fitness, and qualification to hold benefices in the diocese of Exeter. Mr. Gorham's answer then went on to allege his presentation to the vicarage of St. Just, in Cornwall, by the Lord Chancellor, on behalf of the Crown, and that the lord bishop then instituted him without any previous examination; that he continued to hold that vicarage, and that no attempt had been made to deprive him thereof by reason of his holding any unsound doctrine. It then went on to state that in June, 1847, he was presented to the living of Bramford Speke by the Lord Chancellor on behalf of the Crown; and it then cited a testimonial, signed by three beneficed clergymen, to which the court had already adverted, and the addition made in that testimonial of certain remarks reflecting upon his character. It then went on to state, that in the month of November the presentation was made out, and that Mr. Gorham, on the 6th of that month, presented himself to the bishop's registrar for institution to the benefice. It then went on to state the correspondence which had passed between him and the secretary of the bishop, and that the bishop was urged to proceed to an examination immediately, but that he did not do so until the 15th of December, 1847. It then declared the days

on which the examination took place, the length of time occupied upon each of those days, the number of questions (amounting to 149) which were proposed to Mr. Gorham, and the answers given by him. It then went on to detail the letters which had passed, stating that they were in the possession of the lord bishop, and it then alluded to the several conversations which had taken place between the lord bishop and Mr. Gorham; the letters were also referred to in the book; they were alleged to be true and faithful transcripts of the original, and it was stated that those written by the bishop to Mr. Gorham were ready to be produced if required. But this had not been done. The answer then referred to a protest which had been made against the bishop's right, either by the statutes of the realm, or the constitution or canons of the church, to proceed to the examination of Mr. Gorham at the time when such examination was made, stating that the time allowed by the canon had elapsed. That subject was made a preliminary argument, and the court decided that the lord bishop was not deprived of the right to exercise that discretion with which he was entrusted by the law, or the duty which he had to perform of proceeding to the examination of Mr. Gorham, even although the twenty-eight days allowed by the canon had expired. It was unnecessary, therefore, to go further into that part of the case, the court being of opinion that the bishop was justified in the course he had taken in the examination of Mr. Gorham at that time, and in the manner in which the examination was conducted. The answer then went on to state, on behalf of Mr. Gorham, that he distinctly denied that in his examination he did maintain, or had at any time maintained unsound doctrine respecting the efficacy of the sacrament of baptism, or that he had held any opinion at variance with the plain teaching of the Church of England in her articles and liturgy. So that here the parties were at issue, the bishop declaring that Mr. Gorham, in his examination, upheld and maintained unsound doctrine, and Mr. Gorham emphatically denying that he did hold any unsound doctrine respecting the sacrament of baptism, or at variance with the plain teaching of the Church of England. The answer went on to deny expressly and explicitly that Mr. Gorham held or persisted in holding that infants were not made in baptism members of Christ and children of God, as charged on the part of the Lord Bishop of Exeter, and that he did not maintain any doctrine opposed to the Church of England, but that it had been his desire throughout the examination to explain her articles and liturgy, in compliance with the directions of the church herself, by the general mode of interpretation, which would maintain the agreement of the whole with the tenour of the Holy Scriptures, which was declared by the said articles to be of absolute and paramount authority. But here again it was a general denial. If, however, he had proceeded by plea and proof in this case, the doctrine of the Church of England would have been specifically pointed out in the articles and parts of the book already referred to, and the answer of Mr. Gorham would have contained precisely what he did say and maintain, instead of leaving it to be inferred. Now the bishop's rejoinder to the reply was in effect a repetition of what he

had said before—namely, that Mr. Gorham did maintain and continued to maintain, unsound doctrines in baptism, and that he held opinions at variance with the teaching of the Church of England, her articles and liturgy. And that was the way in which the case had been brought to its present stage. Now the court having gone through, as well as it could, the 200 or 300 pages of the book, and the 149 questions, and as many answers, found considerable difficulty in determining what was the real doctrine of Mr. Gorham, and what was the real doctrine of the Church of England, as mentioned by the Bishop of Exeter, and, of course, the opposition to the doctrine maintained by Mr. Gorham. The arguments of counsel had thrown considerable light upon that part of the case. The arguments were most learned, most able, supported by a vast body of learning upon the question at issue between the parties, and he believed the discussion of the case occupied the court six days. Of the thirty-three or thirty-four hours occupied in the discussion of the case, fifteen fell to the lot of the leading learned counsel for Mr. Gorham, of which the court did not complain, but, on the contrary, felt extremely obliged to the learned counsel for the light which he had thrown upon the case, by the great learning which he had exhibited, and which he had imparted in the clearest and most lucid manner to the court. But the difficulties of the court had been increased both by the arguments of the learned counsel and the replies of the learned counsel of the Bishop of Exeter. The court must therefore now proceed to the consideration of the case, divesting itself in the first instance of much extraneous matter, which was very properly dwelt upon by the learned counsel on each side, but which could form no part of the decision of the court, nor have any weight with it in considering the question which it was called upon to decide. It was argued that it was unnecessary for Mr. Gorham to undergo any examination at all, he being a beneficed clergyman in the same diocese. The bishop's right, certainly, was not denied, but the exercise of it was stated to be unprecedented; and he presumed it was not a very common course to pursue, that where a clergyman of long standing in the church had been a possessor of one benefice in a diocese, and was preferred to another benefice in the same diocese, he should undergo another examination. But circumstances might and would occur, and the court had experience that circumstances had occurred, in which it had become necessary to inquire into the soundness of principles and doctrines of the clergymen who had been instituted to, and had been in possession for years of certain preferments in different dioceses of the country, whose opinions had unfortunately, since the parties were instituted in the first instance, undergone an alteration or change. The court had already decided that; and Mr. Gorham had admitted through his counsel, that the bishop had the right to proceed to the examination if he thought proper so to do. But it was also urged that the bishop had proceeded to push the examination beyond what the nature of the case required. Now, it was not for the court to determine as to the course of examination which the bishop should pursue. The bishop was the best judge of what might have been

necessary upon the occasion ; and the length, and purport, and tenour of the examination might very much depend upon the answers which he might receive from the gentleman under examination. Neither was it fit for the court to determine or give an opinion as to whether there was or was not a greater degree of courtesy or respect shown upon one side or the other ; and therefore the court left out of consideration all those observations which were not improperly made by the learned counsel in the opening of the case, upon the circumstances which led the bishop to suppose that Mr. Gorham held any unsound opinion upon any part of the doctrine or discipline of the church ; or whether the bishop was proceeding without sufficient authority, upon bare suspicion, and without any information but what had been gained by him in the course of his correspondence with Mr. Gorham. All this might be very proper for counsel to insist upon in their argument, but very improper for the court to attend to, because the decision of the court was called for upon weightier matters. The court was not called upon to notice what the bishop had said in any charge or letter addressed to his clergy or to Mr. Gorham himself, or to consider whether it was an offence in the diocese of Exeter to allude to the church as a national establishment, and to refer to tractarian principles as those which were objectionable in curates. Those were matters which did very well for declamation, and were calculated to raise in the minds of some people a prejudice, as showing that the bishop was actuated by improper motives, but which could have no weight with the court in coming to the decision which it was called upon to pronounce on the more weighty matters which were the subject of consideration. Dismissing all these topics, then, from its mind—what was the question the court had to decide ? He (the learned judge) had read what had been stated in the petitions, both on the one side and the other, and he concluded, as the counsel for Mr. Gorham had stated, that the question between the parties was as to the efficacy of baptismal regeneration in the case of infants only, and that it was confined solely to the question of the baptismal regeneration of infants. He dismissed from consideration altogether the question of regeneration of adults by baptism ; it being admitted on the part of the bishop, that in the case of adults, the efficacy of baptism depended on the faith and repentance of the parties baptized, and on the sincerity of their professions and promises. But although the question was admitted to be confined to that single point, the doctrine of adult and infant baptism were so mixed up in the examination, that it was almost impossible to separate the two so as to ascertain which part of the argument applied to the one and which part of it to the other ; and, indeed, Mr. Gorham himself said, that the baptism of adults and the baptism of infants could not be dissevered. The point, however, to which the consideration of the court was to be confined, was infant regeneration, and on that point the court was left to find its way amongst the mass of questions and answers in the book in order to decide what was the doctrine which Mr. Gorham believed, and what was the doctrine he impugned. He might here state, that he was most anxious to have it distinctly understood, that he specifi-

cally guarded himself against being supposed as giving any opinion as to the disputed point between the two parties. He was not called upon to pronounce an opinion whether the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in the case of infants was or was not a clearly Christian doctrine. It was not within the province of the court to institute an inquiry of that sort; all the court was called upon to do was, to endeavour to ascertain whether the church had determined anything on the subject, and, having done so, to pronounce its decision accordingly. The court was bound to administer the law as it found it laid down, and not to give any opinion as to what the law ought to be; and, therefore, he was most anxious that it should be perfectly understood, that in the observations he was about to make, he should confine himself wholly to the doctrines of the church so far as he was capable of ascertaining them, without any intention to extend them to scriptural interpretation. Now, the first question which presented itself to the observation of the court was, whether the church had pronounced any opinion on the point; and if so, what? And that gave rise to another question—viz., from what source was the court to derive information as to the doctrines of the Church of England? Now, the Bishop of Exeter imputed to Mr. Gorham that he held and avowed opinions on the subject of the efficacy of baptism which were opposed to the doctrines of the church as they were set forth in her formulæ. Mr. Gorham denied this, and contended that his opinions were in exact conformity with those of the Church of England, as contained in her articles, and in perfect accordance with the intentions of the formulæ of the church. Now, a great deal of learning and ingenious argument had been applied to the discussion of this part of the case, as was naturally to be expected, from the bearing it might possibly have on the ultimate decision of the question by the court. Mr. Gorham took his stand principally on the articles; there Mr. Gorham declared he took his stand, and that he would not be driven from them; that he would go so far only as the church had expressed its opinion, and that, when the church was silent, he would not speak. Mr. Gorham then took his stand on the Articles of the Church of England. Now the next point to be considered was the questions originally addressed to Mr. Gorham by the bishop, and he (the learned judge) thought it might not be improper to state here what was the course of the examination adopted by the bishop, and the answers which he received to the several questions he put to Mr. Gorham. He thought the very first question addressed by the bishop to Mr. Gorham would throw some light on the cause of the protracted length of the examination to which Mr. Gorham had been subjected, and to the very particular and precise manner in which the bishop was obliged to frame his questions in order to obtain from Mr. Gorham direct and specific answers to them. The first of these questions, which appeared in page 63 of the book, was "Prove from Scripture that baptism and the supper of the Lord are severally necessary to salvation—first, of baptism; secondly, of the Lord's Supper." Now, here it was evident that the bishop had not put the question in a form that would draw out a specific answer as to the doctrine of the church

upon the necessity of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Mr. Gorham was perfectly well aware of the slip which the bishop had made, and his counsel took advantage of that slip to show that his lordship was wrong, and that he was obliged to correct his error in the next question. To this question, however, Mr. Gorham answered, and truly answered, "I do not find in Scripture that the necessity of baptism to salvation is declared in terms so absolute as this proposition." Then came a long discussion upon the question of baptism, in which Mr. Gorham referred to the words of Scripture: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," and said, "If the allusion be to baptism (which, however, had not then been instituted,) it undoubtedly affirms the necessity of complying with that solemn institution where no unavoidable impediment intervenes. Having been ordained of Christ, it cannot be slighted without the awful consequences of disobedience to his express command. But it does not appear to me that the being 'born of water,' and the being 'born of the Spirit,' are so indissolubly tied together by this declaration, that each is equally and in the same sense necessary to salvation. This view is confirmed by the fact that the expression, 'born again,' is used in this discourse in verses 3, 6, 7, 8, without any reference to being 'born of water,' but twice with express mention of being 'born of the Spirit,' as the great essential requisite. It is confirmed also by verses 16, 17, where 'everlasting life' and salvation are positively connected with 'belief' in the Son of God without reference to baptism; as if for the very purpose of showing that faith is an indispensable and essential condition, but that baptism is only generally necessary, a condition to be dutifully performed. Precisely the same conclusion must be drawn from the terms used by our Lord in his express institution of baptism:—'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.' (Mark, xvi. 16.) The general connexion between the sign which He has ordained for admission into his church, and the faith which that sign certifies, is here distinctly affirmed. But our Lord adds, 'He that believeth not shall be damned.' Here exclusion from everlasting salvation is grounded, not on the omission of baptism, but on the withholding belief in the Son of God." Then he went on to say—"The participation of the Supper of the Lord is stated in Scripture in the same manner as generally necessary, not essentially requisite, to salvation." Now the manner in which this answer was given showed the bishop that he must be precise in putting his questions, and accordingly he proceeded in the next question to say, "Does our church hold, and do you hold, that baptism and the Supper of the Lord are generally necessary to salvation, in terms as absolute as *this* proposition?" Answer—"Our church *does* hold this doctrine, and I hold it of course." The third question was, "Does our church hold, and do you hold, that by the express words of our Lord, 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,' we may perceive the great necessity of the sacrament of baptism where it may be had?" The answer was—"The church states this in her service for adult baptism;" then he

referred to the 36th canon, and concluded by saying, "Your lordship has already had my subscription to this acknowledgment on my institution to St. Just; for my assent to the whole Book of Common Prayer includes my assent to this part of it." In the fourth question he was asked—"In the Homily of Common Prayer and the Sacraments, it is said, that 'according to the exact signification of a sacrament, baptism and the Supper of the Lord are visible signs, expressly commanded in the New Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sins, and of our holiness and joining in Christ.' Do you hold this to be godly and wholesome doctrine?" His answer was, "My subscription to the articles, and among them to the 35th, appears to me to involve a sufficient reply to this question. I prefer, and I claim the privilege of giving my assent to the two books of homilies generally, as containing 'godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times,' to my basing any particular doctrine upon any detached sentence taken out of those books. In claiming this privilege, I by no means intend to intimate that I 'assent with reserve' to this passage. On the contrary, I consider it as expressing a wholesome truth, when fairly construed; but as it has been often adduced, in controversies on the efficacy of the sacraments, in a sense in which I do not believe the compiler of that excellent homily to have written it, my consent could not be given to it by a naked affirmative without explanatory matter. Consecutive questions, framed with a bearing on a particular controversy, replied to without many collateral explanations, might elicit apparent, and only apparent admissions, which would not correctly represent the doctrine of the church. To prevent the possibility of misapprehension as to my reply to this passage, or others to which I may have to return a similar answer, I add, that I fully assent to the wholesome truth contained in this quotation, when fairly brought into connexion with the articles of our church on the nature and efficacy of the sacraments." The words "articles of our church," were printed in capitals, as showing that Mr. Gorham stood upon the articles as the standard of his opinions. Then followed the questions which raised the point now under the consideration of the court. The fifth, sixth, and seventh questions were put by the bishop in this manner:—Q. 5. "Does our church hold, and do you hold, that every infant baptized by a lawful minister with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is made by God in such baptism a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven?" Q. 6. "Does our church hold, and do you hold, that such children by the laver of regeneration in baptism are received into the number of the children of God and heirs of everlasting life?" Q. 7. "Does our church hold, and do you hold, that all infants so baptized are born again of water and of the Holy Ghost?" Mr. Gorham answered:—"As these three questions all imply the same description of answer, I will discuss them together; and, generally, I reply that these propositions being stated in the precise words of the ritual services, or of the Catechism, undoubtedly must be held by every honest member of the church to 'contain in them nothing contrary to the Word of God,

or to sound doctrine, or which a godly man may not with a good conscience use and submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible, . . . if it shall be allowed such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings, especially such as are set forth by authority.' (Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.)" Now, here it appeared that Mr. Gorham did not give a precise answer to the questions which were proposed to him. He answered that the propositions contained nothing contrary to the Word of God, or to sound doctrine, or which a godly man might not with a good conscience use and submit unto, or which was not fairly defensible; but then he qualified it by saying, "if it shall be allowed such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings, especially such as are set forth by authority." Then he said, "the 'just and favourable construction' of passages like these, (occurring in services intended for popular use,) which, taken in their naked verbliness, might appear to contradict the clearest statements of Scripture, and the church herself, must be sought chiefly—1, by bringing them into juxtaposition with the precise and dogmatical teaching of the church in her explicit standard of doctrine, the Thirty-nine Articles; in the next place, 2, by comparing the various parts of her formularies with each other; and, collaterally, 3, by ascertaining the views of those by whom her services were reformed, and her articles sanctioned." Here then arose a very important question—whether the opinions and views of "those by whom our church services were reformed and her articles sanctioned" could be taken to give a construction to words which, by their import and general and common acceptance, bore a different construction from that of the individual reformers; or, in other words, whether the opinions of the individual reformers could be taken in opposition to the precise and plain declarations which were made in the formularies and articles of the church. This formed a great part of the discussion of the case on behalf of Mr. Gorham, and much learning was displayed for the purpose of showing what were the opinions of the reformers of the church, by which opinions, as was contended, the formularies of the church must be construed; that the reformers were Calvinists; that they entertained Calvinian opinions; that as they did so, the articles framed by them must be construed with relation to Calvinian principles; that they must be supposed to have been governed by those principles in drawing up the formularies and ritual of the church, and that, whatever the expressions made use of, they must be taken in the Calvinian sense, and not in the sense to which their plain import and signification to a common understanding would lead. The court would not, however, further allude to this question at present, but content itself with having stated the meaning of Mr. Gorham and his counsel, that one mode of ascertaining the construction to be put upon the articles of the church would be the views of those by whom the articles were sanctioned. Then Mr. Gorham went on to explain his views as to the points contained in the three questions: but it was not necessary for the court to follow him through his different statements, and the purpose for which it referred to them

now was, to show what was the question which the bishop proposed to raise; confining it to the question of infant baptism, and not extending it to the baptism of adults. Looking at the mode in which the opinions of the church were to be ascertained, no one could doubt that the Thirty-nine Articles should first be consulted, and if they were not silent upon any particular point, and if the words made use of were not doubtful, that there would be no occasion to search further. The learned counsel had quoted the opinion of Rogers, chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, who said, "The purpose of our church is best known by the doctrine which she doth profess, the doctrine by the Thirty-nine Articles established by Act of Parliament, the articles by the words whereby they are expressed." To the same effect were the passages he quoted from other writers—from Bishop Hall, from Bishop Burnet, and from Archbishop Whitgift. A quotation was also made from Bishop Prideaux, which went to show that the doctrine of the Church of England was contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, and that, whatever the opinions of private persons might be, this was the standard by which the sense of the church was to be taken. *Prima-facie*, then, the Thirty-nine Articles were the standard of doctrine; they were framed for the express purpose of preventing diversity of opinion; and certainly they were first to be considered and applied to in endeavouring to ascertain the doctrine of the church. But if they fell short, or were silent upon any particular point, what then should be resorted to? Should they resort to the opinions of those by whom the articles had been framed, or to other declarations of the church? It had been most clearly and distinctly stated, upon the high authority of Bishop Burnet, that the truest indication of the sense of the church was to be taken from her language in her public offices; that the doctrines of the church were best understood by her formularies; and the same observation was made by Dr. Waterland. They both agreed that this was the true criterion by which doubtful or ambiguous expressions were to be construed. He might add, that the same doctrine was held by Lord Brougham in delivering the opinion of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council in the case of "Escott and Mastin," reported in the 4th volume of Moore's Reports, p. 102 or 104. That opinion showed that the public declarations of the church were to be those by which the law should be applied, and that the private opinions of individuals, however eminent for their piety, learning, and station, were not to have any consideration with the court, but simply the public acts and declarations of the church. Under these circumstances, came the question, was there anything doubtful in the present case upon which it was necessary to refer to other authority than the Thirty-nine Articles? The 25th article was that into which the court was now to inquire. It stated, that "sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him. There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel,

that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord." And "the sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have also a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith." It had been suggested that this simply applied to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but he would take it to apply to both, inasmuch as the worthy reception was, according to the doctrine of the church, equally necessary to the reception of baptism as to the Supper of the Lord. But here the article left it doubtful what a worthy reception was. Faith and repentance, said Mr. Gorham, were pre-requisites to the reception of baptism as well as the Lord's Supper, but that was not to be found laid down in this article. It must, therefore, be sought elsewhere. The 27th article stated, that "baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly, are grafted into the church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God." And the article concluded thus:—"The baptism of young children is anywise to be retained in the church as most agreeable to the institution of Christ." Now, the first difficulty that arose here was, if faith was to be confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer to God, how was it that young children were to be baptized? They had had neither faith nor repentance—they could not have faith, because they knew not the promises—they could not have repentance, because they had no actual sin. So that it was upon a comparison of these two articles that the doubt arose, and which doubt was to be solved by reference to some other authority. What, then, was that authority to be? Was it to be the authority of private individuals? He apprehended that what he had already stated was sufficient to dispose of this, and that the declarations of the church must be applied to for an explanation of what was meant by worthy reception, regeneration, and the direction that the baptism of young children should be retained as most agreeable to the institution of Christ, of how young children were to be grafted into the church, and to whom the promises of forgiveness of sin and adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost were visibly signed and sealed. Mr. Gorham contended, and it was insisted upon by his counsel, that children born in sin could not be worthy recipients, and could not receive the rite with any beneficial effect. His 15th answer was—"Our church holds, and I hold, that no spiritual grace is conveyed in baptism, except to worthy recipients; and as infants are by nature unworthy recipients, being born in sin, and the children of wrath, they cannot receive any benefit from baptism, except there shall have been a prevenient act of grace to make them worthy. Baptism is the sign or seal, either of the grace already given, or of the repentance and faith which are stipulated and must be hereafter exercised." The

18th question was—"Has the church not declared her mind, that infants baptized by a lawful minister, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, do receive the spiritual grace of baptism, even if they have not entered into the stipulations by their representatives?" And the answer was—"The church has declared that to infants privately baptized the grace and mercy of Christ is not denied. In this case of emergency I consider that stipulations, though not formally made by sponsors, are made by implication through those who earnestly desire their baptism, and by the person who administers it, which implied stipulations the church requires to be formally adopted as soon as the circumstances will suffer it. The case of 'present exigence' cannot, therefore, be fairly urged as an exception to the requirements of the church." The bishop followed up this with another question—"Does the church hold, and do you hold, that infants so baptized are regenerated, independently of the stipulation made by their representatives, or by any others for them?" Mr. Gorham answered, "If such infants die before they commit 'actual sin,' the church holds, and I hold, that they are undoubtedly saved, and, therefore, they must have been regenerated by an act of grace prevenient to their baptism, in order to make them worthy recipients of that sacrament. This case is ruled by the church. But if the infant lives to a period in which it can commit actual sin, the declaration of regeneration must be construed according to the hypothetical principles which I have stated in my replies to questions 5, 6, and 7." Now, it was not for the court to deny or controvert the three suppositions to which Mr. Gorham resorted: but his position was, that it was not through baptism that the grace was conferred. And here the authorities must be looked into upon which the court was to rely—and the first was, the public office of baptism of infants. The church directed that the people were to be admonished that it was most convenient that baptism should not be administered but on Sundays and other holy days, when the most number of people came together, as well for that the congregation there present might testify the receiving of them that were newly baptized into the number of Christ's church, as, also, because, in the baptism of infants, every man present might be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in his baptism. The learned judge, having read the principal portion of the service for the public baptism of infants, proceeded to say it was alleged that all this was done on the hypothesis that the child would do all that was promised for him by his godfathers and godmothers; but that did not appear to the court to be the true construction. The child was the person now spoken of, and not the adult. The bishop admitted that in the case of adults the declarations were all on the hypothesis that the adults were sincere in their professions of faith and repentance, and the promises they made. But the declaration in the public baptism of infants was clearly, distinctly, and positively, that by baptism the child was regenerated, and thanks were returned to God for the same, and the godfathers and godmothers were instructed in the performance of their duty. With regard to the private baptism of infants, it was contended that it was

for cases of exigence, and that, therefore, nothing in respect of the efficacy of baptism was to be drawn from it; but surely, if it were for cases of exigence, the church intended to declare that the child thus baptized was entitled to all the benefits which an infant baptized in full health, and with the performance of the full service, would be entitled to upon his baptism; otherwise, why did the church declare that as many of the prayers as the exigence of the case would suffer were to be used? And here, also, after baptism, thanks were to be given to God that it had pleased him to regenerate the infant with His Holy Spirit, to receive him as His own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into His Holy Church. It was clearly the intention of the church, therefore, that the child who was privately baptized should receive the same benefits as if the godfathers and godmothers had made promises on his behalf, and the rite had been performed in public. What room was there, then, for stating that the baptism of infants was founded upon an hypothesis? True, if the child afterwards committed actual sin, he might lose the benefits of his baptism, and require faith and repentance for his regeneration; but here was the express declaration of the church, that children who were baptized dying before they committed actual sin were undoubtedly saved. Adults, however, must, when baptized, be sincere in their intentions to fulfil all their engagements, or else they would not have received the rite worthily; but infants were saved if they died before committing actual sin. The two services—that for adults and that for infants, were essentially and substantially distinct. When the child was asked in the Catechism who gave him his name, he replied that it was given him by his godfathers and godmothers in baptism, wherein he was made an inheritor of eternal life: and the child afterwards returned thanks to the Almighty for having thus called him to a state of salvation. The church declared that two sacraments only were necessary to salvation—the Lord's Supper and baptism, which were the outward and visible signs of inward spiritual grace, having been born in sin, but made safe for salvation by the grace of the Holy Ghost in the act of baptism. After the child had been baptized, he was confirmed by the bishop, when the exhortation was that the children might with their own mouth take upon themselves what their godfathers and godmothers had promised for them; and the prayer, in so many words, sought the blessing of God on those children who had been regenerated in baptism by the Holy Ghost, and whose sins were all forgiven. From all the quotations that he had read, it appeared to him that the doctrine of regeneration was not at all hypothetical, but a doctrine clearly taught by the church. But what was meant by the term regeneration. It was plainly by water, and the communication of the grace of the Holy Ghost. It appeared to him, that regeneration did not mean such a change of state as would amount almost to justification, from which the person so regenerated could never finally fall; but that it meant such a change of state and character that he was converted from a child of wrath to a child of grace, and made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. True, he was called a child of God, but he might fall

away and commit sin, and persist in that sin, and die without faith and repentance, in which case the benefit of baptism would be lost; but in the case of those who died after baptism, and before committing actual sin, they were saved. The court, therefore, upon this part of the case, entertained no doubt that the infant was regenerated in and through the medium of baptism. This being so, what was the next question to be considered by the court? Reference had been made to the burial service, which committed the dead person to the earth upon the hypothesis of a sure and certain hope of the resurrection. But it did not appear to him that any strength in favour of the argument was to be deduced from this, or that there was anything in the Book of Common Prayer which was contrary to the articles; and the articles were certainly in conformity with the Scriptures. The next point urged by counsel was that the reformers themselves were Calvinists, and could not have intended to make a declaration in such positive terms as the words employed in the baptismal service, as to the state of regeneration in which children were placed by baptism. The learned judge then referred to the opinions maintained by Cramer, Latimer, Ridley, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Beza, upon the doctrines of predestination, election, final perseverance, and reprobation, which were all doctrines of Calvin, and observed, that whether the reformers embraced the whole of them or not was a matter of very much dispute. The learned counsel said that, so far as predestination and election were concerned, the 17th article of the church determined the question. Now, that article recited that "predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation as vessels made to honour." But instead of going on to say that this was an article of faith, it stated that, "as the godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the spirit of Christ, &c., so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation or into recklessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation. Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture, and, in our doings, that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God." So that, in fact, they determined nothing as to predestination and election; and it appeared that these questions were left open, in order that both parties might be embraced in the church. These doctrines of Calvin were carried to their full extent by Bishop Hopkins, but not so far by many other equally enlightened persons, especially Latimer and Ridley. If the doctrine of the church was that persons predestined were sure to be saved, irrespective of their character, then there could be no necessity for prayer at all, for such persons would rightly argue

that prayer would be useless, as, being predestined to salvation by election, they must of necessity be saved ; and if they were not elected of God, then prayer would be equally useless, as nothing could alter God's determination respecting them. But he could not collect, even from the passages cited by the learned counsel, that this was the doctrine of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer : and if it was to be considered as the doctrine of the Church of England that election and predestination were articles of faith, certainly the reformers had not, as a body, declared that to be their opinion. He came to the conclusion, therefore, that the court would have to determine upon the acts of the church publicly declared as the act of the whole body of reformers, and not upon the opinions of individuals. Private opinions must not be taken as authority. They could have no weight unless the words themselves were incapable of being construed in a plain and literal sense. If the words were ambiguous, then it might be right and proper to revert to those private opinions ; but as long as the articles and services of the church were reconcileable, and not only reconcileable, but necessarily consistent with the general and literal interpretation of the words, they were not at liberty to put any new interpretation upon them. They must take those doctrines and expressions in their true and literal sense, and not construe them by resorting to the private opinions of individuals. This would, therefore, dispose of that part of the question so far as the court was concerned. Now he was not aware that it was necessary for the court to occupy much more time upon the question which had arisen here. The point to be ascertained was, was the doctrine of the Church of England that of the baptismal regeneration of infants or not ? Another point to be determined was, did Mr. Gorham deny it was ? He (the learned judge) said it was clear from the passages he had read, and from the whole tenour of the examination, and of the learned counsel's argument upon it, that he did oppose this article of baptismal regeneration. Children presented no obstacle, and received the benefit of baptismal regeneration whatever it might be. It was a spiritual regeneration according to the words of the formularies of the church ; and, therefore, if this was the doctrine of the Church of England, which undoubtedly it was declared to be, that children baptized were regenerated and saved if they died without committing actual sin, then Mr. Gorham had maintained doctrines which were opposed to the doctrines of the church. And then the question was, had the bishop shown sufficient reason for not instituting Mr. Gorham to the benefice ? Now, he was of opinion that Mr. Gorham had maintained a doctrine that was opposed to the doctrines of the Church of England ; that the bishop had shown sufficient cause why he had not instituted Mr. Gorham to the benefice ; and that, therefore, the bishop must be dismissed, and dismissed with costs.

Mr. Bowdler, the proctor for Mr. Gorham, begged to inform the court, on behalf of his client's counsel, that an appeal would immediately be prosecuted against the decision of the court.

Sir H. J. Fust declared that he fully expected that an appeal would be made against his decision. He did not wish the burden of finally

determining so important a case to remain upon his shoulders. Had he not expected that an appeal would be made, he should have requested the assistance of the Chancellor of the Bishop of London; but he had not done so, as he was aware that he would be called upon to give his assistance as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The reading of the judgment occupied four hours.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

ADDRESS OF THE REV. T. R. ROBINSON.

WE have great gratification in being able to furnish our readers with what we hope will be found a correct report of the deeply interesting address of Dr. Robinson at the meeting of the British Association. Dr. Robinson, as it is well known in the scientific world, is not more distinguished as an astronomer and mathematician, than by his extraordinary power of presenting the results of the most profound investigations in an attractive and intelligible form. Several years ago, the Observatory of Armagh was placed under the superintendence of Dr. Robinson, by the present Archbishop of Armagh, and those who have had the pleasure of visiting the Observatory, are not likely to forget the gratification they have derived both from an inspection of the splendid instruments for which the Observatory is indebted to the munificence of the Archbishop, and from the deeply interesting information Dr. Robinson is always so ready to communicate. Yet, known and valued as Dr. Robinson is in his present appointment, he is not in the place for which his rare combination of abilities and attainments so pre-eminently qualify him. If the advancement of science and learning, and the efficiency of academic discipline in Ireland had been the object of statesmen, instead of the strengthening of a political party, or the discharge of ministerial obligations, Dr. Robinson would long since have been Provost of his College, and in his proper position (as far as the interests of learning and education are concerned) at the head of the University of Dublin.

The Association held its first General Meeting in the Town Hall, at eight o'clock on Wednesday evening. The attendance was tolerably numerous. The chair was taken by the retiring President, the Marquis of Northampton. His lordship, in the course of a brief address, expressed his satisfaction that the Association again held its meeting in Birmingham; and having warmly eulogized the President elect for the ability and talent which he had displayed in his scientific researches, introduced that gentleman to the meeting, and retired.

The Rev. T. Romney Robinson, who then took the chair, proceeded to address the meeting as follows :—

The President's Address.

If I thought only of myself, the embarrassment which, in taking the place to which you have called me, I feel would be much increased by the way in which my predecessor has spoken of me. Hitherto it has been filled by men illustrious in the senate or the field, heads of the societies which are the centres of our scientific life, and lodestars of the great institutions which have been through many ages the guides of our nation in the progress of intellectual cultivation. Against such men, if I weigh myself, I know not how much I must be found wanting. But I trust I may be permitted to regard myself as the type of a humbler but not useless class, for whom this Association was especially devised, and whom it enables to add their tribute to swell the general store. For it is not like the forbidden ground of Romance, a region where heroes only can tread; it is not a mere instrument for collecting into a focus the light of the suns of the intellectual sky. It is rather like those machines which unite the power of many, singly weak, but achieving by the union works which would overtask the strength of the mightiest individual. In one thing only I will venture to take to myself as not unmerited the praise of Lord Northampton. In zeal for the welfare of this Association, in intense interest for the accomplishment of its objects I yield to none; and if these may suffice, I hope I shall not be found unworthy of the trust you repose in me.

Yet, it is no common responsibility with which you have charged me; for this Association is one of the great powers which the altering phases of the world have called into action. Yet a few years since and it could not have existed; and even now some persons are found unable to appreciate its results or understand its purpose. In fact, as the invention of a new machine or process of manufacture is evidence that the old is becoming inadequate to meet the demand which it formerly satisfied, so the feelings which have so successfully called into being our Association here and similar institutions abroad may be regarded as a proof that the existing agencies for the development of scientific knowledge were becoming unequal to their work, and that some higher power must be sought, of energy commensurate to the increasing pressure. Such a power, I think, it is now certain that we afford. It is possible that the form of this great experiment may receive some modification; for example, that it may involve a yet wider application of the mighty principle on which it is based, and become a union not only of persons but of institutions. But we have established beyond doubt that it is a trial in the right direction, that its principle is the true one, the principle of Association. It may, perhaps, seem trivial to attach importance to such an assertion; in commercial enterprise, in manufactures, in politics, its truth is universally confessed; what, then, is there new in applying it to science? Nothing, assuredly: in fact science, at least physical science, owes to it almost its very existence, and certainly its progress; and the wonder

is that none seem to have fully comprehended this before the founders of the British Association. Observe, that though physical science is of recent birth, physical knowledge has been an object of desire from the very origin of our race. Some have followed it for the sake of the powers which it conferred, and some from the high instinct which reveals to a noble mind the beauty and majesty of such pursuits. In the first glimmer of history, the astronomy of the Assyrian Magi looms through the darkness; the geometry which might have been its champion and guide appears in no feeble development almost in the fabulous antiquity of India. The sepulchres of Etruria and Egypt, the palaces of Nineveh, are giving up to us relics of art that imply in high perfection the existence of that practical chemistry which was transmitted to us through their Arabian successors. When we look at the marvellous architecture of the middle ages, we find a mastery of the principles of equilibrium and pressure that fills the mind capable of appreciating it with delight beyond even what its surpassing beauty inspires; and we know from the writings of Roger Bacon and Kircher that many facts of experimental physics were current in the cloister. The elements were in existence, but some power was wanting which would combine them into a body and give it life. That power was free, open, honest association. Not intellectual energy or acuteness: the Greeks possessed *that* to an extent never perhaps equalled by any other people—but they were made incapable of steady union for any purpose by the strange elements of repulsion which seemed inherent in their nature, and split their philosophers into sects, their nation into fragments. Elsewhere the separation was still wider; the priestly castes of old, the conventual clergy and masonic societies of more recent times could not coalesce with the rest of the world in the union which I hold to be essential to the growth of science. Therefore, however extensive their knowledge (and they knew more than is generally supposed), it never ripened into general principles; it even became corrupt in the dull stagnation of the mystery in which it was buried—an instrument of superstition or imposture, a delusion to its possessors themselves. Astronomy became astrology—chemistry, alchemy—natural philosophy, magic. Brewster has shown how the concave mirror brought up an apparition when it would—and Boutigny has revealed how the repulsive energies of heat ministered to the iniquity of the ordeal. But this period of isolated labour, under which the intellectual domain of our race lay so long fallow, closed at last; and the principle of association revealed itself at one of the epochs of that movement which from time to time stirs up the region of mind as those of geology do the earth at the commencement of some great formation. To borrow from that science an illustration—the reign of reptiles and monsters gave way to higher beings that soared in the sky; the dominion of Aristotle and the schoolmen disappeared before the age of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and Bacon. From the fifteenth century downwards we find the philosophers of Europe beginning to be worthy of that name. Lovers of knowledge, instead of wrapping up their discoveries in secrecy, using them as a means of influence over the ignorant, or

breeding on them as food for haughty self-love, we find them forming a brotherhood of knowledge, eager to communicate their inventions, applying to each other for instruction, and even disputing among themselves the honour of priority in successful research. If the Florentine astronomer still envelopes in cipher his observations of Venus and Saturn, it is lest a rival should anticipate what was necessary to perfect his discovery ; while the Monk of Oxford hides in a similar veil his knowledge of gunpowder to exalt himself in the opinion of the world, yet keep his secret. The step in advance was wide, and the onward progress was rapid. It is not merely that each discovery which is thus freely communicated becomes an imperishable addition to the treasury of human knowledge, but it is also a source of others, more numerous as it is more widely diffused—like a syngenesious flower, whose winged seeds would produce little if confined to the neighbourhood of their parent, but bear a thousand-fold when scattered over the land. He who first finds a physical fact or principle often fails to trace it to its full extent ; pre-occupied by some particular object of research, led by special views, he looks at it with reference to them alone—and were he sole labourer in the mine, much of its wealth might be lost. It may be too vast to be explored by the power of one mind, or within the limits of one life ; or it may require aids and appliances which solitary individuals do not possess ; to say nothing of what is still more important—the increase of energy which flows from the sympathy and admiration of a multitude. It is not too much to say that the progress of mankind in science during the two centuries to which I refer far exceeded what had been made during the fifty-six that preceded them ; yet the force which impelled it was only partially and imperfectly exerted, and it was soon felt to be capable of far wider application. In this stage of its action the principle of association had operated only on a few mighty spirits whom the sense of kindred pursuits and powers linked together, but from whom their very transcendence kept their humbler fellows at a reverential distance. It was necessary that these also should be included in its bond—and the age of societies began. By condensing into a multitude of local centres the activity which was weakened in its diffusion, that privilege of labouring to extend the boundaries of knowledge which had been the glory of a chosen few was extended to a multitude ; societies devoted to this object arose in different countries, varying in constitution and form, but all emanating from the same necessity of bringing united exertion to bear on what every passing year showed to be among the noblest objects of human existence. And in this they were eminently successful : strong in numbers, they were stronger in local concentration ; their definite and permanent organization was a source of life and power, and the visible results of their activity were manifest to the world. In many instances they acquired a legal and corporate existence, which gave them a hold on general opinion, and even on governments ; their pecuniary resources and moral weight afforded them the means of researches beyond the reach of ordinary inquirers, and their exclusive character, whether limited by election or by appointment, by making it an object of ambition to belong to

them, gained for their pursuits a popularity which their intrinsic worth might not so soon have won. A still more—perhaps their most—important feature is the principle of systematic publication, the value of which has gone on increasing to the present hour, and cannot be overrated. Their transactions gave to the world not merely casual observations which might otherwise have perished, but elaborate investigations, which probably would never have found a publisher in the ordinary course of trade—perhaps never have been undertaken had not this channel been open to their authors. It would be foreign to my purpose, even were it possible, to give you an account of the philosophical societies which have flourished, not merely in Europe, but in some of the most distant regions which her sons have reached as colonists or conquerors. A description of them would fill volumes—a record of their proceedings would be the history of scientific progress for the last two centuries: I might say of science itself, for, in fact, they began with Newton, and he stands like the sun in heaven; all is luminous after he has risen, all before darkness or twilight. Yet, while rendering to them the praise which their services have so well deserved, we must not forget that as they were called into existence to meet a state of things which has passed away, so the altered condition of the human mind requires from them now a very different class of function from those which they discharged at first, and that circumstances may occur in which they may retard instead of advancing the progress of knowledge. That which I referred to as an original element of their power is of this number—their restricted and local character: their very nature requires that they be placed in large towns or cities—and they cannot multiply their members beyond narrow limits. This was not injurious as long as a single room in a tavern was sufficient to hold all the philosophers of the metropolis, or the means of experiment and instruction were scarcely accessible out of its precincts. It is far otherwise now—when we count more thousands, and those, too, of higher standard in the ranks of science, than units could be reckoned at the beginning of last century, and when every day adds to their number. No possible extension of the great societies can meet this, even were they disposed to make it, which I believe they are not. On the contrary, there is among them a tendency to limit their admissions to men of high fame and proved attainments, and thus, in some degree, form an aristocracy of science. What, then, is to become of the rest?—are they to form provincial societies similarly organized? This, it seems to me, is but a retrograde step; a violation of the great principle to which we owe our advance; a breaking up into fragments of the energy which every effort should be made to associate into one mighty unity; and however valuable such societies are as auxiliaries, unless it be found possible to link them by some principle of federation unto one great body without interfering with their self-government and independence, I feel that much of the good which they are capable of effecting must be lost. Secondly, the increasing vastness of the field which we have to cultivate surpasses the powers of any single body of labourers. Look, for instance, at the most illustrious of all, the Royal Society. At first,

as we see from its *Transactions*, it was a mere collector of detached facts and observations, and for them took even a wider range than is attempted by all our sections ; it collected, too, with little discrimination—in that dawning of information it was not always possible to distinguish a pebble from a pearl. It soon, however, became fastidious ; for it reached the point when it became more important to class and interpret than to collect—and the latter part of its office became subordinate to the other. By degrees, as its accumulating duties began to surpass its powers, we find dissatisfaction appearing, and complaints that particular branches of science are neglected to favour others not so important. At last, the necessity of a division of work becomes apparent ; a society splits off to devote itself to geology—another to astronomy—others to various branches of natural history—while the parent, like Trembley's hydra, is more active and powerful than before this division. That this process has increased our knowledge a hundred-fold will not be disputed by any who have watched its progress during the last thirty years ; and yet it can scarcely be denied that, besides the chance of exciting hostile feelings between rival societies, it is open to another objection. The different branches of science cannot well be isolated—each depends on many others. Geology presses into its service not merely its special subject, but also the Geometry of Hopkins, the Botany of Lindley, and the Zoography of Owen and Agassiz. Astronomy must not only track the unseen with Adams and Leverrier, or fathom the Abysses of the sky with Herschel and Rosse—it must also visit the workshops of the machinist with Airy and Struve. And so of the rest—they cannot be disunited ; and therefore it is evident that some system must be found which, while it leaves unfettered the whole special organization of each society, shall yet combine their exertions, not merely with each other, but also with the great and ever increasing multitude of fellow-labourers beyond their precincts. Therefore, it was not merely a happy thought of the good and wise men who were the founders of the British Association which led to its existence ; this, or something equivalent, was a necessary result of the expansion of that principle whose course I have been tracing—and which must, ere long, have found some other development had they not turned it in this direction. It leaves untouched all that was previously available, and merely adds what experience had shown to be deficient. Thus we do not interfere in any way with any society ; on the contrary, we identify ourselves with them as far as possible. We admit, *as of right*, the members of all chartered societies that publish transactions throughout our empire ; the officers and councils of philosophical institutions, and all their members who are recommended by those councils ; and our governing power, or general committee, is almost entirely derived from the same source ; it is chiefly composed of “ members who have printed papers in the transactions of any philosophical society, or of delegates from such societies or philosophical institutions.” We withdraw nothing from their transactions—our reports are of a totally different character ; we, on the contrary, assist them—for many of the most valuable communications which those publications contain in latter years have

originated in the proceedings of our sections. Yet, though we have so much in common with them, it would be a gross error to confound us with them, or to imagine that any increase of their activity, or any change in their management, could supersede our office. Not the least important part of it refers to persons entirely unconnected with them, persons who have struggled after knowledge in difficulty and obscurity, whose diffidence would shrink from the distinction belonging to such connexion ; or even who, without any scientific acquirements, have yet a reverence for them, a perception of their worth. Such we can count by thousands ; and every one of them, I am confident, has been profited by the influence which we have exerted on his mind. We have gone still further, and admitted ladies as associates—exciting the surprise and perhaps scorn of those who think women fit only for household cares or showy accomplishments : and we have done well—for without referring to Mrs. Somerville, Mrs. Marcet, or others whom I would name were they not present, I have myself known some whose proficiency in several of our departments might have put many an F.R.S. to shame, who were not to be surpassed in all the graces of their sex, and were perfect in all the relations of domestic life. Man cannot ascend in the scale of intellectual power unless woman rises with him. Another advantage which we possess above stationary societies is, our mobility ; we can pursue our labours wherever much is to be learnt or many are to be taught. From the Universities, the seats of abstract science, we have ranged to the mighty emporia of Great Britain—to the treasure-houses of its mineral and metallurgic wealth—to the marvellous palaces of its industrial art ; and at every step of our progress even the most highly gifted and richly stored among us have learned new facts, seen opening before them new lines of thought, and met new men. It is a glorious discipline—the very one which Homer attributes to the wisest of his heroes. And let us hope that, in the expressive imagery of the New Atlantis, we also may be “dowry men” and “merchants of light ;” that they whose seats become the marts of our intellectual commerce, may receive in it their share of the illumination which we seek ; and that by imparting to them new ideas—by correcting error—by opening to them more fully the laws which rule those elemental powers that serve them in works of microscopic beauty or giant might—we may endow them with gifts which shall both increase the reward of their own industry and enterprise, and augment the prosperity and glory of our country :

Our Association has been tried during eighteen years, and with a success which has exceeded by far what its most ardent friends had ventured to anticipate. It would of course be unreasonable to expect that its career should be at all times equally brilliant, or that an institution whose roots spread into every part of the realm, and every order of its people, can be free from the fluctuations by which their prosperity is ruffled. It must also be borne in mind that if we adhere, as I trust we ever shall do, to our rule of assembling wherever we are called by the interests of science, we must occasionally visit remote and unattractive localities, where the difficulty of access and the want

of accommodation will discourage many from attending. But yet we can truly assert that in each of these eighteen years—and assuredly this nineteenth will be no exception—it has added largely to our knowledge, and in no respect fallen short of the objects contemplated by its founders. These were, as stated to the original meeting at York, “to promote the intercourse of the cultivators of science with each other, and with foreign philosophers”—“to give a stronger impulse and more systematic direction to scientific inquiry”—“to obtain a greater degree of national attention to the objects of science, and a removal of the disadvantages which impede its progress.” Let me request your attention for a few moments respecting each of these. The first of them may perhaps be undervalued by some, or rated merely as an intellectual luxury. Even at that low estimate it is above price; but it is of far higher import. If to visit the field of some high deed—to stand before the sepulchre of the illustrious dead—can fill the mind with lofty aspirations and lift it to noblest emprise, how much more shall it kindle in the actual presence of one of those great beings who are raised up by our heavenly Father to be the lights of our race. Who could stand before Bessel without feeling how genius is exalted by industry. What a lesson of truth and decision was written on the brow of Dalton! But our close intercourse with each other is still more precious from its tendency to check some evil elements of our nature—for instance, the bitter disputations and petty hostility which have too often disgraced the records of science, and made its followers contemptible. The most irritable man must feel less disposed to apply violent language or attribute unworthy motives to one whom he has met in kindly intercourse, or whose character he has appreciated, than when he encounters a perfect stranger in the arena of the press; or if he have offended, how many opportunities of atonement and reconciliation are offered by a re-union like this. Accordingly, this fault has nearly disappeared; and when traces of it occur, it is only in persons who have not fully entered into the spirit of our Association. Nor is it less powerful to avert a still greater danger—the greatest, in fact, which besets our pursuits—that of self-esteem. The true philosopher does not incur it: he knows too well the proportion between his ignorance and his knowledge; but if there be any who, from being the wonder of a limited circle, or from exaggerating the difficulty of his own attainments, is disposed to exalt himself above his peers, let him visit us, and I will answer for his cure. There is not a man on earth who could try the experiment without finding superiors in some of our departments, and scarcely any who would not find an equal in that of which he is vain. As to our foreign visitors, I need not take the trouble of proving what you all feel: the attracting them to our shores—the having the opportunity of knowing such men as Arago and Oersted, Ritter, Encke or Struve, Bache or Henry—of strengthening by the ties of friendship that brotherhood of science to which I have already referred as of such importance—that alone would be worth an association to obtain it. Even on this, the first night of our meeting, we are honoured by several distinguished guests. On

another occasion I shall express to them our acknowledgment of the honour with which their presence graces us; but now shall refer only to one—the Chevalier Bunsen—in answer to any one who may suppose that an attachment to any of the various branches of science in which he is so highly gifted unfit a man for the most energetic discharge of the active duties of public life. In the second object—“To give a stronger impulse and more systematic direction to scientific inquiry”—we have not been less successful. The very excitement connected with our meetings is itself such an impulse, and a most powerful one. Those of our members who have long been known as the chief ornaments of our great philosophical societies—devoted to science, and rich in its triumphs—feel it as fully now as when first they joined us. At each new occurrence they seem to find a renovation of enthusiasm—a flow of hope, an increase of resolution among us—which send them with fresh strength to resume their labours; and will be present to them in the hours of despondency and gloom which at times cloud even the firmest spirits, like a beam of light. Nor is our spell less potent of those yet untried in the race, who come forward to communicate the first fruits of their research—the truth which has rewarded their solitary toil. To such, the approbation, the kind advice, the affectionate warning of their more renowned companions, is like a horoscope that stamps the future course of life, more powerful even than the applause of the multitude who rejoice at the success of one unknown and are encouraged by it to similar exertion. But still more precious is the excitement of plunging into this mighty flow of intellect to one whose lot is, like mine, cast remote from the resorts of science—few or none near him to understand or value his pursuits—nothing but his own fixity of resolve to disperse the listlessness which thus gathers on the mind and clogs its wing. To him you are as an oasis to the travellers in the desert, whose palms and fountains make him forget the waste which he has left, and store him for another journey with the means of life. But we not only give this impulse, we guide it, and, by guiding it, sustain and increase its strength, as well as by removing the difficulties which resist it. A small part of what we have thus accomplished you find in the volumes which we have published; the most important, as I already stated, is to be found in the Transactions of various Societies or in separate works. Let me select a few instances for rapid notice, as time will fail for more. To begin with the science to which I myself am specially devoted—astronomy: it has been above all others patronized by nations and individuals; in our own country a Society of high fame and influence has been established for its advancement, and yet it has remained for us to render it services of no common order, which I may be permitted to explain in some detail. In it, as in many other of the physical sciences, the observation of facts is merely the crude ore, which must be sorted and sifted, and passed through the furnace to make it yield the metal which we seek. The mere task of making the observations is generally a pleasure, but it is far otherwise with the subsequent process. The arithmetical operations which it requires demand much more time and involve much

more labour—that, too, rather intellectual, and involving at every step liabilities to error. Take a simple instance: you have determined with minute precision the apparent place of a star in the sky—if you stop there you have done nothing. The place you have obtained is not the true one, the atmosphere has bent the line of sight; while the light travels down your telescope you and it have been moving, and the sky-marks by which you map the star are themselves disturbed by various and complicated motions. For all these you must allow; but to do so requires, on an average, even in the most improved method of modern times, the writing of 400 figures and the performance of fifty arithmetical operations. But the numbers themselves employed are the result of other complicated operations; nearly half are constant for the same star, but an equal number have relation to the sun and moon, and therefore vary from day to day. Were these to be calculated, it would add an equal amount of work. But even this is insufficient, for we must compare what we thus obtain with the results of former astronomers; and this also cannot be done without bringing them together by the same arithmetic talisman; so that were the whole to be performed by the one calculator, I have found that, however expert he may be, he must expend an hour at least in obtaining each result. Now, from most of this drudgery in the case of more than 8000 stars, he is relieved by the catalogue which the Association has given to the world. It contains for each the constants already noticed; and gives the prompt and easy means of making the comparison—so easy, that probably before its epoch, 1850, is past, every one of those places will have been verified in the sky. Such an undertaking could have been effected only by such a power as ours, which could at once engage the services of such men as Baily, Herschel, Stratford, and their fellow-labourers, and devote to the inferior part of the work an expenditure exceeding 2000*l*. In fact, had we done nothing else, I say fearlessly that this work alone would have secured us an enduring claim on the gratitude of science. Let me here remark, that there are many other departments in which we could render most important service by the mere collection of the constants that belong to them, as we have done in this case, and in that of terrestrial magnetism. Constants are the framework of knowledge—the concentration of power; they belong peculiarly to our domain, and were marked out as such long since; but though, unfortunately, this work was not executed by that powerful mind to whom we entrusted it, I hope the subject will not be forgotten. I might tell you of the theory of the tides, which Laplace might well style “the most thorny of problems,” but of the greatest interest to a nation “whose march is o’er the mountain wave, whose home is on the deep.” I might tell you of light thrown on it by observations obtained by our influence, reduced at our expense, and unravelled by one worthy of going beyond the steps of Newton and Bernouilli. To the same philosopher we owe the execution of another important task—the determination of the plane which marks the level of the sea unvarying with the changes of the tide; a precious gift, as but for it in a few years the absolute levels of our great national surveys would have

become a delusion. In Ireland, for example, they referred to the low water of spring tides; a mark which could not be recovered, as it varies both with time and place. I know not whether this has been yet corrected, but I trust it soon will, as Airy's observations afford the data. It would be tedious to tell you all of this kind that we have effected; and I leave the subject, with a reference to one more example—the investigation of the motion and nature of waves, which we owe to Mr. Scott Russell. These led by an unexpected line to one far more interesting in a practical view, the resistance and the form of ships. On this subject it appears that valuable information has been collected for us; and it cannot but be matter of regret that materials obtained at so great an expenditure of money (more than 1000*l.*), of labour, and thought, should remain unavailable, especially considering the present imperfect condition of naval architecture in reference to science. In many instances we have aided inquiries of inestimable value, though we did not originate them:—as the fossil ichthyology of Agassiz, and those of Owen on fossil reptiles and mammalia, which perhaps but for us would never have been completed; and in fine I may mention, as an approximative measure of the impulse which we have given to science, that we have expended in this way 15,000*l.* Observe, too, that to this must be added whatever is the pecuniary value of the labour of those members of the Association who have given us their services. *That* all is gratuitous; and if you consider who many of them are, you will find it not easy to assign its price. But I regard as even more conducive to the advancement of science, another part of our labours, peculiarly our own; I mean the reports which place before us the actual boundaries of our knowledge. Much intellectual energy is wasted in inventing what is already known; much spent on objects comparatively unimportant for want of a due estimate of their worth, many walks untrodden because it is supposed they have been sufficiently explored. For all this a remedy is found in those admirable surveys, so many of which are found in our volumes; they are as it were a “taking stock” of our intellectual wealth, and tell us how much of it is real, how much doubtful, how much wanting. Whether we consider those which embrace a whole science, as those of Airy on Astronomy or Forbes on Meteorology—or those which include some one of its divisions, as those of Sabine on Terrestrial Magnetism, Lloyd on Physical Optics, Rennie on Hydraulics, those by the Dean of Ely and his compeers, on parts of mathematical analysis, or those of Owen and his fellow-labourers in natural history—with a multitude of others—it is scarcely possible to overestimate their worth. You find there condensed into a few pages the essence of many volumes; the chaos of clashing statements and conflicting opinions reduced to harmony and order; truth winnowed from error, facts from conjecture. They place within the reach of the most secluded student a treasure of certain information which it would be hard for him to obtain even had he access to the libraries and institutions of the metropolis; and even to the mind that is best stored they save time—and time is power. Such reports we shall, I trust, continue to receive in increasing numbers; and as long as we do, we

prosper—for they are the surest index, though not the most showy, of our usefulness.

I have left myself but little space to consider how far we have fulfilled the third of our objects—"To obtain a greater degree of national attention to the objects of science." Most assuredly it was needful; for nowhere in the civilized world is less honour paid by a nation to science, though nowhere is national prosperity more connected with its progress, nowhere are heavier penalties paid for its neglect. I do not now refer to the remarkable fact that in Britain only men whose scientific fame fills all Europe were seldom thought worthy of any honorary distinction by their Government. As it relates to themselves, this is of no importance; but it is of deep concern to the honour of this country. The true votary of science loves it for itself: in its possession he has a higher honour, a nobler decoration than man can give. He does not require to be bribed to follow it by titles or ribbons—the baits for meaner spirits, the lure to lower achievements. But he knows that though he despises such gauds, those who hold them hold them precious; and they serve him as a scale by which he finds that great men once placed a Herschel or a Brewster nearly on a level with a third-rate soldier or the annual magistrate of some town that might be honoured with a royal visit. Nor do I refer to the miserable economy which permitted such men as Ivory and Dalton (to speak only of the dead) to waste, in the drudgery of earning a precarious subsistence, the years, the powers, the hopes which could have borne light into the remotest and darkest recesses of the realms of inquiry; though it does contrast painfully with the munificent provision which republican France and despotic Russia heap on such men when they can find them. Both these spring from the same root, the gross ignorance in this province of the intellect, which, up to the beginning of this Association, and long afterwards, prevailed in the land. The industrial classes of our countrymen were wont to rely in their pursuits on the unenlightened dexterity and empirical success which resulted from experience, and to scoff at the idea of learning anything useful from a mere theorist; those whom wealth and independence permitted to choose, seldom sought employment or pleasure in this unfashionable region—their education, though the best then current, having given them very little cognizance of what it might contain. And to ascend still higher, even to the executive and legislative bodies, they "cared still less for science;" the tension of political life engrossed all their faculties: they disliked philosophers as meddlers or despised them as dreamers. The head of a great military department once said that he *hated* scientific officers! Any one of his engineers might have told him that more money had been wasted and lives lost in that department from sheer ignorance of science, than any one could think of without shame and sorrow. The question which I know to have been asked by another in "high places," though milder in expression, was not less scornful—"Of what use is science?" He who asked it ought to have known better. Whatever tends to raise man above low and sensual pursuits—whatever to lead him from the partial and present to the general and the future—whatever to exalt

in his mind the dominion of order and the supremacy of truth—that must be useful to the individual, useful to the nation. Even had he been incapable of rising above the gross measure of pecuniary value, he ought to have been able to give a mighty answer to his own inquiry. There is not a single element of our commercial prosperity in which the vivifying power of science might not be felt, in which the loss arising from want of that certainty of action which mere unenlightened practice can never attain, does not reach an amount which, if stated in figures, would astound the most thoughtless. For instance, the causes which in our great cities hasten the death and debase and embitter the life of so many, have at last been forced by chemists and physiologists on the notice of the public. Look at Dr. Smith's Report on the Air and Water of Towns, in this volume; and when we think that the victims of the deadly influences which are there revealed are chiefly found among the people whose industry is the foundation of our greatness—that every year cut off from the life of each of these is so much subtracted from national wealth—even were all moral sense or religious feeling dead in us, we must confess that the knowledge which is capable of averting them “is of use.” The ships that bear the treasures produced by this industry through the world are lost to a fearful amount—nearly *three* daily. What are they worth—ship, cargo, men?—and most of them perish from want of nautical science or from unscientific construction. How many men have been ruined by searching for minerals, when the merest smattering of geology would have dispelled their delusion. On the other hand, the agricultural produce of our islands might be doubled by a more perfect application of the principles of botany and chemistry. The manufacture of iron has been augmented six-fold by the use of the puddling furnace and the hot blast—both gifts of theory. How gigantic a result is this, without reference to the increase in the thousand arts of which this immense supply of that most precious of metals is the exponent. The splendid machinery in which we excel the world owes its present perfection to mechanics who are conspicuous in *our* sections, to impulses given by philosophers like Willis or Babbage. Nay, the steam-engine itself, your immortal townsman's great conquest—that earthly fate to which now seems to be committed the weaving of the world's destiny—that itself was a pure induction of science; and beyond *that* I need not go. But we live in better times; for no statesman now would be so imprudent as to ask such a question, even were there any so unfortunate as to think it, which I trust there are not. And this change we, the British Association, have in no small degree helped to produce. We have carried far and wide through the land the light which before beamed only from a few scattered points; if our meteor-like presence be short, it is also bright; and as the meteor is remembered when the stationary lamp is unheeded, so I trust that of the tens of thousands who have felt our influence few will forget the impression which it made on them, and fewer fail to feel that this impression ennobled and exalted their understanding. It is evident that science now has a far more powerful hold on public opinion than when we began our course. No other proof is needed

of this than the fact that many new branches of it are finding their way in the course of university instruction. Without referring to the recent changes in those of this island, I rejoice to say that in my own—that of Dublin—within the last year chemistry, thermotics, electro-magnetism, and others, have been made a portion of the under-graduate course; while one of our own valued members has introduced into primary schools a manual of zoology, of which the spirit is as good as the substance is attractive. But there is another evidence, not less satisfactory in reference to this our third object, and I name it with pleasure—the prompt and liberal attention which our Government now pays to the requests of the Association. It is true that we have never applied to it except for matters of paramount importance and unquestionable usefulness; but in times past it would have been no easy matter to force a conviction of this on the guardians of the Treasury; and we may therefore feel assured, not only that they personally take an interest in what we bring before them, but also that the whole nation sympathises with us; for some of these concessions are of no ordinary magnitude. The completion of the Ordnance survey of Scotland—the enlarging the scale of part, perhaps all, of that of England—and the adding lines of level to that of Ireland after it was apparently completed—are very formidable items in a budget. At our demands the Observatories from which such splendid additions have been made to our knowledge of magnetism and meteorology, have been established far and wide throughout our dominions;—a precious gift, not only for itself, but for what it has produced. The example was followed, on their usually princely scale, at four stations by the East India Company, (always, be it said, munificent patrons of science,) and still more extensively by Russia—with what success must be fresh in the memory of those who were present at the Magnetic Congress. We obtained the Antarctic Expedition of Ross, so fertile in its geographic fruit—so invaluable for the wide extension which it gave to the domain of terrestrial magnetism. We procured the expenditure of large sums for the reduction of the Greenwich lunar observations, and for publishing the catalogues of Lacaille and Lalande—and much more which I need not recite. Yet—and we well may reckon it a sign of progress—not a single voice has been raised in opposition to these grants. It seems as if our country recognised in us its scientific representatives—as if we were like the Saxon prototype of its great council: its Witena-Gemot—its assembly of the Wise.

And may we deserve that name; for let me remind you that science is not necessarily wisdom. To know, is not the sole, nor even the highest office of the intellect; and it loses all its glory unless it act in furtherance of the great end of man's life. That end is, as both reason and revelation unite in telling us, to acquire the feelings and habits that will lead us to love and seek what is good in all its forms, and guide us by following its traces to the first great cause of all, where only we find it pure and unclouded. If science be cultivated in congruity with this, it is the most precious possession we can have—the most divine endowment. But if it be perverted to minister to any wicked or ignoble purpose—if it even be permitted to take too abso-

lute a hold of the mind, or overshadow that which should be paramount over all, the sense of duty, the perception of right—if it does not increase in us the consciousness of an Almighty and All-beneficent presence—it lowers instead of raising us in the great scale of existence. This, however, it can never do but by our fault. All its tendencies are heavenward; every new fact which it reveals is a ray from the origin of light, which leads us to its source. If any think otherwise, their knowledge is imperfect, or their understanding warped or darkened by their passions. The Book of Nature is, like that of Revelation, written by God, and therefore cannot contradict; both we cannot read through all their extent, and therefore should neither wonder nor be alarmed if at times we miss the pages which reconcile any seeming inconsistency. In both, too, we may fail to interpret rightly that which is recorded; but be assured, if we search them in quest of truth alone, each will bear witness to the other—and physical knowledge, instead of being hostile to religion, will be found its most powerful ally, its most useful servant. Many, I know, think otherwise, and because attempts have occasionally been made to draw from astronomy, from geology, from the modes of the growth and formation of animals and plants, arguments against the divine origin of the Sacred Scripture, or even to substitute for the creative will of an intelligent First Cause the blind and casual evolution of some agency of a material system, they would reject their study as fraught with danger. In this I must express my deep conviction, that they do injury to that very cause which they think they are serving.

Time will not let me touch further on the cavils and errors in question; and, besides, they have been often fully answered. I will only say, that I am here surrounded by many matchless in the sciences, which are supposed so dangerous, and not less conspicuous for truth and piety. If *they* find no discord between faith and knowledge, why should you, or any, suppose it to exist? On the contrary, they cannot be well separated. We must know that God is, before we can confess Him;—we must know that He is wise and powerful before we can trust in Him—that He is good before we can love Him. All these attributes, the study of His works had made known before He gave that more perfect knowledge of himself with which we are blessed. Among the Semitic tribes his names betoken exalted nature and irresistible power; among the Hellenic races they denote his wisdom; but that which we inherit from our northern ancestors denotes his goodness. All these the more perfect researches of modern science bring out in ever-increasing splendour; and I cannot conceive anything that more effectually brings home to the mind the absolute omnipresence of the Deity than high physical knowledge. I fear I have too long trespassed on your patience, yet let me point out to you a few examples. What can fill us with an overwhelming sense of His infinite wisdom like the telescope? As you sound with it the fathomless abyss of stars, till all measure of distances seems to fail, and imagination alone gauges the distance; yet even there as here is the same divine harmony of forces, the same perfect conservation of systems, which the being able to trace in the pages of Newton or Laplace makes us feel as if we were more

than men. If it is such a triumph of intellect to *trace* this law of the universe, how transcendent must the greatest over all be in which it, and many like it, have their existence. That instrument tells us that our globe and we are but a speck, the existence of which cannot be perceived beyond our system. Can we then hope that in this immensity of worlds we shall not be overlooked? The microscope will answer. If the telescope lead to one verge of infinity, it brings us to the other; and shows us that down in the very twilight of visibility the living points which it discloses are fashioned with the most finished perfection—that the most marvellous contrivances minister to their preservation and their enjoyment—that as nothing is too vast for the Creator's control, so nothing is too minute or trifling for His care. At every turn the philosopher meets facts which show that man's Creator is also his Father—things which seem to contain a special provision for his use and his happiness;—but I will take only two, from their especial relation to this very district. Is it possible to consider the properties which distinguish iron from other metals, without a conviction that those qualities were given to it that it might be useful to man, whatever other purposes might be answered by them? That it should be ductile and plastic while influenced by heat, capable of being welded, and yet by a slight chemical change capable of adamantine hardness—and that the metal which alone possesses properties so precious should be the most abundant of all—must seem, as it is, a miracle of bounty. And not less marvellous is the prescient kindness which stored up in your coal-fields the exuberant vegetation of the ancient world, under circumstances which preserved this precious magazine of wealth and power, not merely till He had placed on earth beings who would use it, but even to a late period of their existence, lest the element that was to develop to the utmost their civilization and energy might be wasted or abused. But I must conclude with this summary of all which I would wish to impress on your minds—that the more we know His works the nearer we are to Him. Such knowledge pleases Him; it is bright and holy, it is our purest happiness here, and will assuredly follow us into another life if rightly sought in this. May He guide us in its pursuit; and in particular, may this meeting which I have attempted to open in His name, be successful and prosperous—so that in future years they who follow me in this high office may refer to it as one to be remembered with unmixed satisfaction.

The Earl of Harrowby moved a vote of thanks to the learned President for the ability which he had displayed in his address—especially as having rendered the subject on which he discoursed most popular, as well as profitable.

The Bishop of Oxford, in seconding the vote, urged his auditory to bear in mind that men might be humble without being narrow-minded—and religious, without being ignorant.

Professor Robinson having acknowledged the compliment, the meeting adjourned.—*Advocate.*

THE CHOLERA. DAY OF HUMILIATION.

THE following documents relative to the observation of a day of fasting and prayer in the town of Bridgnorth, are preserved here as a specimen of the solemnity and proper feeling manifested by all classes on the occasion of this afflicting dispensation.

" TO THE REVEREND THE CLERGY MINISTERING IN THE PARISHES
OF BRIDGNORTH.

" REVEREND BRETHREN,—We learn from the records of the church, how in days of great public affliction and trouble, solemn services of supplication were specially appointed in particular places, and were regarded on such occasions as the very strength, and stay, and comfort of the faithful.

" Whilst, accordingly, the present severe visitation of pestilence from the hand of Almighty God, is calling forth the tears of so many among your people, I would direct you, and through you those committed to your charge, to the work of earnest prayer and supplication, that it may please God to turn from you, and from your brethren suffering from the like affliction in other places, this heavy burthen and evil, which our sins have most justly deserved.

" For this holy purpose I would not only exhort you to more fervent private prayer, but I recommend that Friday, the 14th instant, should be strictly observed in your churches as a day of special public prayer and humiliation ; on which occasion I enjoin the use of the Communion Service at Morning Prayer. And I further request that you will duly exhort your parishioners in sermons, as well as by private admonitions, to a Christian improvement of the solemnity.

" I remain, reverend brethren,

" Your faithful friend and servant,

" R. D. HEREFORD.

" The Palace, Hereford, 8th September, 1849."

" TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PARISHES OF SAINT MARY'S AND
SAINT LEONARD'S, BRIDGNORTH.

" BELOVED BRETHREN,—The accompanying letter has been forwarded to us by the Lord Bishop of Hereford. We wrote to his lordship a few days since, to inform him of the prevalence of cholera in our town, and to express a wish, in which many of you, we know, warmly participate, that a day of public prayer and humiliation should be appointed for us, in which we might unite together to deprecate God's deserved anger, and to supplicate Him in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to remove this sore judgment from us. The bishop, as you will see, has promptly and heartily responded to our request, and has named Friday, in the present week, for that holy purpose. We sincerely trust, beloved brethren, that it will be observed by you with that deep religious seriousness which well befits so solemn an occasion, and which will best promote the end of its appointment :—that deny-

ing yourselves, and abridging your usual enjoyments, you will humble your souls with fasting before God ; and laying aside for a few hours your ordinary occupations, you will assemble in His house, to offer up prayer for yourselves and your fellow Christians. Let none be wanting in this important duty—let none be absent from this holy place—but high and low, rich and poor, old and young, meet there together, and join in this one earnest cry for mercy, ‘ *Spare thy people, O Lord.*’

“ We are, beloved brethren,
“ Your faithful friends and servants in Christ,

“ W. K. MARSHALL,

“ G. BELLETT,

“ T. ROWLEY.

“ Bridgnorth, September 10th, 1849.

“ PS.—There will be divine services at Saint Mary’s in the morning and afternoon, at the usual hours : at Saint Leonard’s, in the morning at 11, and in the evening at 7 o’clock ; and evening service at the school-house in the Low Town, at 7 o’clock.”

Along with the foregoing documents we have received a letter from the respected and excellent minister of St. Leonard’s, the Rev. G. Bellett, the following extract from which will be read, we doubt not, with feelings of gratification and thankfulness. It is indeed most consoling to observe so very generally throughout the country and the metropolis the spirit of seriousness with which this fearful visitation has been received as a chastisement from the Almighty, and to hear the accounts from all quarters of the crowded congregations, to a degree almost without example, who have assembled in the churches wherever a day of humiliation has been appointed.

“ The day which our bishop appointed to be observed as a day of special public prayer and humiliation, was most strictly observed here. The mayor, by a public notice, recommended that all business should be suspended, and the shops closed at least during the hours of divine service ; but I am sure that if he had not done so, the feeling in the minds of the people was so strong that they would of their own accord have given up all secular engagements for the day. Not a shop was opened during the whole of it, and business of every kind was laid aside—and I do not believe that a complaint was made by any one of the pecuniary loss which was incurred in consequence. The stillness of the town from morning till night was most striking. It was far more quiet than it usually is on a Sunday, for those who take advantage of the leisure of a Sunday to go into the country for a little fresh air, on this occasion confined themselves to their homes, except when summoned to divine service. The churches were most numerous attended, so that it was with difficulty room was found for the congregations. As it respects the outward appearance no solemnity could be more duly observed. But the seriousness which reigned amongst us, I believe, was more than superficial ; and

the abstinence from ordinary enjoyments which was so generally observed was, I doubt not, accompanied by much inward lowliness and humility. I should mention also that although the cholera was prevailing here very severely at the time when the bishop wrote his letter, we have had very little of it since, and not, I believe, a single fatal case has occurred since the day of humiliation. This we would attribute to God's undeserved mercy in hearing the supplications of His people. God grant that we may not by our sins bring about a renewal of the affliction.

"Yours, &c.,

"G. BELLETT."

ADDITIONAL CURATES' SOCIETY.

THE following circular has been re-issued by the Society, with the permission of the Lord Bishop of London. We should feel sincerely gratified if its insertion in these pages could in any instance contribute to bring the pressing claims of this truly valuable Society under the notice of those who have the means of affording its managers the assistance they so well deserve to receive from all who love and reverence the Church of England.

"Rev. and dear Sir,—Suffer me to call your most serious attention to the statement which accompanies this letter.

"I need not, I am persuaded, point out to you, how much has been effected by the Additional Curates' Society, towards diminishing the fearful amount of spiritual destitution which prevails in our great towns and populous districts; nor how much still remains to be done in that direction.

"Important as it is, to provide additional churches for those who are without the means of attending public worship, it is still more important to multiply labourers in the neglected corners of the Lord's vineyard, and to minister the bread of life to the thousands who are perishing for lack of knowledge, and who must be sought out in the hiding-places of poverty, and ignorance, and vice, and won over to the cause of their own salvation.

"But in the present instance it is not merely a question of *adding* to the number of curates now maintained wholly, or in part, by the Society—a number lamentably inadequate to the demand—but it is one of even more pressing urgency still; whether a considerable number of those who are actually employed in the pastoral care of large parishes, the benefits of whose ministry are beginning to be felt and appreciated, shall, or shall not, be continued after Easter next.

"The withdrawing of so many labourers from the vast and continually increasing harvest-field, which lies around us, is a contingency which cannot be contemplated without the deepest anxiety. A sum of 2000*l.* added to the Society's annual income, will be sufficient to avert that calamity, at least for another year. Suffer me to request your cordial and active assistance towards raising the required amount. A plain and forcible statement of the real facts of the case would

surely induce some of your parishioners, whom Providence has entrusted with the means of advancing the glory of God in his gospel and church, to contribute something towards the attainment of this most important object.

"I remain, rev. and dear Sir, your affectionate friend and brother,
"C. J. LONDON.

"Falham, 4th December, 1848."

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

THE following extract from the *Oxford Herald* will be read with interest by numbers, on account of the gratifying intelligence it contains of the health of the truly venerable President of Magdalen College:—

"MAGDALEN COLLEGE.—Wednesday last being the day on which the venerable President of this Society, Dr. Martin Joseph Routh, entered his 95th year, the first stone of the new Grammar School of the College, the building of which had been projected many years, but hitherto by various circumstances prevented, was laid by the President himself, (who appeared, we are happy to say, in excellent health,) attended by the resident members of Magdalen College, at the western extremity of the gravel-walk, within the precincts of the ancient college walls. The following inscription from the pen of the learned President, engraven on copper, was placed beneath the foundation stone:—'Scholam Grammaticalem veteri Aulæ Magdalenensi, quæ in aliâ sede nunc floret, prius annexam, rursus intra mœnia sua ædificandam curaverunt Præses Sociique Magdalenenses, anno salutis MDCCCXLIX.' The President having pronounced the words, 'Floreat grammatica, floreat hæc schola grammaticalis, olim academicis propria, jam pridem omnibus patefacta,' the ceremony concluded. The building, designed by J. C. Buckler, Esq. and Son, architects, will consist of a single room, the dimensions of which are determined by those of the old grammar school. The front towards the High-street will present an elevation of five bays, formed by buttresses, and containing an uniform range of transomed windows of lofty proportions. The north elevation is to be distinguished by a porch in the centre, with a room over, approached by a stone stair-case in an octangular bell-turret, terminating with a crocketed pinnacle. The parapet of the school is to be embattled, and the east and west walls finished with gables; the windows in these aspects will be distinguished by superior dimensions, pointed arches, and tracery. The roof is to be of open timber frame-work, spanned by single arches, springing from stone corbels.

"Floreat hæc Schola, per multos hæc floreat annos,
Doctrinâ, insignis, moribus, et studiis.

"May Magdalen School long continue to flourish,
And plants of good morals and learning to nourish.

"P. D., NEW COLLEGE."

IRISH ROMANISM. NEW SCHEMES OF AGITATION.

WHEN the Irish Church Temporalities Act was passed in 1833, it was confidently believed by numbers, both here and in Ireland, that the re-distribution of Church property which it effected would put an end to the combination against the Established Church in that country. Up to that period, property in Ireland had been liable to charges equivalent to church rates, and assessed by vestry for the same purposes. But the Irish landlords, who, from the year 1700, had never ceased to harass the clergy, by resisting their legal rights, and by abetting and in too many cases stimulating the attacks which were made on the property of the Church, at last determined, by an organized resistance, which was ostensibly carried on by the Roman Catholics, but which derived its origin and its strength from the cupidity and irreligion of the laity of our own Church, to relieve their property from (what for the sake of being intelligible to our readers, we may call) church rates. This, it is well known, they effected. Ten of the Irish bishoprics, and every dignity and preferment which could by the most rigid severity of construction be represented as a sinecure, were suppressed, and their estates and tithes and emoluments were vested in an Ecclesiastical Commission. We are far from considering that Commission as an unmixed evil. The land-owners were determined that their property should no longer be chargeable for the building and repair of churches and the sustentation of divine service. Public opinion in this country offered no protection to church property in Ireland. A heavy blow and severe discouragement was inflicted on the Protestant religion in Ireland. It was not pretended to be denied. But those who, from mean and sordid motives, had aroused and encouraged the clamour against church rates, were determined rather to destroy the Church altogether than to be defeated in their object. They contrived to mystify and misrepresent the subject in this country. They succeeded in persuading the English public, that this was an impost on the Roman Catholics, and that the Irish people would be gratified and conciliated by its removal. They took care to prevent the public from discovering, that the burden did not fall on the Roman Catholics, but on the Protestant landlord—and where it did, it was only the rapacity of the landlord who had contrived to shift the burden from himself, and throw it upon his wretched tenantry. By arts like these—and most disgraceful they were—they contrived to make church rates odious, and in the end to get rid of them altogether.

Iniquitous this conduct undoubtedly was in the highest degree. The tenantry were not benefited in any way; while in the

neighbourhood of the suppressed bishoprics, the poorer classes were irreparably injured, by the removal of all the advantages they had in a variety of ways derived from the residence of a bishop and his family, in a country which above most others could ill afford to have any of its few resident gentry or nobility abstracted. So far as these changes are concerned, the poor have been incalculable losers—and we doubt if the Protestant land-owners are very considerable gainers. But that by the wisdom of an overruling Providence, some good has come out of this act of spoliation and sacrilege (for such it unquestionably was) we have no doubt. Irritation has, to a very great degree, been removed with the real or pretended cause of it. And while the number of churches and parochial clergy has been greatly increased—the benign influence of the Church of England has been very widely extended, and its ministers and its teaching have been brought into contact with the Irish people to a degree previously unknown.

The question of most importance now is, whether that measure is final, or merely a precedent for further spoliations. On the part of the Irish Church, it is evident that it would be in the highest degree imprudent and unwise to attempt to disturb the great arrangements of the Act of 1833. The re-opening of the questions which any material revision of that measure would inevitably revive, could be productive of nothing but mischief. In the present temper of political parties the Church would gain nothing by any attempt to alter the existing law, whatever new losses it might sustain. There are those in both countries who think differently, and efforts have been made to procure the restoration of one of the suppressed sees. Most lamentable would it be if any agitation of this sort should meet encouragement from the heads of the Irish Church. But of this we entertain no apprehension. The great majority of the prelates have too much reliance on the wisdom of their venerated Primate to act contrary to his known judgments.

Much greater reason is there to fear some new scheme of agitation on the part of the Romanists to obtain another instalment. That such a scheme is in contemplation seems probable from a letter which appeared a few days ago in the *Tablet* newspaper. It is absurd enough. But it is not on that account at all the less likely to do mischief. What the Romish party are *now* aiming at is the ascendancy and re-establishment of their church in *England*, and they are shrewd enough to perceive, that every injury they inflict on the property and position of the Protestant religion in Ireland, is a step towards its destruction in this country. We conceive it a duty, therefore, to put churchmen on their guard, and to direct their attention to any such project of spoliation as that which is proposed in this letter. For this reason we reprint it entire,

MR. SERJEANT SHEE ON THE IRISH CHURCH AND CHURCH ACCOMMODATION FOR THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

" To the Editor of the Tablet.

Castletownroche, Sept. 14.

Dear Sir,—I beg through the medium of your patriotic and independent paper to acknowledge the receipt of the liberal donation of 2*l.* from Serjeant Shee, Thomastown, towards the erection of my chapel in this town, for which, on the part of my poor parishioners and myself, I return many thanks. The publication of her Majesty's refusal has brought me this sum. I hope many others will follow this good example. This gentleman is totally unconnected with my parish and unacquainted with me, and on that account I feel the more grateful. He has sent the enclosed letter, which I hope you will have the goodness to publish at your earliest convenience.—I am, Sir, yours sincerely,

JAMES FITZPATRICK.

Rev. Sir,—I have read in the *Cork Examiner* a letter from you, in which you state that you had forwarded a memorial to the Queen, soliciting aid towards the completion of your chapel at Castletownroche, and that you had received an answer from Mr. Anson, written by the Queen's command, and assuring you of her Majesty's regret that she could not comply with your prayer. The tone of your letter appears to indicate that you are not much disconcerted—as indeed in the present state of the law you hardly could, by the failure of your memorial. I collect from the resolution which you announce that you are a man intent upon something better than a mere skin-deep remedy for such as you deplore, and prepared to promote a scheme of reform, which would not be bounded by the limits of your own pastoral superintendence. My opinions upon this subject (than which there is none more worthy to attract attention during the present lull of the public mind,) may possibly be in unison with yours. Permit me to bespeak your indulgence for them, by the small contribution which I enclose to the funds of your unfinished chapel.

There are fifty-six benefices known to the law, in the diocese of which you are parish priest, upon every one of which a large ecclesiastical revenue is raised, for the express purpose of inculcating the principles of the church of which her Majesty is on earth the supreme head, and of driving away the doctrines which it is your duty to teach. Of these the rectory and vicarage of Castletown "with cure," has a population, according to the census of 1831, of 3,648 souls, and a church built A.D. 1825, at a cost of 1,153*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.*, capable of accommodating 200 persons. The incumbent of this benefice is entitled, after all deductions made, under the Irish Church Temporalities Act, 3 and 4 Wm. IV. cap. 37, and the Rent Charge Act, 1 and 2 Vic. cap. 109, to a clear annual income, for the support of himself and his family, of about 350*l.* What fraction of the inhabitants of Castletown attend his little church, I have no means of ascertaining; but Bibles, Prayer-books, surplices, bread and wine, stoves and candles—

may, the very hedges which surround, and the evergreens which enliven its graveyard, are, without the cost of a penny to themselves, provided for their use, and you, no doubt, have daily opportunities of witnessing the happy influences of all those things on their lives and conversation.

The church thus supplied is, if I mistake not, the parish church of your parish, and it is enacted by a statute passed in the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and re-enacted by the 17th Charles II., c. 6, that all the inhabitants of Castletown shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, under pain of forfeiting 12*d.* for every offence, resort to this parish church, and that they and the minister thereof, shall be bounden therein to say and use the matins, evening song, and celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, as is mentioned in the "Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, authorized by the Parliament of England, of the five and six years of the reign of King Edward VI." By the 9th and 10th Victoria, c. 59, you and your 3,648 parishioners are relieved from liability to the forfeiture above-mentioned. The rest of the statute is still in force.

Should her Majesty have thought proper when your memorial reached her royal hand, to desire the advice of her Secretary of State, the faithful counsellor no doubt reminded her of those clauses of the Act of Uniformity, and of the provision made by law for the religious worship of her Irish subjects. He, perhaps, added, that the inhabitants of Castletown and their neighbours, whatever Mr. Fitzpatrick might pretend, were quite satisfied with things as they now are—inasmuch as with every facility for constitutional remonstrance open to them, with the services at their command, for [*sic*] most able and independent county members, by whom no opportunity is lost of manfully stating the religious grievances of his constituents in the Imperial Parliament, their need of church accommodation had not been heard of in England until by the well-imagined process of an appeal to the personal feelings of the Queen, you thought proper to proclaim it.

Now, if the case of Castletown were a solitary instance of Catholic religious destitution in the diocese of Cloyne, or if you had any reason to think that the people of England were obstinately bent at the cost of great expense, and much discomfort to themselves, on perpetuating the extreme absurdity of this Act of Uniformity in Ireland, there might be some excuse for despondence under the discouragement of the answer which has just been given to your humble application. But Castletown is by no means a solitary instance of religious destitution in your diocese—and a vast majority of the people of England would—were it placed before their eyes in its true colours, detest the system which has made you and your people beggars for the Queen's alms, more than (judging from your marvellous patience hitherto) you appear to heed it yourselves.

First, to the singularity of the case of Castletown—How stands its neighbours?

Aghabologue has a church revenue of 600*l.*, a population, according to the census of 1881, of 5,054, and one church capable of accommodating 100 persons.

Aginagh—A church revenue of 538*l.*, a glebe house, built at an expense of 2,388*l.* 7*s.* 4½*d.*, a population of 2,442, and one church capable of accommodating 130 persons.

Ballyclough—A church revenue of 371*l.*, a glebe house built at a cost of 923*l.* 1*s.* 6½*d.*, a population of 4,017, and one church capable of accommodating 230 persons.

Ballyhea—A church revenue of 507*l.*, a population of 7,400, and one church capable of accommodating 400 persons.

Ballyhooly—A church revenue of 540*l.*, a population of 3,699, and one church capable of accommodating 160 persons.

Ballyvourney—A church revenue of 440*l.*, a glebe house built at an expense of 576*l.* 18*s.* 5¾*d.*, and a population of 3,681, and one church capable of accommodating 200 persons.

Brigown—A church revenue of 800*l.*, a glebe house built at a cost of 2,278*l.* 12*s.* 3¾*d.*, a population of 9,169, and one church capable of accommodating 450 persons.

Castlelyons—A church revenue of 444*l.*, a population of 5,464, and one church capable of accommodating 200 persons.

Castlemartyr—A church revenue of 640*l.*, a glebe house built at an expense of 1,940*l.* 16*s.* 7¾*d.*, a population of 4,550, and one church capable of accommodating 220 persons.

Clondrohid—A church revenue of 775*l.*, a glebe house built at an expense of 1,384*l.* 12*s.* 3¾*d.*, a population of 5,293, and one church capable of accommodating 150 persons.

Clondulane—A church revenue of 330*l.*, a population of 1,585, and one church capable of accommodating 100 persons.

Clonmell—A church revenue of 380*l.*, a population of 11,089, and one church capable of accommodating 750 persons.

Clonpriest—A church revenue of 670*l.*, a population of 3,417, and one church capable of accommodating 100 persons.

Donoghmore—A church revenue of 870*l.*, a population of 6,794, and one church capable of accommodating 70 persons.

Dungourney—A church revenue of 519*l.*, a population of 2,640, and one church capable of accommodating 200 persons.

Garrycloyne—A church revenue of 1,268*l.*, a glebe house built at an expense of 2,272*l.* 1*s.* 7½*d.*, a population of 7,070, and one church capable of accommodating 200 persons.

Glanworth—A church revenue of 873*l.*, a glebe house built at an expense of 3,046*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*, a population of 7,135, and one church capable of accommodating 150 persons.

Ightermurrough—A church revenue of 475*l.*, a population of 2,627, and one church capable of accommodating 100 persons.

Inniscarra—A church revenue of 878*l.*, a glebe house, built at an expense of 3,092*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.*, a population of 5,598, and one church capable of accommodating 120 persons.

Kilbrin—A church revenue of 420*l.*, a population of 6,338, and one church capable of accommodating 130 persons.

Killeagh—A church revenue of 750*l.*, a glebe house, built at an expense of 1,794*l.* 5*s.* 8½*d.*, a population of 2,785, and one church capable of accommodating 100 persons.

Kilnemartery—A church revenue of 320*l.*, a glebe-house, built at an expense of 1,384*l.* 12*s.* 3½*d.*, a population of 2,604, and one church capable of accommodating 100 persons.

Kilshannig—A church revenue of 670*l.*, a population of 8,057, and one church capable of accommodating 340 persons.

Kilworth—A church revenue of 800*l.*, a glebe-house built at an expense of 1,984*l.* 14*s.* 5½*d.*, a population of 9,264, and one church capable of accommodating 230 persons.

Lisgoold—A church revenue of 750*l.*, a population of 5,070, and one church capable of accommodating 70 persons.

Macroon—A church revenue of 476*l.*, a population of 6,137, and one church capable of accommodating 313 persons.

Mallow—A church revenue of 450*l.*, a population of 9,804, and one church capable of accommodating 800 persons.

Midleton—A church revenue of 675*l.*, a glebe-house built at a cost of 2,123*l.* 1*s.* 6½*d.*, a population of 6,599, and one church capable of accommodating 500 persons.

Mourneabbey—A church revenue of 440*l.*, a population of 4,148, and one church capable of accommodating 100 persons.

Rathcormac—A church revenue of 700*l.*, a glebe-house built at a cost of 623*l.* 1*s.* 6½*d.*, a population of 5,143, and one church capable of accommodating 300 persons.

Shandrum—A church revenue of 617*l.*, a population of 4,627, and one church capable of accommodating 100 persons.

Youghal—A church revenue of 410*l.*, a population of 11,327, and two churches capable of accommodating 1,900 persons.

The total population of the diocese is 321,494, and its 62 churches can accommodate only 14,163 persons.

Such being the amount of church accommodation in the diocese of Cloyne, not inferior in this respect to any other diocese of Leinster, Munster, or Connaught, as I would undertake, for a hopeful purpose, to prove, permit me to ask you, whether instead of teasing the gracious lady who is Queen of Ireland, with memorials soliciting aid from her privy purse, towards the completion of your chapel, your time would not have been as well employed in promoting petitions to the Imperial Parliament, from districts within the influence of your advice and example, setting forth the hopeless failure of the Act of Uniformity, and praying for the application of a large portion of the church revenue of every parish in Ireland to the Catholic church accommodation of its Catholic people? Can you really believe that if, session after session, night after night, such facts as are stated in this letter, respecting Aghabologue, Aghinagh, Ballyclough, Ballyvourney, and the rest of them were, in their brief, but shocking detail, dinned into the ears of the English people, from petitions entrusted to your representatives at Feltrim and Trabolgan, or better (if better be possible) to English members, liberal or conservative, all ending with the same prayer—"A permanent provision out of the Irish church revenue for

the church accommodation of the Catholic people of Ireland," the frightful evil which your letter to the *Cork Examiner* so touchingly describes, could outlive the duration of the present Parliament? Think you that any government, Whig or Tory, Peelite or Protectionist, when once this enormity had been exhibited in the broad glare of English daylight—would be brave enough to go to the country, at the next general election, as its patrons and abettors? Would it be possible for those who talk so lovingly of a pecuniary provision for our priests and bishops, to evade a claim for "Catholic church accommodation" without exposing to the scorn of the whole world the hollowness of their zeal for our service? The people of England are a shrewd, liberal-minded, justice-loving race. They don't know our religion well enough to like it, and will not allow their pockets to be picked for its support. But multitudes among them are as little enamoured of the Act of Uniformity as you can possibly be. The Dissenters, in particular, have treasured in their inmost souls that its re-enactment in the reign of the second Charles was specially directed against their tenets and forms of worship. They, as well as many enlightened churchmen, would gladly assist you in a peaceable, persevering effort to relieve yourselves from the unjust application to your case of the principle which it established. But why should they bestir themselves while you sleep? Why assist men who won't assist themselves? Why covet the fate of those patriotic members of the House of Commons who, doomed during a tedious session to reiterate the tale of Irish religious grievances, without a strip of parchment to vouch for their reality, were reduced to the humiliating necessity of getting up a round robin at its close?

The English people who have heard no cry from Ireland against the church establishment, since parish cesses and church-rates were abolished, rent-charges substituted for tithes, the incomes of the Protestant parochial clergy, and the number of bishoprics reduced, naturally enough suppose that an effectual reform has taken place, and that none but the unreasonable are dissatisfied with the present state of things. I am far from undervaluing the acts which put an end to the lamentable collisions, formerly so frequent, between the peasantry and the collectors of the church revenues. But it is folly to ascribe to measures acquiesced in, as mere resting places in the progress towards reform to be conducted with a scrupulous respect for life interests and vested rights, the merit and the efficacy of complete remedies. The giant evil of "a people without a church, a church without a people," still overshadows the land. Still, within three hours' journey of the sacred city of the kingdom—the seat of Catholic enterprise, intelligence, and wealth—the cradle of men eminent in every nook of the British Empire for all the qualities by which public life is made illustrious and private life adorned—of Cork, which, if Catholic art were not defrauded of its patrimony by the exigencies of a pampered creed, would, ere men now living taste of death, vie with Antwerp in the magnificence of its temples and the miracles of glorious genius which enrich their sanctuaries and their aisles—a population of 3400 souls inhabiting a district on the lands of which a large eccle-

siastical revenue is charged, may be seen in the person of their pastor at their Sovereign's feet, to beg "a shelter from the winter's blast," while they invoke the blessing of the Almighty on her, her husband, her children, and her realm! Alas! the substance of the redress of unexampled grievances has been lost by grasping at the shadow of an object, unattainable so long as Irishmen continue weak and divided, but which, as sure as the day follows the night, will come if rendered necessary by bad government, when religious equality with its certain fruits of social concord and national strength shall be restored.

I may be told that there are few cases of religious destitution in the diocese of Cloyne, so extreme as that which her Majesty regrets her inability to relieve—you have, doubtless, in your neighbourhood many noble monuments of the zeal and love of a pious people for the beauty of the house of prayer, but from what funds was the cost of their erection—is the cost of their maintenance defrayed? Has it not been the produce of assessments made upon their own scant resources by small farmers, leaseholders, and proprietors, overwhelmed by the burden of poor-rates, rents, and rent-charges, or upon the wages of ill-requited toil by peasants doubtful of the morrow's meal?—Has not a load or two of straw been ere now received from pious Christians as their contribution to the sum by which a temple was raised to the Most High?—How often has it been made up of large deductions from the income supplied to the clergy for their becoming support, and by them restored to their parishioners, in the shape of contributions to collections for church repairs—for vestments, sacred vessels, and other necessities for the decorous celebration of the holy mysteries? After all, how very little beyond what is absolutely indispensable do we find in most of our country chapels? How few, before the famine at least, that were not inconveniently crowded by a serried mass of men and women, old and young, weak and strong—their heads tossed to and fro like the surface of the ripening harvest at each fresh effort to see and to hear, without relief from the fatigue of standing, without room to kneel or to read, without accommodation of any kind. How long is it since the achievement of a slated roof has ceased to be a matter of rejoicing by Catholic congregations, still contented with the earthen floors of chapels hardly better furnished than the riding-house of the next barrack you may chance to pass? What is there in the greater part of them, out of the large cities, to impress upon the youthful mind the homage due by a Christian nation to the majesty and loveliness of religion—to fill the soul with memories of pictured holiness and beauty which may revive in the night-time of sorrow and sin, and win it back to the paths of innocence and of peace?

You who are yet aspiring to the meanest of these religious luxuries, will, I trust, rightly appreciate the spirit in which I describe them to you. Surprised as I have often been by the beautiful designs and imposing proportions of Catholic churches and cathedrals, erected or in course of construction, in all parts of Ireland, it is impossible altogether to forget what has been done in other countries, and how much more might be done here if the charge of the church fabric, of

the necessary expenditure for the "public and open prayer" of a well-nigh unanimous people, were, as in England and Scotland, and in theory, also, in Ireland, thrown by law upon the land. My belief is, that this might now be done, without injury to vested rights, or shock to religious prejudices, without at once depriving the Government of the hold upon the Protestant party, which it has in the patronage of the Establishment—above all—without danger to the freedom and independence of the Catholic church. The cost of such a change to the members of the Establishment in each locality would be so trifling, the disturbance of the existing system so little perceptible—that it would almost seem to have been contemplated as the probable result of arrangements not yet fully understood.

I never fawned upon the man by whom the fortress of intolerance was stormed in 1829—who was counsel for the Catholics of Ireland at the settlement of 1833—whose memory it now almost breaks one's heart to hear reviled, by many for whom no better excuse can be suggested than that they know not what they do, or what he did for them. The Irish Church Temporalities Act, 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 87, only *accepted* by him as an instalment, was in truth, to his keen perception, a great step towards a solid and substantial reform. He was too wise, with all his devotion to his own faith, not to feel that a violent disruption of the ties which have bound for centuries to the religion of the state the landed proprietary and wealthy *bourgeoisie* of Ireland would tear up its society by the very roots. He desired no such revolution. A conscientious respect of interests on which the just expectations and arrangements of families had been framed—the spectacle of Protestant clergymen, their wives, and children, in rags and tatters, would have been no treat for him. With a mind eminently practical and conservative, and not in the least degree given to "humorsome factions change," his abundant knowledge was devoted in Parliament to the gradual amelioration of the social condition of his country, until the indifference of his co-religionists to all but single successes, drove him to an enterprise, which in any hands but his would have been ridiculous. As it is, we owe to him a position of the church question which enables those for whom he laboured, to make the best possible case for the "instalments" which are still unpaid.—"The stones," to use the language of the prophet, "cry out of the walls" of the little churches erected by the archbishops and bishops, archdeacons and deans, who during the last twelve years have been members of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission, that their religious society is not, and is not likely to become, the church of the Irish people. Something must speedily be done, to render such scandals as your memorial to the Queen discloses, that of a whole parish without religious worship and institutions, impossible of recurrence—and what man in his sound senses could complain, if the "head landlords, middlemen, and annuitants," of whom you promise us some account, were compelled to find Bibles, Prayer-books, surplices, and sacramental elements, for their own use; to repair, paint, warm, and ventilate, at their own expense, the little edifice, in which, at Castletown as elsewhere, they no doubt deem it a high privilege and distinction to pray.

It appears from the reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland, that for these purposes in every year since 1835 a sum not less than 70,000*l.* had been expended. During that period (can you read it without a pang?) the commissioners, besides enlarging fifty-five, have actually rebuilt seventy-eight churches—incapable altogether of containing more than 20,000 persons! The cost of these structures varied, from the lowest, that of Inchinabackey, in the Diocese of Cork, 311*l.* 8*s.*, to the highest, that of Kilbarrow, in the Diocese of Raphoe, 3905*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*; and as you are fond of statistics, it may cause you a glow of wholesome excitement, when next you look upon your cold flock, to remember, that the churches of Aghabalogue, Corkbeg, Donoughmore, and Knockmourne, in your own Diocese of Cloyne, each of them capable of accommodating 800 persons, were erected at an expense to the public of 1995*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* How long, think you, would the people of Castletown continue without “shelter from the winter’s blast,” if this 70,000*l.* doubled, as by this time it ought to have been by the number of sinecures which have fallen in since 1833, or a fair share of it, were by law transferred to a new corporation of commissioners for “building, rebuilding, enlarging, and repairing the churches of the Catholic people.”

But to what conclusion do these respectful reproaches—these earnest expostulations lead? Do you counsel, I may be asked, a fresh attempt to coerce the Queen’s Government into an act of justice, by the terror of public excitement, and organized agitation against a system which, since the days of Elizabeth, has been considered as the settled policy of the empire? Far from it. The spirit which might have animated such an effort, has been dashed, like the foam of the ocean wave, upon the rock of England’s pride of power and of dominion. If aught of good has been produced by the tempest which has just subsided, it is the clearer atmosphere through which the mind’s eye of English patriotism has at length discerned, that the government of Ireland upon the principles of the pigmies on whom the mantle of Pitt descended, is no longer safe or practicable. Much now would be conceded to reason, which has hitherto been denied to menace. The weapons best fitted for present use are the unanswerable statistics of real injustice. If petitions hardly longer than the account given by me in this letter of the benefices of Cloyne, could be prepared in every parish of the great county of which your diocese forms part—all praying for “a permanent provision from the ecclesiastical revenue of Ireland for the Catholic church accommodation of the Catholic people of Ireland,” to be signed on the first week of Advent during the next three years, an example would be set to the whole country which could not fail to be attended with the best effects. The facts are at our hand—on irrefragable evidence, the returns of the Protestant clergy to the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission. Add to them the actual number of attendants on an average of Sundays at the parish church, and nothing will be wanted, but the cost of a little parchment and the sanction of our bishops and clergy. To expect success from a first attempt were to dream. Things are not done now-a-days in such a hurry. Three copies at least should be prepared

for every parish, to show that our reliance is placed not on the effect of a sudden demonstration, but upon the efficacy of a persevering and well-grounded appeal to the consciences of just and sensible men. Above all things, no more speechifying—no opportunity for indiscreet haranguing and wicked perversion—at all events, out of the large cities where thought and language are tempered by the use of public discussion. Short, pithy petitions, respectfully worded, numerous but quietly signed, are the things most suited to the present need, best calculated to avenge your late disasters. Is there no man in Cork or Cloyne willing to commence this good work? To Ephraim and to Juda it was said of old, that “their mercy was as a morning cloud, and as the dew that goeth away in the morning.” Shall the same thing, Rev. Sir, be said of your compassion for your perishing flock, of your earnestness in their cause?

Pardon me, I beseech you, the freedom of this letter. The opinions expressed in it have not been hastily taken up, or without study and reflection. I may be sanguine in my expectations, mistaken in my views—but my firm conviction is, that the time for demanding the second “instalment” has arrived, and that the best mode of securing prompt payment is to submit the practical working of the present iniquitous system to the arbitrement of the people and Parliament of England.

I am, Rev. Sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM SHRE.

Rev. J. Fitzpatrick, P.P., Castletownroche.”

Here, then, is a distinct proposal to strip the Protestant Church in Ireland of all the funds it has for the erection and maintenance of churches and the support of the divine service, and to transfer its property and estates, to the amount of 70,000*l.* a year, to the Roman-catholic Church. And this, as it is very clearly intimated, only as an instalment. What more, indeed, could it be? What could 70,000*l.* a year do towards building, repairing, furnishing, and sustaining places of worship for the whole Roman-catholic population of Ireland? It is totally inadequate to the existing (and daily increasing) wants of the Protestant Church. So that, although the church rates, by which (as it was pretended) the Roman Catholics were oppressed and aggrieved, have been abolished, and the entire expenses of the parish churches are now, and have been since 1833, defrayed out of funds raised from the property of the Church and a tax on the clergy—so far are the leaders of the Roman Catholics from being satisfied or grateful, that they are preparing new schemes of agitation, and demanding that the property of the Church should be wholly transferred to themselves.

And yet how repeatedly, how solemnly, did they assure the public—while they had an object to gain by quieting our fears and our suspicions—that we had nothing to apprehend from their ambition—that all they desired was equality of civil rights—and

that nothing could be farther from their thoughts, or more abhorrent to their principles, than the wish to disturb the rights and position of the Established Church, or to appropriate its property, or any part of it, to themselves.

Such is the history of conciliation. If church rates were abolished in this country, similar results would soon follow. The Irish Roman Catholics do not contribute sixpence towards the support of the Protestant religion. Everything which can come within the scope of church rates is supplied, as far as their funds will admit, by the Irish Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Tithe has been abolished, name and thing. It has been changed into a rent charge, which does not amount to more than one fortieth of the real value of the tithe; and even this is paid by the land-owners: and in Ireland the owners of ninety-nine out of every hundred acres are members of the Established Church. The Protestant Church costs the Roman Catholics nothing. They know it. The poor know, that if it were not for the Protestant clergy, they would have perished long ago. And yet those whose selfish interests are promoted by the distractions and divisions of that unhappy country, will not allow the peasantry to remain peaceable and contented. One would be only too thankful if it could be hoped that such distinct avowals of their designs as Serjeant Shee has made, should open the eyes of those who still dream of conciliation. Serjeant Shee, to do him justice, is candid enough. *First*, he will overturn the Church, and transfer its property to the Church of Rome: and *then*—if he does not find the measures of Government to his liking—he will have Repeal of the Union, whatever may be comprehended under that term.

BISHOPRIC OF ADELAIDE.

IN the Address delivered at the opening of the Legislative Council, Lieut.-Governor Robe, with much Christian feeling, made the following reference to the recent arrival of the newly-appointed Bishop of Adelaide:—

“The most acceptable part of my task still remains to be accomplished, that of congratulating you, and the colonists generally, on the successful progress of the colony in prosperity during the past year. The statistical tables, which will be laid before you, with the other financial documents, on Tuesday next, furnish abundant justification for the offering I now make. It is impossible not to trace, in this abundant measure of prosperity, the protective influence of Divine Providence over this infant settlement; and in no event of the past year more strongly than in the advent among us, unaided by the colonists themselves, of a prelate to superintend that portion of Christ’s church to which so large a majority of the colonists belong, who, from his learning, piety, and example, is eminently qualified to exercise an

important and beneficial influence over the entire community, and especially over the rising generation.

"Our noble-minded and munificent fellow-countrywoman, Miss Burdett Coutts, although the humble instrument of Divine grace, in conferring this boon upon the colony of South Australia, has earned a lasting title to the blessings and gratitude of this and succeeding generations of its inhabitants.

"To me, personally, this benefit will be of short duration; but I avail myself of this, the most suitable occasion for exercising the privilege of my station, by publicly recording my own grateful acknowledgments to that lady, in the firm belief that I am likewise giving expression to the sentiments of those over whom it has pleased our Gracious Sovereign to place me."

Upon this it was resolved by the Council:—

"That this Council, concurring in the sentiments expressed by the Lieut.-Governor in his address to the Council on the 20th of June, desires to record its grateful sense of the Christian munificence of Miss Burdett Coutts, whereby her Majesty has been enabled to erect this Province into a separate Episcopate See."

It is only right to add, that to render this tribute as public and as acceptable as might be, both the extract and the resolution were transmitted by the Governor to the Colonial Office, and forwarded to Miss Burdett Coutts by Earl Grey, who took the opportunity of thus expressing his concurrence in the expression of feeling which he conveyed:—

"I beg to add that it gives me great gratification to be the medium of such a communication from that distant society on which you have conferred so essential a benefit."

We feel that, in making public these documents, some apology is due—not to our readers, nor to those who took any part in the transactions they record, for to them it can only be a subject of gratification that honour and respect should be paid where honour and respect are due—but to the lady to whom they were addressed. We are conscious that, had her own feelings alone been consulted, these repeated testimonies to the great benefit she had been enabled to confer would have been laid up in silence and secrecy. But permission that they should be thus recorded is given in deference to the wish of others, who felt, and justly so, that it was due to the individuals offering the tribute of their thanks—due also to the church at large—that the facts should be known. One who has been endowed, as she has, with the heart to bestow her wealth on such objects, needs no human applause to convey satisfaction to the mind. But it is a source of satisfaction and of thankfulness to us to know that the extension of the Episcopate has been welcomed with befitting gratitude in the colonies, and that, while the hearts of individual members are gladdened, the churches are being thereby confirmed, comforted, and edified.—*Newfoundland Times*, August 8.

THE
BRITISH MAGAZINE.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

THE PULPIT UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

DURING the domination of the Long Parliament, the language of the pulpit and of the press, as far as it was under the control of that tyrannical assembly, was uniform in calling upon the people to war against their sovereign: and yet the hypocritical pretence was set up, that they were contending for, and not against, the king. The leaders knew well that they should not succeed, if they avowed it to be their object to subjugate their sovereign, and to set up their own authority: consequently, they resorted to trickery and evasions, pretending one thing while they purposed another. Acting on such principles, they could not very well complain, when they found themselves outwitted by the army, who copied the example of the Parliament. The army pretended to fight for the Parliament, while, at the same time, they intended to further their own advancement; and when their plans were ripe for execution, the Long Parliament was put down; or, at least, the shadow of it only was retained, consisting of men who were ready to act in subserviency to the military power. All the parties cheated and deceived each other. The Presbyterians were outwitted by the Independents: the Parliament by the army. Yet it must be admitted, to the perpetual disgrace of the Presbyterians, that they kindled the flames of war in the country, though it was keenly supported by the Independents. For some few years, most of the sermons before the Long Parliament were preached by Presbyterian ministers; and the majority of the works, which proceeded from the press in defence of the war, were the fruit of Presbyterian zeal.

Before the war commenced, all the real grievances had been redressed by his majesty : and as he had assented to the bill for the continuance of the Parliament, thereby depriving himself of the power of dissolving them, it was impossible for him to resort to any measures over which they could exercise no control. These concessions would have satisfied reasonable men. But at this period every concession was a prelude to a fresh demand. Nor did the Parliament, when they had obtained the redress of various grievances, pursue a more moderate course than his majesty. They procured the abolition of the High Commission and the Star Chamber ; but the power exercised by the parliamentary committees was far more inquisitorial than that of which such loud complaints had been raised for so many years by the Puritans. This matter is well put by his majesty. " Let us consider now, whether all those grievances and pressures which our subjects have heretofore suffered under, and of which our justice and favour hath eased them, be not by the faction and tyranny of these men redoubled upon our people. Were the consciences of men grieved and scandalized at the too much formality and circumstances used in the exercise of religion, and are they not equally concerned in the uncomeliness, irreverence, and profaneness now avowed to the dishonour of Christianity ? Were they troubled to see the pulpit sometimes made a bar to plead against the liberty and property of the subject, and are they not more confounded to see it so generally made a scaffold to excite the people to rebellion and sedition against us ? Have our people suffered under and been oppressed by the exercise of an arbitrary power, and out of a sense of those sufferings have we consented to take away the *Starre-Chamber*, the *High Commission Courts*, to regulate the *Council Table*, and to apply any remedies have been proposed to us for that disease ? And have not these men doubled those pressures in the latitude and unlimitedness of their proceedings, in their orders for the observation of the law as they pretend, and their punishing men for not obeying those orders in a way and degree the law doth not prescribe : in their sending for our good subjects upon generall informations without proove, and for offences which the law takes no notice of ? Were the Pursivants of the *Council-Table*, the delay and attendance there, or at the *High-Commission Court*, the judgments and decrees of the *Starre-Chamber*, more grievous, grievous to more persons, more chargeable, more intolerable, than the sergeants and officers fees, the attendance upon the Houses, and upon Committees, or then the votes and judgments which have lately passed in one or both Houses."^{*}

* His Majesties Declaration to all his Loving Subjects of Aug. 12, 1642. Printed by His Majesties Speciall Command at Cambridge. Printed by N. N. 1642. In this part the Declaration is unpagged, otherwise it would be page 35.

All this is incontrovertible : and, moreover, the points of contrast are most felicitously exhibited. His majesty further says : “ Let all the decrees, sentences, and judgments of the *High-Commission Court* and *Starre-Chamber* be examined, and any found so unjust, so illegal, as the proceedings against the gentlemen of Kent, for preparing and presenting a petition agreeable in forme and matter to all the rules of law and justice, by which men are to be informed to aske anything : though the sentences in other courts were in some cases too severe, and exceeded the measure of the offence, there was still an offence, somewhat done that in truth was a crime ; but here declarations, votes, and judgements pass upon our people for matters not suspected to bee crimes till they are punished.”* In this declaration his majesty stated the case fairly, before he resorted to arms in defence of his just rights and the laws of the land. Before the sword was unsheathed, the tyranny of the Parliament was become insupportable. Outside the walls of the House of Commons was a tumultuous assemblage of persons, a disorderly mob, who called for the measures which the Presbyterian party proposed within : so that it was utterly impossible that any matters should be freely debated. The disorders at Westminster drove the king from London. Those disorders were encouraged by the Parliament : yet his majesty was condemned for removing, though in no other way could he escape insult. His majesty alludes to the conduct of some of the clergy at the commencement of the Long Parliament, as preparing the way to the excesses that followed. “ All possible skill being used by that faction and their emissaries of the *clergy*, (who, at the same time, such clamour was raised of the unlawfulness that the clergy should meddle in temporal affairs, were their chief agents to derive their seditious directions to the people, and were all the week attending the doores of both Houses to be employed in their errands,) to infuse the most desperate fears into the minds of all men that could be imagined.”†

Alluding to the tumults at Westminster, his majesty says :

* Ibid.

† Ibid. 19. Many things, which were condemned by these ministers at the commencement of the struggle, were continued when they themselves became possessed of power. Dr. Burgess was one of the opponents of deans and chapters. He also became a purchaser of such lands. Fuller very justly, yet sarcastically remarks : “ If since Dr. Burgess hath been a large purchaser of such lands to himself, if since *St. Andrew, the first converted*, and *St. Paul, the last converted* apostle, have met in his purse, I doubt not but that he can give sufficient reason for the same, both to himself, and any other that shall question him therein.” Book xi. 179. The following dry notice in Whitelock is sufficient to establish the disgrace of Burgess : “ Dr. Burgess, by motion of the *militia of London*, is made Lecturer at *Paul's*, with 400*l. per annum* salary, out of Deans and Chapter Lands.” P. 78. Thus Burgess first procured a vote against deans and chapters, and then undoubtedly instigated the soldiers, by himself and his friends, to solicit the appointment from the Parliament.

"The tumults grew so notorious and so dangerous, that they threatened and assaulted the members of both houses; but the prevalency of that faction was so great, that though complaint was made by members in the *House of Commons*, that they had been assaulted, instead of joyning with the Lords for the suppressing or punishing them, severall speeches were made in justification of them, commending their affections, saying, *They must not discourage their friends, this being a time they must make use of all their friends*: and Mr. Pim saying, *God forbid, that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way*: which he had good reason to say himself, and those other persons whom we afterwards accused of high treason, having by great solicitation and encouragement caused these multitudes to come down in that manner."^{*} When the Lords ordered the constables to attend to preserve order at Westminster, the Commons interposed, and voted the setting a watch to be a breach of privilege, thus giving their sanction to proceedings which tended to the subversion of law and order: and in consequence many members of both Houses were prevented from appearing in their places, and at last his majesty was compelled to depart from London. After the attack upon the bishops, the mob assembled before the palace gate, and declared that, "They would have no more Porter's Lodge, but would speak with the king when they pleased."[†]

This picture is so appalling, that we cannot be surprised at his majesty's departure from London. To have remained would have subjected him to continual insults and repeated outrage. Yet the leaders of the faction made overtures to his majesty. They would have yielded anything to the king, provided their own aggrandisement had been secured. "For themselves know," says his majesty, "what overtures have been made by them, and with what importunities, for offices and preferments, what great services should have been done for us, and what other undertakings were (even to have saved the life of the Earl of Strafford,) if we would conferre such offices upon them." The king declares further, that he could produce proof "of their soliciting and drawing down the tumults to Westminster, and of their bidding the people in the height of their rage and fury to goe to *Whitehall*."[‡] The encouragement given to such as petitioned against the church and the Book of Common Prayer, is mentioned by his majesty: and he asserts, that "two armies were kept in the bowels of the kingdom ten weeks, at the charge of fourscore thousand pounds a month, for the countenance of a bill to eradicate Episcopacy, root and branch." In allusion to the pulpit, he says: "The preaching

^{*} Ibid. 22.

[†] Ibid. 23.

[‡] Ibid. 24, by an error 16.

of the Word of God is turned into a license of libelling and reviling both church and state.”* That the assertion was true is abundantly proved by the printed sermons of the period. Already we have given evidence of the fact: and much more will be adduced before we complete the subject.

In a document, evidently published by the authority of the House of Commons, his majesty’s allusions to the tumults at Westminster are thus met. “As for those tumults about Westminster, how far the Londoners were engaged in them offensively and defensively, and how far the soldiers which were entertained at Whitehall were raisers of them, and how far thieves and bou-tifeuts intermingled themselves for rapines sake, rests yet in judgment: and I conceive the Parliament is as desirous to have justice seasonably done them as the king.” In reference to the seditious sermons of which his majesty complained, it is said: “As for seditious preachers and pamphleteers, the Parliament will not protect any, when greater matters are provided, for the law shall have free course against them, and account shall be given by all which have favoured them. In the meantime, the Parliament onely desires, that it may not be put in these times of general extremity, to intend universal enormities, and be made informers, solicitors, witnesses, and judges, and that they may not be bound to give an account for all misdemeanours.”† The king’s statements are not denied. So far from it, the language shows that the disturbances were authorized by the Parliament. The rabble knew that no effort would be made to restrain their excesses.

The Royal Declaration was published in the summer of 1642; and even at that early period the excesses of the pulpit were sufficiently extravagant, though, in comparison of what followed, they appear but trivial. Besides the sermons, many of which will be noticed in the prosecution of our object, there were various publications, some anonymous, others with the names of the writers appended, in which the people were directly instigated to the war under the pretence of fighting the Lord’s battles. “If,” says one, “we love our soules, let us fight for our religion; if we love our posterity, let us fight for their liberty: if I fight for God, I shall have God though I lose all, and that will make up all. It is for Jesus Christ: who would not help him to his glory? He hath fought with divine justice, with the curse of the law: with the divell, with sinne, with death for us, shall we not fight with man for him? He is our generall, mighty in battaile: who would not fight under his standard? if ever now is Christ’s cause a foot, to

* Ibid. 32.

† Some Observations on His Majesty’s late Answer to the Declaration, &c., the 19 of May, 1642. pp. 6, 7.

affirme the contrary is shamelesse impudency, which to believe is sottish credulity.”*

John Goodwin, who contrived to render himself notorious throughout the contest, not content with advocating war from the pulpit, came forward, at the beginning, with a most thundering publication to stir up the nation for the conflict. “Give me leave,” says he, “to stir you, from the greatest to the least, both young and olde, rich and poore, men and women, to quit yourselves like men, yea, and (if it be possible) above the line of men, in this great exigency and stresse of imminent danger. Oh let it be as an abomination unto us, as the very shaddow of death to every man, woman, and childe of us, not to be active.” His directions are given in terms that evince the cordiality of his feelings in the most warlike preparations. “Men that have strength of body for the war, and fingers that know how to fight, let them to the battle, and not feare to looke the enemy in the face. Men and women that have onely purses and estates, let them turne them into men and swords for the battle. Men that have heads, but want armes, and hands for outward execution, let these study and contrive methods and wayes of proceedings: head-work is every whit as necessary in such a time and exigent as heart-worke is. They that have neither hands, nor heads, nor estates, let them find hearts to keepe the mountaine of God, to pray the enemies downe and the armies of the Lord up: let them find tongues to whet up the courage and resolutions of others. This is a service wherein women also may quit themselves like men, whose prayers commonly are as masculine, and doe as great and severe execution as the prayers of men.” In assigning motives of encouragement, he says: “Consider that the cause wherein you are desired and exhorted to appeare, and engage yourselves to the utmost, is like unto the law of God itselfe in those excellent qualifications of it: it is just, and holy, and good: there is nothing in it that should make you ashamed either before God, or justly-judging men, nothing that needs make you tender, at holding off in point of conscience.”†

In contrasting the state of things at the time with that which they might expect in the event of the king’s success, Goodwin alludes to the worship of the Church of England in the following

* The Convinced Petitioner: from the Serious Consideration of a late Printed Answer to the Cities Petition for Peace. By a Well-Minded Petitioner, &c. London: 1643. P. 15.

† Anti-cavalierisme; or, Truth Pleading as well the Necessity, as the Lawfulness of this Present Warre, for the suppressing of that butcherly brood of Cavaliering Incendiaries, who are now hammering England, to make an Ireland of it. Wherein all the materiall objections against the lawfulness of this undertaking are fully cleared and answered, and all men that either love God, themselves, or good men, exhorted to contribute all manner of assistance hereunto. By Jo. Goodwin. London: 1642. P. 2, 3.

terms. "Those golden pipes, by which heaven and earth are (as it were) joyned together, and have lively communion each with other : I mean your pure ordinances of worship will be cut off, and others of lead laid in their stead : ordinances I mean of an humane constitution and frame, whose chiefe substance, or ingredients will be the wisdom and wit, i. e., the folly and corrupt affections of men by which, not heaven, but hell and the world will be joyned together, and the trade and traffique between both places much quickened and advanced. You must never look to see the goings of God in the sanctuary, as you have done, to see any more visions of life and immortality let down from heaven unto you, in these houses of vision. Those pure streams of the gospel wil be all bemired and soyled, when they are given unto you to drink. You must look to have the gospel turned upside down, and to be made to stand in conjunction with hell."* After such a picture, the writer labours to persuade the people that God has afforded them the opportunity of contending for his true worship. "I beseech you doe not betray this first borne opportunity of heaven : look upon it as a great and solemn invitation from God himself unto you to doe greater things for the world, at least for the Christian world, than ever you did unto this day : or than ever you are like to doe a second time, yea than ever any particular Christian state ever did, or is like to doe while the world stands. God hath prepared and fitted a table for you large enough, if you will but spread and furnish it with such provisions as are under your hand, that you may feast and give royal entertainment to the whole household of faith, almost throughout the whole world at once." Goodwin closes the work in the following blasphemous terms. "The opportunity and occasion is so rich and glorious, that it calls to remembrance (as sometimes the shadow does the substance) the great opportunity that was before the Lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of the world : we know that he *being rich* became poore : that the world through him might be made rich. You have the pattern in the mount before you : see that according to your line and measure you make all things like to it."†

Goodwin published what he called a *Prologue before a Sermon*, in which, addressing the Lord Mayor and others, he says : "Were it not for you, they might have Lucifer put again into heaven, and angels of light thrown downe into hell instead of him : prelates I mean restored to their former thrones, and faithful ministers the great troublers of the Israell of the divel trodden and trampled on like clay and mire in the streets."‡

* Ibid. 31.

† Ibid. 34.

‡ The Butcher's Blessing ; or, the Bloody Intentions of Romish Cavaliers against the City of London above other places, demonstrated by 5 arguments, to the

In some of the publications of the period, the people were urged on to the war, by arguments pretended to be derived from the prophecies respecting the Redeemer's kingdom, and the fall of Antichrist. One writer, in allusion to the prophecies of the ruin of Antichrist, says, "Consider that the state of this present time, and the face of things now doth abundantly intimate, that this cannot be long, and that the very quarrell in which Antichrist shall fall, and the churches of Christ shall rise, is now begun in this kingdom: for, first, the cause is purely the glory of Jesus Christ, his word and worship, this is the very quarrell between *Christ* and *Antichrist*, *Michael* and the *Dragon*. Secondly, the followers and fighters in this battle are the angels of *Michael* and the *Dragon*, who rank themselves on the one side, but godly honest men, &c.: and on the other, but Papists and Atheists, &c. Thirdly, this quarrell is general, as the last and greatest quarrell must be: for the good party now through the Christian world waits with prayers and teares for a good successe here in England. Fourthly, God hath hitherto managed and followed the cause after the same method as he will in that quarrell: *Michael* will not goe but with his angels, but yet he will so manage the businesse, as that it shall appeare that he is *Michael* the mighty God: and hath he not done so in all the battles hitherto in this present controversie? Hath he not appeared in glory at *Keynton* battell, to the terrour and amazement of the adversaries, (though like hardened *Pharaohs*,) they will not acknowledge God's wonders. How did he appeare at *Brainford*? How hath God appeared at *Winchester*? at *Chichester*, &c." To induce the people to give their money, he proceeds: "did you but know the consequences of this warre, you would count it the best husbandry to spare from your backs and bellies to maintain it. Our cause is good, God is with us. He hath thrown down mountaines, fill'd up vallies, renewed his works of wonders: be bold and confident, that believing in his name without feare, he will never leave us, untill we doe enjoy the glory of God in Canaan."*

That the Parliamentary leaders experienced much difficulty in overcoming the scruples of many persons relative to a war with the king, is evident from the ingenuity displayed in framing arguments to meet the objections, which were raised by such as hesitated in their course. A vast assemblage of works might be adduced on this subject. At the commencement of the war, and

Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffes, and other the religious & worthy inhabitants of the said city. Delivered by way of *Prologue* before a *Sermon* the last publique Fast Day. By J. Goodwin. London: 1642. P. 4.

* A New Plea for the Parliament: and the reserved man resolved; from the serious consideration of the State of the Controversie between the King and the Parliament. Together with severall Answers to some common Objections about this subject. As also, Advice to those who are yet unsettled in their thoughts hereabout. By a Wel-wisher to King & Parliament. P. 16.

indeed as long as the Presbyterians were in the ascendant, the leaders resorted to the mean trick of shifting the alleged blame from his majesty, and placing it to the account of his advisers. The Independents, at a later period, proceeded more honestly in charging all to the account of the sovereign: for the Presbyterians acted towards his majesty as if he were a guilty person, while, at the same time, they pretended a regard for his welfare. Many persons were induced to give their sanction to the war by this duplicity on the part of the Presbyterian leaders. The following extract may serve as a specimen of the arguments on this head. After an enumeration of various reasons for assisting the Parliament, the writer says: "Because they never showed any disloyalty to the king. We find in all their petitions, royall expressions, humble suits, hearty entreaties unto his magesty, to comply with them for his own honour and safetie, cordiall protestations of the sincerity of their intentions towards his magesty, and free and full promises neither to spare pains, purses, persons, nor estates, for the defence of his person."* By such subterfuges did the Presbyterian leaders at last prevail upon many well-meaning persons to enter upon a contest with their sovereign.

Among other arts employed by the Presbyterian party to seduce the people from their allegiance, they constantly affirmed, that his majesty's armies were composed in great part of Papists: and this circumstance was alleged as a proof that the introduction of Popery was intended. Undoubtedly Roman Catholics were to be found among the troops; but it is a well known fact, that the Parliamentary army was open to the same charge. In such times of confusion, it was neither the custom nor the wish of generals and directors of armies to catechize their recruits on their principles. It was quite sufficient to enrol the applicants in their ranks. The managers were satisfied, if the men were ready to fight. It was, however, proved, that the number of Papists in the pay of the Parliament, equalled, if it did not exceed, that in the royal armies. This circumstance was not unheeded by his majesty, who says: "In which we have reason (by the prisoners we have taken, and the evidence they have given) to beleieve there are many more Papists (and many of those forraigners) than in all our army."† The fact was indisputable: yet these pretenders to great scruples

* A Vindication of the Parliament and their Proceedings; or their Military Designe proved Loyall and Legall. London: 1642. P. 13.

† His Magesties Answer to the Scottish Commissioners, March 16, 1642. Oxford: 1642. P. 13. In a work published at Paris in 1661, by a secular priest, a Scotsman, it is stated: "That which did the most surprise every body, was, that they found amongst the dead, of those which were slain on the Parliament side, several Popish priests. For although in their declarations they called the king's army a Popish army, thereby to render it odious to the people, yet they had in their army two companies of Walloons, and other Roman Catholicks." Dugdale, 564. The King says: "All men know the great number of Papists which serve in their army." Ibid. 565.

of conscience spoke and acted as though the king alone employed Papists.

Thus it is evident, that the pulpit and the press were employed by the Parliamentary party against the king, and in favour of the war. The case is well stated in one of the petitions from some of the citizens of London. "The Lecturers undertake the work, and turne all the spiritual *militia* into weapons of the flesh, exhorting us to fight against the king in the feare of God, and under the mask of religion, preaching down peace and holinesse. Yet these virulent declamations prevaile not with us, who were more conscionably instructed, then to believe we cannot expresse our love to God, unlesse we maintain enmity with men : and who by sad experience have found the bitter fruits of their so much cryed-up reformation ; wherein the sons of peace are become the loudest trumpets of warre."* That the charge was true, is too evident from the sermons now existing : and the fact is one of the most melancholy features of those tumultuous times. It is melancholy to contemplate the conduct of ministers of the gospel of peace in exciting their brethren to war and bloodshed. Undoubtedly the pulpit was in some instances abused, in the previous times, in dissertations on the extent of the royal prerogative : and sometimes in the defence of improper practices ; but such cases were comparatively few, and the guilt of the preachers was not to be compared with that of the great majority of those, who were called to preach before the Long Parliament on their fast and thanksgiving days. So shockingly cruel and even blasphemous were some of the sermons, which, nevertheless, were ordered to be printed, that, however uncharitable it might appear in ordinary circumstances to entertain such an idea, it is utterly impossible, after a careful consideration of all circumstances, to avoid the conclusion, that the fast and thanksgiving days were a solemn mockery of Almighty God. That some of the actors of the period were under the influence of a mistaken zeal, and that they really imagined themselves to be doing God service, may be admitted : but it is clear, that the majority of the leaders merely took advantage of the religious feeling of others for the purpose, by means thereof, of advancing their own objects. It is utterly impossible to believe that all the members of the Long Parliament, and all the preachers, could have really imagined that by means of such proceedings in the pulpit they were doing the work of the Lord. The truth is, they discovered, at an early period, that the religious feeling, by which many were influenced, might be turned to good account in promoting their own special

* The Petition of the most Substantiall Inhabitants of the Citie of London to the Lords and Commons for Peace. Together with the Answer to the same, and the Reply of the Petitioners. Oxford: 1642. P. 5.

objects. On no other principle can we explain the conduct of the parliamentary leaders in sanctioning the publication of sermons, which, to a very great extent, were disgraceful to the preachers, and dishonourable to Almighty God.

In the previous paper our extracts were taken from sermons and other publications between the year 1640 and the period of Archbishop Laud's death. Exact chronological order cannot be observed on such a subject; but in the present paper, for the convenience of arrangement, our extracts will be selected from such publications as made their appearance during the same period. At all events, we shall not in this paper enter upon the period subsequent to the new model of the army consequent on the passing of the self-denying ordinance, when the sermons became still more violent. Illustrations of the state of the times may be given by a reference to a few points, such as *direct incentives* to war, abuses of *Episcopacy* and the *Book of Common Prayer*, and other matters of a kindred character. If some of the worst passages are reserved for a future paper, the reader must bear in mind, that in each article we confine ourselves within the limits of a certain period. As the war advanced, the excesses of the pulpit became more gross: but illustrations of the whole period of the contest will be submitted to the reader when the entire plan is completed.

It was the custom with the Parliamentary leaders to comprehend all their opponents under the general terms *malignants* and *delinquents*. One of the preachers thus addresses the House of Commons on the treatment of such persons. "This *vineyard* whereof God hath made you *keepers* cannot but see that nothing is wanting on your part. For you have endeavoured to *fence* it by a settled *militia*, to gather out *malignants* as *stones*: to *plant* it with men of *pietie* and trust as *choice vines*: to build the *tower* of a powerful *ministry* in the midst of it: and also to make a *wine-press* therein for the squeezing of *delinquents*."* It is very remarkable that the Parliament appeared to be less inclined to punish those, whom the events of the war had placed in their hands, than the ministers, who, from time to time, addressed them on the fast days from the pulpit. To assert this is no libel upon the preachers, for the simple fact, that such exhortations proceeded from the pulpit is a direct proof, that the ministers regarded their masters in the two Houses as too lenient in their treatment of their prisoners. Degraded indeed must have been the state of the pulpit, when the avowed ministers of peace could exhort their rulers to execute vengeance upon their countrymen.

* The Covenant Avenging-Sword brandished: in a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late Solemn Fast, Jan. 25. By John Arrowsmith, B.D. London: 1643. *Epist. Dedic.*

Alluding to the language of Deborah, Judges v. 9, a certain preacher addresses the Commons in the following strain: "So say I, my heart is towards the governours of England, our *Parliament patriots*, that offered themselves willingly among the people: *Blesse ye the Lord*. Blesse ye the Lord that raised up their persons and their spirits to stand for the public good of *religion, lawes, and liberties*: and blessed be they of the Lord and their posterities after them. My heart is also towards those noble *commanders* and common *souldiers*, that have offered themselves willingly among the people, and have jeopardied their lives in the high places of the field, blesse ye the Lord that raised up their spirits to such a pitch of *magnanimity* and *resolution*, and blessed be they of the Lord: let their lives and names be precious with the generations to come."* He proceeds in the same strain to laud the citizens of London for giving their substance, though he gives no intimation that the Parliament compelled them to do so. Few of the offerings were free-will offerings. The above is a most profane application of the language of sacred scripture: yet the practice was so common in these days, that few of the sermons preached before the Parliament are altogether free from the charge.

"Look upon God's *owning* of the *worke*. This Lord of hosts *will be with you*. Would any man in the world desire a clearer promise than this was to *Zerubbabel*, *I will be with you*, upon my word, upon mine honour, upon my deity, I will be with you? No, (you will say) we would *not wish* a surer word to ourselves, but that was made *peculiarly* to the *Jews*: Had we but such a promise we would stick at nothing. I answer, *you have it as they had it*, nay, in some sort I may say, *you have it more fully*: for they had it promised, and therefore it was *in futuro*, yet to come: but you have it, *in presenti* in hand. Open your eyes and behold your encouragements: the Lord speakes to you in *deeds*, and saith, *Lo I AM with you in all this worke*: *you may feele my presense upon every occasion*. Let me reason with you a little before the Lord concerning his *providence* over you. Did ever the Lord so clearly, so visibly *owne* an *English Parliament* as he hath owned you?"† This preacher, moreover, encourages them by citing what he regards as instances of divine interposition in their favour. "Sometimes by giving you the victory in the open field, when your lives lay at stake in the battle, as in both those generall battles at *Keinton* and *Newbery*."‡

* The Good Man a Public Good; as it was manifested in a Sermon Preached to the House of Commons at the late Solemne Fast, January 31, 1643. By Daniel Cawdrey. London: 1643. P. 36.

† Salvation in a Mystery; or, a Prospective Glasse for England's Case. A Sermon before the House of Commons at their Monthly Fast, March 27, 1644. By John Bond. London: 1644. P. 53.

‡ Ibid. 55.

"Better for us," he proceeds, "if we cannot outlive *Antichrist*, outlive *Babylon*, and the enemies of *reformation* : to adventure (as far as we are warranted) ourselves to death in the *cause*." To oppose the Church of England and the king was, according to this man's reasoning, to oppose Antichrist : and he would persuade the Parliament, that it was better to die in the cause, than to give up the system which he expected to see perfected. After quoting Matt. xix. 29, and Mark viii. 36, to encourage them still more, he concludes : "If these places do deceive an *active beleever* at last : then let it be written upon my grave, **HERE LYETH THAT MINISTER THAT WAS MISTAKEN IN HIS GOD AND GOSPEL. AMEN.**"*

The tendencies of this sermon are very warlike. He breaks out in *the dedication* against such as were neutral in the quarrel. "There is nothing upon earth that doth more amaze mine intellectuals, then the prodigious lethargie that doth still rest upon the heads and hearts of cursed neuters and Protestant malignants." He could not away with such as sat still. The sermon was preached on the day of the king's *Inauguration*, and as such it should have been observed by loyal subjects and conscientious men : but as Calamy, as will be noticed in its proper place, rejoiced in the observance of Christmas Day as a Parliamentary fast, so Mr. Bond exulted in being called to preach on such a day for such a purpose. "Although," says he in the dedication, "it was preached upon the yeerly day of the *King's Inauguration*, yet that season was also the monthly day of the *kingdom's humiliation* : when you did endeavour to weepe, nay, and fast for the royall family : whilst others, (perhaps at Oxford) did drinke, blaspheme, and debauch themselves, to shew their loyaltie to his magestie." To talk of such men, on such an occasion, weeping, praying and fasting for the king and his family, while they were pursuing them with war, endeavouring to take their lives, is such notorious hypocrisy, that we can only wonder that the preacher and his hearers should not have been ashamed of such a transparent guise.

But while he condemns those whom he styles *cursed neuters*, he takes special care to magnify such as were engaged in the contest. "How many nobles, gentry, ministers and people, every where are suddenly sprung up like *Jonah*, his *gourd* against this hot season ? men accomplished with so many graces, gifts, qualifications, for this work, as if they had been inspired, *cut out* and *created* purposely for this service ? Beleeve it these are things that deserve a most serious consideration, they do prove that the worke is carried on spiritually."† In endeavouring to show that enemies sometimes further a work against themselves, he gives the

* Ibid. 59, 60.

† Ibid. 83.

following illustration. "When there had been a talke of some solemn way of uniting the kingdomes by some special *association*, the enemy by increasing our dangers and obstructing the proceedings do *quicken* us into a *protestation*: and because that obligation was easily broken, therefore the enemy would never leave adding one horrid provocation to another, untill they had spur'd and switched the three kingdomes into a most *solemne oath and covenant* for a compleat reformation. The men *would not suffer us* (if we would) to pare and *clip Prelacy*, no, they would have it pluckd up *roots* and *branch*. They will not suffer the three kingdomes to rest in severall kinds and pitches of government and worship, but they will have one true *reformed uniformity* in these and all other churches of Christ. Thus their rage hath abundantly *ripened* the worke. This is seemingly contradictory."

He touches this string in another place. "We do get ground, as to *perfect* a protestation into a *covenant*, to ripen an *impeachment* into a *roots* and *branch*, and in a word to settle an *assembly* of *divines* as a generall *refiners fire* to try all metals in the church."

It will be seen hereafter that this impious exultation was severely punished, for the covenanted uniformity was never established. He gives another illustration of what he calls "*salvation through contrarieties and contradictions*. When one and the same thing is at once *helpfull* to God's people, and hurtfull to the enemy. As it is said of the angel and of the pillar of the cloude, Exodus xiv. 19, 20. Such *helpfull hindering* occurrences have we often met withall, that have proved like the *extraordinary frost* that ('tis said) did suddenly happen in the North at the coming in of the present *Scottish* army, it blocked up the wayes of the *enemy* by abundance of *snow*, that they could not plunder and fire as they intended: but it gave an unexpected *passage* of *ice* over the river to our brethren and their carriages. Many such like acts might be shewen, which upon the one hand did shew the *Lord's presense* with his people (as I have seen some *two-faced* pictures) and on the other hand in the same side the picture of *Satan* for the ruine of the enemies." Thus presumptuously and profanely did this man attempt to scan the counsels of Omnipotence. A further instance is adduced also by him. "When *losses* are *gaines*. Let me onely adde the instances of the two great *publique battels* at *Keinton* and at *Newbery*. In the beginning of both, tis said, we were somewhat *worsted*, to shew that *England* had offended the Lord, and therefore our Father did beat us: but then we conquered the enemy too, to imply that the Lord would owne his owne cause and people notwithstanding their failings."*

* Ibid. 37, 38, 39; 56.

This same preacher undertakes also to comfort his audience under the opposition by which they were encountered. "This is a *good evidence* that you are about a choyse piece of *church-works*. You must give *parting-Devills* leave to teare and some when they are to be cast out. The evill spirit will have one *pull* when he is packing. When the *dumbe Devill* was to be cast out (as how many dumbe Devills are now casting out of many parishes in the land) he did teare the man, that he was as one dead. This we must look for, it is a signe that the Devill is going."* Again: "You are *hewing* in the House of *Parliament*; the *divines* are *squaring* in their *Assembly*, in one night the Lord is able to worke upon the *heart* of the *King*, and to deliver him into the bosome of you his faithfull counsell, and then the whole work may suddenly be passed and finished. *Onward* therefore *noble builders*, onward, up and be doing your severall parts: your God is invincible: your *cause* is invincible, and nothing is so like to hazard us as *not adventuring*. Adventure for God, and trust him to the *uttermost*, to the *brinke*, to the *edge*, to the end of all means and possibilities, to the last *inch* of the candle, to the last *dust of meal* in the barrell, to the *least drop of oyle* in the bottom of the cruze."†

These specimens of presumption and blasphemy were uttered on a day of *fasting* and *humiliation*; they were listened to by the House of Commons: and to crown the whole the preacher was ordered to print the sermon. Nor were they unusual, for the same strain was adopted by the majority of the preachers before the Parliament. Every art was used to stir them up to war, and all kinds of flattery were resorted to in order that the members of the two Houses might prosecute the contest, for the preachers well knew that their beloved presbytery would not be set up unless the king should be reduced. "Honoured patriots," says one man, "I will hold you no longer in the gate or preface, but humbly intreat you to hoise up your sails of pious resolutions, or if up already, doe not narrow them, much lesse take them quite downe, for all the prayers in the world, that are worth the having, are yours, and make up a full gale to carry you in amaine; you shall ride over all the waves and billowes of contradictions and oppositions whatsoever."‡ This gentleman, as was the common custom, alludes to previous successes, as a warrant for expecting still greater. "That Providence which has appeared in *eighty-eight*, and against the *Powder Treason*, and of late at *Keinton*, *Brainford*, *Glocester*, *Newbery*, &c., that Providence

* Ibid. 44.

† Ibid. 57, 58.

‡ *Rupes Israelis*: The Rock of Israel. A little part of its Glory set forth in a Sermon before the House of Commons at their Monthly Fast, April 24, 1644. By Edmund Stanton, D.D. London; 1644. *Epist. Dedic.*

which hath brought us out of *Egypt*, will bring us into *Canaan*, if our unbeleaving, murmuring, ingrateful, or self-seeking hearts, make not our carcasses to fall in the wildernesses.* In another place he dwells on the same point: "David saith in a veine of praises, *The Lord liveth and blessed be my rock*: Scotland may say, the Banders prevailed not against the Covenant, reformation is settled by highest authority in despite of Papist, Prelat, Pope, or Devill, lies as Gideon's fleece, dry in peace, when England, Ireland, and other nations are as the ground round about, wet and soaked in the blood of the slaine inhabitants: and therefore let Scotland say, *The Lord liveth and blessed be my rock*, &c., yea, England may say, I enjoy a Parliament, a lasting, a wise and indefatigable Parliament, wherein as yet the *Jacobs* have been too hard for the *Esaus*: I am well eased of High Commission, Star-chamber and the iron yoke of Episcopacy: I have the Lord of hoasts fighting for me at *Keinton*, *Newbery*, &c., and therefore let *England* say, *The Lord liveth*, &c., yea let both the nations provoke each other to an height of praises, and cry each to other, *O come let us sing unto the Lord, and let us make a joyfull noyse to the God of our salvation.*"

He further attributes the victories to prayer. "All the mercies, deliverences, victories, &c., we enjoy, may be termed *Samuels*, asked of the Lord." He would also have them believe, that their cause was holy. "You have already in a degree fulfilled that prophesy of *Zachary* xiv. 20, have wrote upon the *bells*, or *bridles of your horses*, holinesse unto the Lord. Write on still, you *wise statesmen*, write upon your foreheads, your brain-pans, holinesse unto the Lord. You *rich men*, write upon your bagges and purses, holinesse, &c. You valiant *commanders*, and *brave* soldiers, write upon your armes and thighes, upon your swords and speares, holinesse, &c.: goe on in a pious prodigality of your blood and lives. When you are ingaged in the battle, drink downe this cordiall dilemma, if you live, you will live honoured, if you die, you will die martyred."† Alluding to such as stood aloof from the Parliament, he observes, "They often *patter* over their *Pater-noster*, yet they never say in faith and truth, *thy kingdom come*: and the cause why these are so little for the Parliament, is, because the Parliament is so much for God, for Christ, his cause, and people." This sermon was preached on the day following the thanksgiving for the victory obtained by Fairfax in Yorkshire. In pressing the execution of justice, as it was termed, which signified putting opponents to death, the preacher says: "It concerns those that have power to give out an act of obedience to God in execution of judgement upon his

* Ibid. 12.

† Ibid. 24, 25.

enemies : yester dayes feasting was good, and this dayes fasting good, and, (let none think it bloody divinity if I say) execution of judgment is good." This was addressed to those who were possessed of power. A minister of the Gospel calls upon the assembly to put his countrymen to death. The enemies of the Parliament are unhesitatingly called the Lord's enemies : and he would have them sent to the slaughter. All this is recommended under the pretence of religion ! After quoting the Lord's answer to Joshua respecting Achan, he adds this significant comment, "Whereby God tutored *Josuah* to this, that the readiest way to conquer *Ai*, was to stone *Achan*."*

It is assumed in every sermon that the cause, in which the Parliament was engaged, was the cause of God. There were many misgivings on this subject among the people ; and the ministers of religion, who should have been the last to encourage men to war, especially against their sovereign, were the most earnest prompters of the Parliament and the soldiery. Another individual, of this unworthy class of ministers, thus exhorts various orders. "Those unto whom the Lord hath given abilitie of bodie, their bow and arrow is their strength, let them put out that, offer themselves willingly, not need a presse, much lesse hide themselves from a presse, God's people are a willing people : voluntiers in God's service are alwayes best excepted. You unto whom the Lord hath given wealth, your bow and arrow is your purse, spare not this." Then after charging them not to make excuses, "as here is such daily calling for further contributions and loanes," he proceeds, "let not God's cause want whilst you have to give, and if you think all lost that hath been formerly given, doe as those which having shot two or three arrows, which they thinke are lost, they will so neere as they can shoot towards the same place to find them out."† The aged, the weak, women and children, are recommended to shoot with "the bow of prayer. This arrow will find a joynt in Ahab's armour, draw this arrow, as *Jehu* did, and doubt not but it will in God's time smite our Romish *Jehoram* at the heart, and sinke him in his chariot and chaire of pride." In this allusion the preacher may have referred to Archbishop Laud, or to his majesty. The language was of that ambiguous character, that had the charge of pointing out individuals for slaughter been raised, he might easily have pretended that he did not allude to the particular person whom his opponents might mention. He could easily have sheltered himself from any charge under the ambiguity of his expressions.

* Ibid. 27, 28.

† Nehemiah's Teares & Prayers for Judah's Affliction, and the Ruines and Repaire of Jernsalem. In a Sermon before the House of Commons at their Monthly Fast, April 24, 1644. London : 1644. P. 15, 16, 17.

Sometimes the members of the two Houses were comforted by the preachers with arguments raised on the supposition of their own death. "If any of you die before you see this great salvation of the Lord, your posteritie shall inherit the blessing: and for you it is honour enough that you expire in so great a cause. They shall not need to come to *Westminster* to reade your *epitaphs*, all the churches in the world shall read at a distance the epitaphs so truly and worthily preached to you by a renowned watchman. *There are Scotland's umpire, Ireland's guard and revenge, England's preservation, the church's safety, and religion's glory.*" At other times, especially when any reverses had befallen the Parliamentary armies, the members were encouraged to expect such things. Alluding to the misery of Israel, Judges x. 16, and their subsequent victory under *Jephthah*, a certain minister says: "And have not *we ourselves* found somewhat like this, more than once? How low had our sins brought us the last yeere about this time? And how much *vengeance* did God take upon our *unwardnesse* within a few months. Our armies broken in the West, and broken in the North, *Bristol* lost, and *Glocester* and *Hull* besieged: and with us very *little strength* and very *few spirits*. But God gave us grace to *bethinke ourselves*, and *humble* ourselves, and to enter into a more *strict* and *solemne* and *complete covenant* with him than ever before: and how many gracious *answers*, and *pardons*, and *victories* he hath granted us since *our souls know*, and all the world sees and admires."† Hill undertakes to point out the numerous interpositions of Divine Providence in their favour and against their enemies. "Had not the Lord of hosts diverted the *kings army* from comming up towards London, when they had gotten *Bristoll*, and the Earle of *Newcastles* forces from comming up to the then *associating counties*, when he set down before *Hull*: yea, had not the Lords mighty hand kept Prince *Rupert's* formidable army from comming *southward*, when he had got so great an advantage by raising the siege at *Yorke*: how much more sad might England's condition have been before this time."‡

It has already been remarked, that besides the monthly fast days, other days were occasionally appointed as extraordinary fasts. These were usually observed after disasters in the field, or when the success of their armies did not come up to their expectations. Thus Newcomen, in a sermon, to which we have already alluded, on the disasters of the armies, profanely says: "Did not the *goodness of our cause* (wherein we have not only the *witnesse of our own consciences*, and the *witnesse of neighbour churches*, but the *witnesse of God himselfe with us* :) Did not that

* Hill's Sermon: Things now a-Doing, already quoted. P. 22.

† Palmer's Sermon, &c. P. 65.

‡ Hill's Sermon, &c. 35.

recent and much to be remembered testimony of God's favour towards us in it by that *great and glorious victory* given us *before the walls of Yorke* make us hope for a good issue of this expedition into the West. And is not this the first *time* that ever your army under the conduct of his *Excellency* turned their backs? And was not the *enemy* despised in our eyes? I fear it was our *fault politically*, (I doe not say our sin theologically) to undervalue the powers of our *enemies* so farre. But all this makes our *disaster* the *sadder*, and should make our *sense* of it *the deeper*, for *such an army in such a cause* to be given up to *such an enemy*, and at *such a time*.* The causes of these disasters, according to Mr. Newcomen, were their sins. "Is this the first time that God hath frowned upon our armies? No, no: who hath not heard of the *disappointment* at the *Vises*, where a glorious victory slipt out of our hands when we were almost possest of it. The losse of *Bristoll*, the raising of the siege at *Newarke*. I know the mention of these things may expose us to the scorne of our enemies: and let them scorne us so we may give glory to our God."† Addressing the members of the two Houses, for this sermon was preached before both, he says: "Oh how doe I feare least some *sinnes of yours* may have a great influence into this *disaster* that is now upon us. This I am sure of, *Parliament sinnes*, and sinnes of *Parliament men* are great provocations. Was there ever *Parliament* that had so many *prayers, deliverances, wonders* awaiting upon it *as you*? Was there ever *Parliament* that had *God* so *neere unto them in all things*?"‡ They are then exhorted to examine themselves individually to ascertain what they had done.

The next month, October 1644, another day was appointed to be observed as an extraordinary Fast. Disasters still attended the Parliamentary armies. Before the sermons were printed, however, some advantages were obtained, which are specified by Sedgewicke, one of the preachers, in his *Dedication*. "You were pleased to appoint a solemn and extraordinary Fast for your united armies: and since that you have twice desired the Assembly of Divines to importune God for them: how acceptable all this hath been unto him, you have experimentally found by the news of our brethren surprizing of Newcastle the last week, and also by the news of happy successe upon your armies (near to Newcastle) this week: no one prayer that gets to heaven is lost. Sometimes divine wisdom doth take respite, but at this time divine goodnesse made hast: you had scarce began your prayers, but God presented you with answers."§

During the summer of the year 1644, the armies of the Parlia-

* Newcomen's Sermon, 8.

† Ibid. 22.

‡ Ibid. 25.

§ An Arke against a Deluge: or Safety in Dangerous Times. Discovered in a Sermon before the House of Commons at their late Extraordinary Fast, Oct. 22, 1644. By Obadiah Sedgewicke. London: 1644.

ment sustained various reverses. Fears and misgivings began to seize upon many of their supporters. In these circumstances the preachers, who were determined to risk all for the Covenant and Presbytery, found it difficult to keep up the courage of the Parliament: but they used every effort for this purpose. Accordingly we find them, not only instigating and encouraging the two Houses to persevere in carrying on the war, but assigning various reasons, why in the providence of God they must sometimes expect reverses and disappointments. No little ingenuity is displayed by our preachers in discovering topics of consolation from the critical circumstances in which their armies and their affairs generally were placed. "It is the commendation of great works to be carried through difficulties, to be borne up and brought to passe in despite of oppositions. We should be apt to surfeit of privileges, if the Lord did not diet and physick us, if he did not acute our appetites by some sharp mixtures, some bitter ingredient in our sweetest and fullest cups: if he did not keep our souls in a longing temper by holding forth blessings to us, after which we must reach and straine, and presse even thorow a piece of Hell before we attain them."* Vicars, as we shall hereafter notice, frequently mentions that the news of the success of the army arrived either on, or just after, the public Fast Day. Sometimes, however, news of an opposite tendency was received on such occasions, but still the circumstances were turned to account by the preachers. After the monthly Fast in August, 1644, some reverses were experienced in the West; and a special day was ordered to be observed for humiliation. Coleman, who had frequently preached on such occasions, says in the dedication of his sermon: "What! doth Israel turne his back? A good cause and a crosse successe may sometimes meet. And blessed be our invisible supporter, this unhappy accident hath not at all rejected your confidence in God."† He calls his sermon an "*Unusuall Answer to a Solemne Fast*:" and addressing the House of Commons, he says, speaking of the occasion, "What the occasion is you know, in a sad and terrible act from the West hath God spake unto us. When it happened. Give me leave to reminde you, even the day after the last publique Fast kept in this kingdome, city, place. And not many dayes after a peculiar Fast for the welfare of that very army." In the opposite margin is the following note: "Aug. 13, a Fast for that army in 6

* The Glory and Beauty of God's Portion. A Sermon at the Publique Fast, June 26, 1644. By Gaspar Hickee. London: 1644. *Epist. Dedic.*

† God's unusuall Answer to a Solemne Fast; or some observations upon the late Sad Successe in the West, upon the day immediately following our Publique Humiliation. In a Sermon before the Honourable Houses of Parliament, on a Fast specially set apart on that occasion, Sept. 12, 1644. By Th. Coleman. London: 1644. *Epist. Dedic.*

churches, Aug. 28, a publique Fast, Aug. 30, this sad dispersion.”* Thus it appears, that, besides the monthly fasts and fasts on extraordinary occasions, some of the zealous preachers, to keep the martial flame alive in the breasts of the people, kept private fasts in particular churches. The practical use of the disaster is to be found in the conclusion of the sermon. “From this day forward,” says the preacher, “up and be doing. Double thy prayers, paines, purse; that the right hand of the Lord may bring valiant things to passe for us and our armies. Once hath God answered by *terrible things*, but he will doe so no more. Therein he crossed not his righteous nature, though he concealed the acts of his mercy. If he give us grace to improve it aright, the end will shew, it was the way whereby he became to us a saving God.”†

We may now take a sample from Vicars, the chronicler of the doings of the Parliament, of the methods adopted in those times for keeping alive the desires after war. Vicars was a minister as well as a historian: and his Chronicle is in many respects like the sermons of the day. One of his peculiarities consists in constantly discovering mercies in favour of the Parliament, and judgments against the royal armies. On the appointment of the Earl of Warwick to the command of the fleet, he thus exults: “In all which who is, or can be so blind a mole (except the muddy-minded, and sense muzzled malignant) as not to see the *Lord our God appeare most apparently on the mount of mercies*: yea of such most rare and mountainous mercies for our most sure and certain deliverance.”‡ In a subsequent page, after an enumeration of certain parliamentary appointments and some successes, he breaks forth, “Tell me whether the Lord hath not most evidently shewen himselfe to be the God of the sea as well as the land, and whether he has not been most gloriously *seen in the mount of mercies*, in thus so clearely clipping the wings of our adversaries high-soaring hopes, and thereby putting life and activity into the hearts of his people, his poore waiting people of his *English Israel*.”§ In one place the following notes occur in the margin: “A confluence of many rare mercies flowing in upon us together. The Earl of Carliel and one Mr. Russell, two great malignants, taken prisoners. Bp Wren and 3 pestilent doctors of Cambridge also taken prisoners.” These were his *mercies*! and it is added, “the very next day after the Fast Day of August 1642.” In the text he calls upon the “godly and honest-hearted reader to take notice of a most remarkable confluence and shower of mercies, flowing into our bosomes within the space of two or three daies together—namely, that upon a *Thursday*, which was

* Ibid. 5.

† God in the Mount, 96.

‡ Ibid. 29, 03.

§ Ibid. 121.

the very next day after the Fast day, when God's people had been humbling themselves. It pleased the Lord most graciously to give us divers sweet and most memorable returnes of our prayers." The returns were the taking of the Earl of Carlisle and Mr. Russell. "Also a brave troop of *London* dragoons brought to the Parliament that most mischievous viper of our church and state too, *Mathew Wren*, Bp of *Elie*, as also Dr. *Martine*, Dr. *Beal*, and Dr. *Stern*, three very pestilent and bad birds of the same viperous brood, with other prisoners, brought up to the Parliament, who are all now lockt up in cages, most fit for such ravenous vultures and unclean birds of prey."* When Manchester was taken, Vicars said that it was a return to their prayers. This, too, was "immediately after the publique Fast day as a blessed and desired returne of prayer."† Even Pennington's election as lord mayor was placed in the same catalogue of mercies. This fact shows the character of the piety of the parliamentary party, for a greater incendiary than Pennington did not exist, even in those tumultuous times. "I cannot," says Vicars, "but most justly and ingenuously from my heart account and number him in this catalogue of God's great mercies to us, a singular blessing from above. Yea I say a blessing beg'd and obtained by prayer, and given to this happy city, as a sweet returne of our prayers, but the very day before: the happie choice and election of him to be *Lord Maier*, being made the very next day after that moneths publike Fast-day for a day of humiliation and seeking the Lord for such like mercies."‡

Fairfax's success in the North was trumpeted forth in many pulpits, as an answer to the prayers of the Parliament: but the language adopted by the preachers was, as we have seen, indicative of any feeling than that of piety. Vicars, in his usual way, calls it a return of prayer. "And that which makes this victory yet more glorious is, that the first and true intelligence thereof came to our knowledge at London but three or foure dayes after that moneths publike day of humiliation, as a most sweet and seasonable returne of prayer: and in pious and zealous consideration hereof, our Parliament worthies most religiously ordered that there should be publike thanksgiving in all the churches for this said victory and blessed returne of prayer."§ In the ensuing February, 1643, some further successes were obtained, and again Vicars notices that the victory was more famous, because, "the true and certain intelligence of them came to us at London, within three or foure dayes at most, after this *Februaries* publike Fast day, as another most blessed and happy return of our prayers."||

* Ibid. 149.

§ Ibid. 263.

† Ibid. 178.

|| Ibid. 272.

‡ Ibid. 168.

Vicars's account of the battle of Keinton is one of the most extraordinary illustrations of the awful principles which influenced the party who made war upon their sovereign. "And now being fallen upon the time when that great master piece of God's mercie in our most mighty deliverance, was most gloriously manifested unto us, I mean that great and famous set-battell fought at *Keinton* before *Edge-Hill*, which victory the Lord of hoasts having purchased for us by his own immediate and mighty power, I may and most justly number here in the chief place of this our Christian catalogue of Parliamentarie mercies, and therefore have endeavoured to set it out in the most ample and exact manner." The battle was fought on Sunday, October 23, 1642: and Vicars says: "Our army intended to rest and keep the Sabbath that Lord's Day. But in the morning when our soldiers were going to *church*, we had newes brought us that the enemy was not far from us." The valley in which the forces of the Parliament were stationed "was called *the Vale of Red-horse*, where, indeed, the Lord made the *red-horse* of his wrath (mentioned Rev. vi. 4,) ride about furiously to the ruine of our enemies." Alluding to the term round-head, Vicars says: "At which time was a most terrible and hot encounter most bravely maintained even by those that were ignominiously reproached by the name of *roundheads*, and *London-boyes*, and by these *roundheads*, and *London* young lads, did God shew himselfe a most glorious God." The Earl of Essex is of course much lauded by our chronicler. "Master Marshall, his most pious and reverend chaplain in the army, speaking of the admirable successe of this battell, his *Excellence* replied twice together, with sweet expressions of admiration, that he never saw lesse of men in any thing, nor more of God, than in this battell."*

After the description of the battle, a catalogue of what Vicars calls remarkable providences, in this engagement, is given. Some of these are so singular, and withal so bloody, that they may be mentioned as illustrative of the state of religion at the period. "Sixthly, how admirably the hand of God's providence ordered our artillery and bullets, both cannon and musket shot, for the destruction of the enemies, making horse and man, armes and legges, and heads, flye up in the aire, and lye on heaps on the ground: but how seldome and rarely our men were hurt or slaine by theirs, a man would have stood and wondered to have seen it. Seventhly, that not one of our truely godly and reverend divines, who were chaplaines to the army, were slaine, hurt, or taken prisoners: who, (namely, reverend and renowned Master *Marshall*, Master *Ash*, Master *Mourton*, Master *Obadiah*, and Master

* Ibid. 191, 192, 195, 199.

John Sedgwicke, Master *Wickins*, and divers other eminently pious and learned pastours,) who (I say) rode up and downe the army, through the thickest dangers, and in much personal hazard, most faithfully and couragiously exhorting and encouraging the souldiers to fight valiantly and not to flye, but now if ever to stand to it and to fight for their religion, lawes, and Christian liberties. Eleventhly, that God did so order it, and appoint this famous battell in this faire and large meadow-ground, which was properly called *the Vale of the Red-horse*, which is very remarkable, and may, as I conceive, have fit reference and resemblance to that *red horse* mentioned in the *revelations*." After giving Brightman's interpretation of the passage, he thus applies it. "Here was truth in our Parliament's army riding on the *red horse*, with a great slaughter of just revenge, taking peace and comfort from these wicked earthen-cavaliers, there combined together against God and his truth. And was not here a most remarkable mistery, thus made clear unto us in this *meadow*? let the judicious and godly judge." He alludes to the day of the battle, Sunday, but the guilt is placed to the account of his majesty's officers, "in giving us battell and forcing ours to fight on the Lord's Day." It was also memorable, he says, for "it was just upon Oct. 23, being the Papists *Saint Ignatius Day*." He adds, "Lastly, take this note also, that this great victory was bestowed upon us but three daies before our *moneth day* of publique humiliation, of that moneth of Octob, as if the Lord would hereby shew that he would even prevent our prayers with such a mighty blessing before we had sought to him for it: and as it were to set an edge on our hearts affections, when wee came to pray and humble ourselves before him. And truly observe this, that the most of our deliverances and mercies have been wrought and bestowed on us, either immediately after our seeking the Lord, as returnes of prayers; or a little before, as encouragements to prayer."^{*}

Many of the preachers were accustomed to allude to the battle of *Edgehill* as a means of exciting the courage of the people. "The first summer of our warre he wrote himselfe *our God* in great letters at *Edgehill*: the second, in yet a greater character at *Newbery*: the third, that he might be legible to such as hitberto would not see, he hath wrote himself *Immanuel* in a text letter." This passage is in a sermon on a thanksgiving day for the successes near York. The preacher has inscribed a lie in the very title of his sermon: for he says that the success was "*against the enemies of king and Parliament*." Yet the forces of the Parliament were fighting against the sovereign. To such audacious falsehoods and means did these *ministers of the gospel* resort to

* Ibid. 200, 201, 202.

promote their own objects. In his dedication the preacher has the following profane prayer: "The good Lord command the West to blow as sweet a gale as the North hath done, and so finish his own worke." Calamy says: "When we were in the *Valley of the Red-horse* (as it is called) neare *Edgehill*, where the enemy thought to have cast us downe the hill, as the Jewes would have served Christ, then God did also deliver us."* Vicars exclaims, in allusion to Keinton and Brentford, "May we not say with the prophet, *the Lord hath gone before us, and the God of Israel hath been, indeed, our rereward; yea even a whole army of men unto us*, as was in a speciall manner seene at *Keinton* battell and at *Brainford's* bloody skirmish."†

If Vicars's account of Marshall and the chaplains be true, it must be admitted, that their conduct was most disgraceful to their character as ministers of the gospel of peace. There is no reason for questioning the truth of his statements with respect to exhortations to the soldiers to fight, though it may fairly be questioned whether these reverend gentlemen exposed their persons in the hot parts of the battle. The sermons of some of the individuals prove, that they were capable of resorting to any means to stir up the army to fight. Baxter mentions the names of some of these individuals as chaplains in the army.‡

In November, Essex, and some regiments under his command, repaired to London. This circumstance led the ministers to allude to the subject of war from their pulpits. "And that Sabbath day following next after their arrivall to London, the godly and well-affected ministers, throughout the city, preached and praised the Lord publiquely for their so joyfull and safe returne home to their parents, masters, and friends, exhorting those young soldiers of Christ's armie-royall still to retain and be forward and ready to shew their courage and zeale in the defence of God's cause, and their countreys welfare, shewing them the plots of their adversaries to have introduced Popery and tyranny, and assuring them that this warre was waged and managed by papists, an army of papists being raised by the king's command contrary to his vows."§ It cannot escape the reader's observation, that the assertion relative to the management of the war by Papists was a most egregious falsehood. This chronicler,

* Vines's Sermon. *Magnalia Dei*, &c., pp. 1, 2. Calamy's Sermon before the Lords, 1643. P. 58.

† Ibid. 225.

‡ Baxter's Life and Times, I. 42. We shall see, when we come to the period subsequent to the new model, that these chaplains quitted the army for rich benefices. "The truth is," says Lilly, speaking of a clergyman who was accused before the Parliamentary Committee, "he had a considerable parsonage, and that only was enough to sequester any moderate judgment." Lilly's Life, 136.

§ Ibid. 212.

and also many of the ministers, never hesitate to make an assertion, though they must have been conscious that they were giving utterance to falsehoods.

In allusion to the fight at Brentford, Vicars says: "It cannot be denied, we lost many precious young saints, and brave resolute young soldiers, who now wear their victorious palmes in heaven." The day after the battle some of the soldiers were collected at *Turnham Green*, being Sunday, and at the instigation of Pennington, according to Vicars, the ministers exhorted the people to give of their provisions for that day. "The ministers, therefore, were moved, by a motion from the said ever to be honoured, pious and prudent Lord Maior, on the said Lord's Day, in their morning sermon, in their pulpits, to encourage and incite the people to spare some part of their diet, ready drest for that present dinner, and to bestow it upon the souldiers. Whereupon, after the sermon was done, carts being ordered to stand ready in the streets in every parish to carry presently away what was sent: there were sent at least an hundred loads of all manner of good provisions of victuall, bottles of wine and barrells of beere instantly carried to them, and accompanied by honest and religious gentlemen." He adds, "Most of them before they would eat a bit themselves, did send away the greatest part of such provisions as they had provided for themselves, giving thereby a great testimony of their reall and true affection to the cause."^{*}

From these extracts it is evident that the ministers generally used the pulpit as a means of exciting to war. The practice was not confined to those who from the pulpits of the Abbey and St. Margaret's church addressed the two Houses. *Well-affected* was the usual term to designate the supporters of the Parliament: and none but these *well-affected* ones were permitted to occupy the churches; so that in London and in all places under the domination of the prevailing party, the pulpit gave utterance to the same note of warlike preparation. The committees appointed to remove and appoint ministers, took special care to prevent any who were opposed to the Parliament from remaining in their parishes. Many of the leading ministers, as is clear from their published sermons, needed no arguments to induce them to recommend the war. On the contrary, they even stirred up the two Houses to greater exertions. Painful as it is to contemplate such a state of things, there can be no doubt that some of the ministers were even more bent upon the war than the Parliament or the army. On no other ground can we explain their unchristian exhortations.

We quote from Vicars in illustration of the state of religion

* Ibid. 216, 217.

under the Long Parliament, because the work was printed by Parliamentary authority—the *first* and *second* parts in 1644, when the contest was fiercely raging in the kingdom, and because it confirms, in so many instances, our position relative to the degraded condition of the pulpit at this period. The *third* part of his singular book was printed in 1646. In this paper we confine ourselves to the *first*, *second*, and *third* parts, since the *fourth* refers to the period at, and subsequent to, the new model of the army. Vicars being a clergyman, treats his subject rather theologically than historically.

That the rabble should rejoice in the work of destruction can surprise no one; but that Vicars should exult in it, must astonish all right-minded men. He revels with delight in the havoc committed at Winchester. After mentioning an assessment of the inhabitants for *malignancy*, and the difficulty of restraining the soldiers from plunder, he narrates, with the most unfeigned satisfaction, the violence which was done to the cathedralists: “And the sweet *cathedralists*, in whose houses and studies they found great store of Popish books, pictures, and crucifixes, which the souldiers carried up and doune the streets and market place in triumph, to make themselves merry: yea, and they for certaine piped before them with the organ-pipes, (the faire organs in the Minster being broken doune by the soldiers,) and then afterward cast them all into the fire and burnt them: and what (thinke you) was the case of those *Romish Michas*, when their pretty, petty *Popish* and *Apish*-Gods were thus taken from them and burnt in the fire before them.” Litchfield suffered severely under the reign of the lawless rabble and soldiery. “Take this note,” says Vicars, “that though the soldiers were mercifull to the men, yet were they void of all pity towards the organ pipes, copes, surpluces, and such like *Popish* trumperies, affording these no quarter, except, mangling and quartering them in pieces.” In the margin he adds, “No quarter was granted to the Minster trumpery.” There was an *Ordinance* of Parliament for demolishing superstitious images, pictures, and monuments: and under authority thereof, the greatest excesses were committed. Speaking of Canterbury, Vicars says: “Next, they went to the quire door, over which were placed 13 images, 12 of them personating the 12 Apostles, and the 13 in the middle of them, our *Saviour Christ*, these were all hewen down, and 12 more images of *Popish Saints* over them, which were also headlong thrown down, and like so many *Dagons*, had their necks broke in the fall, yea and hands and bodies too.” Again: “They fell upon 7 large images of the *Virgin Mary*, pictured in the window over the steps going into the quire.” He closes with great satisfaction: “And so went on most zealously and religiously in ruining and turning into rub-

bish all these monuments of idolatrie in that *cathedral*. Blessed be the Lord for it.”*

The havoc at Westminster was perhaps greater than in some other places. “My intelligence put me in mind heere to make mention of Gods admirable and most wise ordering of things to the glory of his name, joy of his children, and vexation of the base *Brats of Rome* and malignant enemies of *reformation*: in the most rare and strange alterations of the face of things in the *cathedral church at Westminster*—namely, that whereas there was wont to be heard nothing almost but *roaring-boyes*, tooting and squeaking *organ-pipes*, and the cathedrall catches of *Morley*: now the *Popish Altar* is quite taken away, the *bellowing organs* are demolisht, and pull’d downe, the *treble*, or rather *trouble*, and base singers, chanters, or inchanters, driven out: and instead thereof there is now set up a most blessed orthodox preaching ministry, even every morning throughout the weeke, and every weeke through the whole yeare a sermon preached, by most learned, grave, and godly ministers; and for the gaudy gilded crucifixes, and rotten rable of dumb idols, Popish saints and pictures set up where that sinfull singing was used; now a most sweet assembly, and thicke throng of Gods pious people, and well-affected, living and teachable saints, is there constantly, and most comfortably, every morning to be seen at the sermons. O our God! what a rich and rare alteration.”†

At an early period the Parliament put forth an ordinance against what they chose to term monuments of superstition or idolatry: and, as though they imagined that their soldiers were lax in the work of destruction, another ordinance was issued in 1644, in which *Surplices, Hoods, Fonts, Organs, Images, and Pictures* are enumerated as superstitious memorials, and are devoted to destruction.‡ “Organs and the frames, or cases, wherein they

* Vicars. God in the Mount, 229, 273. God’s Ark overtopping the World’s Waves, 101, 102. Heylin says that Winchester fared worse than the other cathedrals, “because it fell unto the *Scots* (commanding some *Scotizing English*) to do execution.” Hist. Presbyterians, 450.

† God’s Ark overtopping, &c. 184, 185.

‡ “*Thursday the ninth of May*. The Parliament, well considering the many subtile flights, the Factors for Rome have had, to bring in the Popish innovations and superstitious idolatry into this kingdome, not exempting the tombs and monuments of the dead, which they have adorned with many superstitious images, pictures, and crucifixes, for the better prevention whereof for the future, the Parliament have added a new ordinance for the utter abolishing of all such Popish reliques adjoynd to any tombe, or monument, and that no such reliques bee hereafter made adherent to the monuments or coat of armes of any persons of quality whatsoever, together with the like order for the demolishing of all organs, images, and all other superstitious monuments in all cathedrall churches and chapels throughout the kingdomes.” *Perfect Diurnall*, 325. The baptismal fonts were broken down as Popish: “the name of *holy water fonts*,” says Heylin, “being extended and made use of to comprise them also.” Hist. of Pres, 465.

stand, shall be taken away and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their places." At the end of the month of May, in which the ordinance was passed, Vicars thus alludes to it in his summary of *Parliamentary mercies*. "The pious ordinance of *Parliament*, for the demolishing of all *organs* and *superstitious monuments* of *Popery* in *churches* and *chappels*, or elsewhere."* The conduct of the soldiers was regarded as an act of piety; and the more zealous they were in the work of destruction, the more did they recommend themselves to such men as Vicars. Before his account of one engagement, he has the following marginal note: "A psalme was sung before they went on; see the piety of these soldiers."† Also in another place, describing the siege of Manchester, he says: "The soldiers in the town from first to last had prayers and singing of psalms, daily at the streets end, most of them being honest and religious men, and of very civill and inoffensive conversation, who came out of conscience of their oath and protestation." In the margin he thus directs attention to the text. "The pious posture of the town souldiers in the siege."‡

Every one knows, that the cross in Cheapside was thrown down under the authority of a Parliamentary ordinance, as a monument of superstition. The particulars, however, as related by Vicars, are too curious to be omitted. "Upon Tuesday, May the ninth, the gorgeously-gilt leaden-coat of Cheapside-Crosse was pluckt over its eares, and its accursed carkasse also peece-meal tumbled down to the ground, even on that day which the Popish-asses-glosses say, was the *Inventio Crucis*, was now at *London*, in Cheapside, *Destructio Crucis*. Nor did the *Babylonish*-band of Rome receive this shame in silence or secret, but most openly, and in the face of many thousands, who came to see (and no doubt some *popish*-sots to bewail) the fatal fall of that *whore*: yea and the work was both guarded and solemnized with brave bands of soldiers, sounding their trumpets, and shooting off their peeces, as well as shouting out with their voices, and echoing out their joyful acclamations at the happie downfall of *Antichrist* in England, thus really and royally begun among us. Nor was this abominable idol left without a funeral solemnity: for upon the Friday following at night, a great fire was made in Cheapside, just where the crosse stood, whereunto the leaden Gods, *Saints*, and *Popes* were cast, and then melted (to make bullets yet farther to bang and beat down the living idols or idolaters of Rome,) but this also most solemnly performed; for before they were cast into the fire, St. Peter's Bell (St. Peter's Church being close by it) rang out a fatall knell for the whores death: and whiles they

* Ibid. 241.

† God in the Mount, 164.

‡ Ibid. 177.

were burning and melting, there were most notable expressions of joy for her decease, first by most rare and melodious musick of the city waits, playing all the while on St. Peter's Church-leads right against it, and met by sounding of trumpets and beating of drums: then also with severall vollies of shot, together with most jocund and joyfull acclamations of mens voices, whereby I doubt not but the *Papists* hearts were dasht and deadly dampt at home, and, I hope, will be so abroad when they hear thereof." He mentions other places, in which the work of destruction was carried on, and intimates still further havoc: "Purposing by God's blessing to ruinate all the rest in all other places; which also they have fairly prosecuted at *Westminster Abbey*, where they have zealously pull'd down many crosses and Popish images: yea and the gaudie and superstitious organs, and so have quite spoiled the sport, and marr'd the mirth and musick of all those lazie lubbers and mimical choristers of that cage of such unclean birds."*

After such proceedings as these, we may well be surprised at finding so many of our ancient churches so comparatively little injured, especially as the soldiers and the rabble were encouraged by the Parliament and many of the ministers.

It will be remembered also, that their fiery zeal was directed against all the clergy who would not support the Parliament, or take the Covenant, or renounce the Book of Common Prayer. The narrative of the miseries, the plundering, and the violence, to which the faithful clergy were subjected, under the pretence of being scandalous ministers, would occupy too much space for this paper. Some notices, however, may be given in a future Number. The public sermons will prove that the Parliamentary ministers were the great instigators in the work of oppression of their brethren. "Our most prudent and pious Parliamentarie senators, most religiously taking into consideration the great dishonour of God, abuse of his peoples souls, and the extraordinarie disadvantage the great cause now in agitation receives, and long

* Ibid. 327, 328. Wood engravings were circulated, containing a representation of the pulling down of the cross in Cheapside. On one of these is the following account, also engraved upon the cut: "The second of May 1643 ye crosse in Cheapside was pulled downe, a troope of horse & 2 companies of foote wayted to garde it, & at ye fall of ye top crosse dromes beat trumpets blew & multitudes of capes wayre throwne in ye ayre & a greate shoute of people with joy. ye 2 of may the almanake sayeth, was the invention of the crosse, & 6 day at night was the leaden popes burnt in the place where it stood with ringinge of belles & a greate acclamation & no hurt done in all these actions." Former Ages never heard of and after Ages will admire; or a Brief Review of the most materiall Parliamentary Transactions beginning Nov. 3, 1640. Published as a Breviary, &c., for information of such as are altogether ignorant of the rise and progresse of these Times. A Work worthy to be kept in Record and communicated to Posterity. London: 1656. P. 13. See Whitelock, 69. Speaking of crosses, Heylin says, "none being spared which came within the compass of those enemies of the cross of Christ." Hist. of Pres. 465.

time hath done, by tolerating impious, audacious, and most scandalous ministers, or rather sons of *Belial*, to belch out their base rottenness of heart against the best and blest proceedings of Parliament: yea even against the most pure and holy truths of God: they, therefore, set a committee seriously now on foot againe, for the exact and close examination of all such scandalous and malignant ministers, and to receive the just complaints of any that should informe against such as were scandalous either in their lives or doctrine, and thereupon giving power to this committee to displace the persons of all such. By which means, O what a most sure, blessed, and strange change is already wrought in the city of London. O what a companie of stinking snuffs are put out, and what rare and radiant tapers, and purely burning and shining lamps are set up, and how piously and preciousely does the work begin now to go on.”*

One of the most iniquitous of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, was their ejection of the loyal and faithful clergy under a false pretence. They would not honestly say that they ejected them in consequence of their loyalty to the king, and their adherence to the principles of the church; but they chose to use the terms *scandalous*, *insufficient*, and *malignant*: and thus men, who were really removed for not complying with the Parliament, were branded as men of immoral lives. The men of scandalous lives would have had little scruple of complying with any changes, since their consciences must have been prepared for any alteration: and, therefore, it was far more likely that the scandalous clergy should remain with the Parliament. The honest and conscientious men were ejected, whose only crime was opposition to the Parliament, which was designated *malignancy*. And it is here that the dishonesty of the Parliament and of the Presbyterian party generally was so manifest. The clergy were charged with a crime of which they were not guilty, and removed on grounds, which even those shameless men were ashamed openly to avow. In the ordinances, the terms *scandalous*, *insufficient*, and *malignant* were employed; but it was under the last that the ejections really took place.

The origin of the word *malignant* is thus given by Fuller, under the year 1642. “About this time, the word *malignant* was first born (as to the common use) in *England*: the deduction thereof being *disputable*, whether from *malus ignis*, *bad fire*: or *malum lignum*, *bad fewell*: but this is *sure*, betwixt both *the name* made a *combustion* all over *England*. It was fixed as a *note of disgrace* on those of the king’s party.” He adds: “Contemporary with *malignant* was the word *plunder*, which some make of Latine originall, from *planum dare*, to *levell*, or *plane all to nothing*. Others

* God in the Mount, 326.

make it of Dutch extraction, as if it were to *plume* or pluck the feathers of a bird to the bare skin. Sure I am we first heard thereof in the Swedish wars, and if the *name* and *thing* be sent back from whence it came, few English eyes would weep thereat." Fuller, moreover, gives us the true reason for turning out all the faithful clergy, terming them *scandalous*, when *malignancy* was their only crime. "Many moderate men of the *opposite party*, much bemoaned such severity, that some *clergymen*, *blameless* for *life*, and *orthodox* for *doctrine*, were only ejected on the account of their faithfulness to the *kings cause*. And as much *corruption* was let out by this ejection, so at the same time the *veins* of the *English Church* were also emptied of much *good blood*, which hath made her *body hydropicall* ever since, ill-humours succeeding in the room, by reason of too large and suddain evacuation. But others of a more violent temper excused all, *the present necessity of the cause* requiring it. All *pulpits* in the *Parliaments quarters* must be made like the *whole earth* before the *building of Babell*, of *one language*, and of *one speech*, or else all may be destroyed by the mixture of other doctrines." It may be well to add here Fuller's remark on the mode of filling up the vacancies occasioned by the sequestrations. "To supply the vacant places, many young *students* (whose *orders* got the speed of their *degrees*) left the *Universities*. Other *ministers* turned *duallists* and *pluralists*, it being now *charity*, what was formerly *covetousness*, to hold two or three *benefices*. These could plead for themselves, the practice of *Mr. Sanders*, the *martyr*, who held two *livings* at good distance, because he could not resign one but into the hands of a *Papist*, as these men would not surrender them to *malignants*. Many *vicaridges* of great *cure*, but small *value*, were without *ministers*, (whilst rich matches have many *suitors*, they may die virgins that have no portions,) which was often complained of, seldom redressed, it passing for a current maxime, it was safer for people to *fast* than to *feed* on the *poison* of *malignant* pastours."* A more cutting description of a set of time-servers has been rarely written.

But these iniquitous proceedings were sanctioned and recommended by the ministers in their sermons, as were also the defacing of churches, under the pretence of reformation. It must be borne in mind, that Episcopacy and the Common Prayer were numbered among the superstitious and Popish innovations. The way even was prepared by the pulpit, for at a very early period, and long before the Parliamentary ordinances for setting aside Episcopacy, the ministers were accustomed to exhort the members of the two Houses to commence the work of destruction. In 1641, one of the preachers thus addressed the Commons: "You cannot think our present discipline is by divine law; then you

* Fuller, xi. 195, 6; 207, 8.

may remove, except you think it most convenient. But how is that convenient, which ministers, good men, bad men, almost all men have complained of? God shakes the old building, by discovering the abominations thereof, and by a miraculous turn upon the peoples spirits. Doe not they crie, downe with it, downe with it? And *Vox Populi est vox Dei*.* Mr. Case, in 1642, says: "O you *worthies of our Israel*! let it not be said of you, as it is reported of some of the good kings of *Judah*, they did that which was right in the eies of the Lord, *neverthelesse High-places were not taken away*. Leave us not, I beseech you, an *High-place* in the land, leave us not *one house for Baal*, not an *utensill* of Idolatrous worship, leave us not *a rag of the whore of Babylon*, the plague may lye in it, and break out into a destroying pestilence many years hence, when you are asleep in the dust."† "Take away Popery by the very root, and the earth in which it hath unhappily grown and prospered so long; altars, crosses, crucifixes, with all the trash of Popish ceremonies, orders, and ordinances whatsoever."‡

Again, in 1641, before any attempt to set aside the Liturgy, a clergyman says: "Many additions, gestures, now standing, now sitting, are not necessary, but cumbersome, not to be tolerated."§ "This zeale in praying is not in being (as a boy) *bound up in a Booke*, nor as a *child tied to a forme*."|| Yet these sermons were published by order of a Parliament composed of professed members of the Church of England. They talked of cutting off merely innovations, as they were termed, yet in the sermons to which they listened, and which they commanded to be printed, Episcopacy and the Liturgy were both denounced as Popish, and therefore to be rejected. The following extract will show the result of the earlier exhortations on this subject. It is from a sermon in 1644, after the abolition of Episcopacy and the Liturgy. "I know that many have taken great pains to prove it lawful to make use of armes in defence of religion, the church, and the truths of God: but I shall make bold to go one step further, and not onely to preach, but presse the saints to put on, keepe on, and use manfully weapons of offence against the brats of Babylon. And I shall hence and here boldly affirme, that he who now startles and staggereth, delayeth, and refuseth, with the Parliament, to beare and use armes against the prelates, papists, atheists, is no other than a rebell and traytour against God." The same preacher adds: "All of most men's religion hath been bound up

* Symonds's Sermon, &c. London: 1641. The sermon is unpagged.

† Case's two Sermons, &c. London: 1642. P. 17.

‡ Ibid., Second Sermon. P. 17.

§ Wilson's Sermon, &c. London: 1641. P. 9.

|| Ibid. 26. These men afterwards submitted to the Directory.

in a Booke of Common Prayer, begun and ended with a morning and evening service, as they call it. Men have thought themselves excellently religious, if in publique they could pray that the rest of their life hereafter might be pure and holy. Now that we have hopes to part with these formes (the nurses of ignorance and profanenesse) men have no spirit or heart for God: it were an excellent way to fetch in men and money for the parliament's aid to assure them, they should have a Masse Book instead of Common Prayer and Bibles.* "We have," says another, "an ungodly generation, that weep with a loud voyce, and complaine their gods are gone, *their god Episcopacy*, their *god Liturgy*, the *Organ*, and the *Surplice*."† Thus the voice of the pulpit was uniform from the beginning of the Long Parliament until the government and worship of the church were entirely changed.

The exhortations to reject Episcopacy, as well as the alleged innovations in practice, were so common, even from the beginning of the troubles, that it would be impossible to quote all the passages from the sermons of the day. "It is knowne," says one, "to you all, when the whore of *Babylon* was cast out of the church, that she left behind her a gold ring, and some love-tokens, I mean Episcopacie and human ceremonies."‡ Baillie says: "With a good conscience have your honours rooted up and cast out of the church that evil tree which God did never plant," meaning Episcopacy. "It cannot be denied that Episcopacy is such a supporter of papacy, that where the one falls the other cannot stand."§ Gillespie, another of the Scottish Commissioners, even censures some of his brethren for their previous compliance. "Hath there not been a great compliance with the prelates for peace sake, even to the prejudice of truth? Doth not the Lord now justly punish that Episcopall peace with an Episcopall warre?" This Scotsman was allowed to say: "The reformation of the *Church of England* hath been exceedingly deficient, in

* Boden's Sermon; an Alarme beat up in Sion to Warre against Babylon. London: 1644. Pp. 15, 16; 25. One preacher thus prophanely paraphrases a passage of Holy Scripture: "So had they said, him that escapeth the dint of the *Ceremonies* shall the *Booke of Sports* slay, & him that escapeth the *Booke of Sports* shall the *New Injunctions* slay, & him that escapeth the *New Injunctions* shall the *Proclamations* slay, and him that escapeth the *Proclamations* shall the *Oath* slay." Newcomen's Sermon, 28.

† Staunton's Sermon. 1644. *Epist. Dedic.*

‡ Rutherford's Sermon. 1643. P. 18.

§ Baylie's Sermon. 1643. Pp. 27, 28. In his letters, alluding to the designs of the Scots, he says: "As yet a Presbytery to this people is conceived to be a strange monster. It was our good, therefore, to go hand in hand, so far as we did agree against the common enemy: in the meantime, we would essay to agree upon the Directory of Worship, wherein we expect no small help from these men to abolish the great Idol of England, the Service Book, and to erect in all the parts of worship a full conformity to Scotland." Thus did they deceive each other, as will be more fully displayed in some future paper. Baillie's Letters, i. 408.

government, discipline, and worship.”* The House of Commons listened to this language, and then ordered the publication of the sermon. They cared as little for the Scottish discipline as the English, but they required the aid of the Scots in the war; and therefore it suited their purpose to set aside Episcopacy and the Liturgy.

“Vain babblings,” says one, “such as are found in formall Liturgies, may be ranked with the follies of the heathen: as when the minister shall only propound things to be prayed, and then the people twenty times shall say, *We beseech thee to hear us, &c.*”† Of bishops another says: “It was a harsh expression, but too true, religion is never in danger but among the *Right Reverend.*”‡ Alluding to the story, that the Lord had answered a religious man, that he had set up *Phocas*, because he “had not found a worse,” this preacher proceeds: “And if any should expostulate now, and complaine in like manner unto God, and aske, why he hath set over the church such multitudes of blind seers, mongrell temporizers, desperate malignants, may he not return the same answer, *because he hath not found any worse.* Verily the sins of our land are risen to such a height, that if the Lord could have raked together a worse generation from any corner of the world on this side of hell, it’s not to be doubted but that sundry of our parishes should have been thought worthy to be plagued with them.”§ “Downe with the old building of *popery* and *prelacy*. When you have pulled down the old building, *leave no rubbish upon the place.*”|| What can we think of the principles of the men, who could utter, and of those who could listen to and then approve such sentiments as these—sentiments bordering upon prophanity and blasphemy! That a religious feeling could have dictated them it is impossible to suppose. The way in which the name of God is introduced is a shocking profanation. Thus in allusion to the Cross in Cheapside: “By these and some other things, the Pope hath kept possession of our kingdome: Doe you cancell these cursed evidences, God lookes for it at your hands: Downe with these high places, search England with

* Gillespie’s Sermon. 1643. Pp. 17, 18.

† A Sermon at the Monthly Fast, May 29, 1644. By Peter Smith, D.D. London: 1644. P. 7.

‡ Hall’s Sermon. *Heaven Ravished: or a Glorious Prize atchieved by an Heroicall Enterprize.* A Sermon at the Fast, May 29, 1644. P. 26. We shall perceive, as we pursue the subject in a future number, how the Directory, to which the Liturgy was to give place under these reformers, was applauded by the party. Fuller sagaciously remarks: “When the *Directorie* hath been practised in England ninety years (the world lasting so long) as the *Liturgie* hath been, then *Posterity* will be the competent *Judge*, whether the *face of religion* had the more *lively, healthful, and chearful looks*, under the one, or under the other.” XL. 224.

§ Ibid. 27.

|| Hill’s Sermon, &c. London: 1644. Pp. 35, 36.

candles, till you find out all the abominations.”* Alluding to Episcopacy, one of the ministers adds: “Former times were times of ignorance: but now the *times are times of reformation*. And now God commands all men every where to repent.”†

In a sermon on the *fifth* of November, 1642, we find the following denunciation of prelacy: “My blood upon thee, O *Prelacy*, shall England say. *That that's the Helena*, for whose sake all those *scarres are*.”‡ It was not probable that a parliament, who could listen to, and approve of, such sentiments, would spare the clergy who adhered to the royal cause, and to their solemn vows. But, even in the work of sequestration the Presbyterian ministers were the chief actors, or leaders, recommending the Parliament, from the pulpit, to proceed in their iniquitous course. The following may be taken as a specimen: “Ye have displaced sundry unworthy and scandalous ones: take the same course with the rest: this is the way to leave the church a palace of marble, which you found as a cottage of brick.”§ To the conduct of the Presbyterian ministers may all the excesses of this period be attributed: for the Parliament, the soldiers, and the people were instigated by their pulpit addresses to deface the churches, sequester the faithful clergy, and to make war upon their sovereign.

Alluding to such as he chose to term *scandalous*, another preacher says: “As they have troubled our Israel, so let the Lord trouble them. *Let their owne dung be spread upon their own faces*, but let God's sanctuary be purged of them.”||

An instance or two of direct and most malignant exhortations to war may close this article: but the subject will be continued in the next number.

In contemplating these melancholy times, the most painful reflections are excited, seeing religion made a stalking-horse to war. “It was an high strain of courageous Rhetorique in one of the City soldiers at Newbury, who when he lay bleeding under mortal wounds, breathed out this admirable expression: *O that I had another life to lose for Jesus Christ*. Let this speech live in you after his death.”¶ If such a speech were uttered, the poor

* Gospell Courage; or, Christian Resolution for God and his Truth. A Sermon at a Publique Fast, the 31 of May, 1643. By Andrew Perne. London: 1643. P. 21.

† Calamy's England's Antidote. A Sermon at the Fast, Oct. 22, 1644. P. 4. “God,” says the preacher, “did neglect your forefathers, and suffered them to goe to Hell in their idolatries.” P. 3.

‡ The Craft and Cruelty of the Churches Adversaries, discovered in a Sermon, before the House of Commons, November 5, 1642. By Matthew Newcomen. P. 38.

§ Hall's Sermon, &c. 1644. P. 34.

|| Hardwicke's Sermon. P. 36.

¶ Hill's Season for England's Self-Reflection. A Sermon, &c. 1644. Epist. Dedic.

man must have been awfully deluded by his religious teachers. "The great and wise God, who is our *Father*, hath from all eternity decreed what shall be the issue of these warrs. There is nothing done in the *Lower House of Parliament* upon earth, but what is decreed in the *higher House of Parliament in Heaven*. An excellent story of a *young man* that was at sea in a mighty tempest, and when all the passengers were at their wits end for feare, he onely was merry, and when he was ask'd the reason of his mirth, he answered, that *the Pilot of the Ship was his Father, and he knew his Father would have a care of him*. Our *Heavenly Father* is our *Pilot*, he sits at the sterne, and though the ship of the kingdom be ready to sinke, yet be of good comfort, *our Pilot will have a care of us*. You shall not have a halfe a farthings worth of harme, more than God hath from all eternity decreed. God hath all our enemies in a *chaine*. And if a child saw a lion or a beare in his deare Father's hand chained, so as he might be secure, his Father could keepe the chaine from being burst, he would not be afraid." Still further: "It is said of King *Josiah*, that he should goe to his *grave in peace*, and yet he died in a *battell*. *He that dyeth with the peace of a good conscience, dieth in peace though he be killed in a battell*. *Blessed is the man that breaths out his last breath in doing God service*. *He that dies fighting the Lord's battels dies a martyr*. An excellent thing for a minister to *die preaching*, and a souldier *die fighting*."*

Notwithstanding the triumphs of the preachers at every instance of success against his Majesty, Baillie, in his letters to Scotland, speaks most disparagingly of the English army. "Our independents continue and increase in their obstinacy. Much is added to their pride and hope by their service at the battle of York: albeit much of their valour is grounded on very false lies, prejudicial to God, the author, and to us, the true instruments of that day's honour. The politick part in the Parliament is the stronger, who are resolute to conclude nothing in matters of religion that may grieve the sectaries, whom they count necessary for the time."† This is not very flattering to any party in England. In another paper, the complaints of the Presbyterian preachers because the

* The Noble-man's Patterne of True Thankfulnesse, presented in a Sermon before the House of Lords, at their Solemne Day of Thanksgiving, June 15, 1643, for the discovery of a dangerous, desperate, & bloody designe, tending to the utter subversion of the Parliament, & the famous city of London. By Edmund Calamy. Pp. 56, 57, 58. The story of the young man has been told in recent times, and as though it had occurred but lately. It has been mentioned in tracts, and celebrated in verse, with this difference only, that *child* is substituted for young man. It was, however, evidently an old story in 1644. This circumstance may serve to show the necessity of not placing much reliance on many religious stories of modern times, since, after all, they may be only old tales in a new dress, perhaps merely pious frauds.

† Baillie's Letters, ii. 42.

discipline was not set up, will be noticed. Baillie attributes their slender success in the war to this cause. "Our army oft signified to us, they conceived their want of success flowed most from God's anger at the Parliament and Assembly, for their neglect of establishing of religion. We oft told them the truth, that we had no hope of any progress here, till God gave them victories: and then, we doubted not, all would run both in Parliament and Assembly."^{*} Of the Parliament, he says: "If God did not sit at the helm, for any good guiding of theirs, long ere this they had been gone."[†]

There are various important, as well as very curious, topics, which were handled in the pulpit during this period, either in the way of commendation of the Parliament, or of condemnation of their enemies, and which are necessary to finish the picture of the state of the pulpit and religion in those remarkable times. But these must be reserved for another paper. As a conclusion to this article, we give the following curious description of the fatal effects of war, from a sermon preached in New England, at the period of the troubles in Scotland, in 1640: "Death heweth its way thorow a wood of men in a minute of time from the mouth of a murderer, turning a forrest into a champion suddenly. O the shrill ear-piercing clangs of the trumpets, noise of drums, the animating voyces of commanders, learned and learning to destroy! Here ride some dead men swaggering in their deepe saddles: there fall others alive upon their dead horses: death sends a message to those from the mouth of the muskets, these it talkes with face to face, and stabbes them in the fifth rib: in yonder file there is a man hath his arme struck off from his shoulder, another by him hath lost his leg: here stands a soldier with halfe a face, there fights another upon his stumps, and at once both kills and is kill'd: not far off lies a company wallowing in their sweat and goare. Such a man whilst he chargeth his musket is discharged

^{*} Ibid. 34. Baillie evidently did not trust the Parliament, or Assembly. "What here they will do I cannot say. Mr. Henderson's hopes are not great of their conformity to us, before our army be in England." Ibid. i. 395. Of Baillie's moral principles, a curious instance is given in one of his letters to Wariston: "Burn this my free letter, except you will keep it, and say it is burnt, as you know whom we think did so." Ibid. 397. He relied on the Scottish army, not on the good will of Parliament, or Assembly. Alluding to the approach of their army, he says: "Till then, little hope of helping their languishing and distracted proceedings." Ibid. 405. "If God bring in that army quickly, and be pleased to be with it, all here will be well: if otherwise, all here will quickly ruin." Ibid. 410.

[†] Ibid. 47. Burnet alludes somewhat sarcastically to the apparent unanimity which prevailed at the taking of the Covenant in Scotland. "Wise observers wondered to see a matter of that importance carried through upon so little deliberation or debate. It was thought strange to see all their consciences of a size, so exactly to agree as the several wheels of a clock: which made all apprehend there was some first mover. This by one party was imputed to God's extraordinary Providence, but by others to the power and policy of the leaders, and the simplicity and fear of the rest." *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, 239. With how much greater force do these remarks apply to England.

of his life, and falls upon his dead fellow. Death reignes in the field, and is sure to have the day, which side soever falls. In the meanwhile, the infernall fiends follow the campe to catch after the soules of rude nefarious soldiers (such as are commonly men of that calling) who fight themselves fearelessly into the mouth of Hell, for revenge, or booty, or a little revenue. How thicke and threefold doe they speed one another to destruction? A day of battell is a day of harvest for the Devill.”*

THOMAS LATHBURY.

“CATHEDRAL TRUSTS AND THEIR FULFILMENT.”

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Whiston has addressed a letter to the Editor of the *Guardian*, containing “a partial reply” to the letter of mine which you did me the favour to insert in your Number for September. Mr. Whiston is pleased to stigmatize my letter as “remarkably disingenuous,” and states that, while it “accuses” him of “gross inaccuracy,” it “rests itself upon great misrepresentation.” His letter touches a very small part of my letter—only one point, in fact—looking forward, as he says, to “some other opportunity of answering” my letter “in detail;” and yet, as if he were answering the whole, he says, with some unfairness, “Such is ‘Presbyter’s’ case for the Metropolitan Church.” I think it right, however, to avail myself of the first opportunity of inserting, if you will allow me, in your Magazine a few remarks upon Mr. Whiston’s letter, lest I should seem unfaithful to facts, or unfair to Mr Whiston.

“The writer” of the letter in the *British Magazine*, then, as Mr. Whiston informs his readers, “asserts, or rather insinuates, that Charles I. gave to Canterbury Cathedral fresh statutes, by which the *stipends* of the subordinate officers of the Church were very much *reduced*.” These statements, however, of Presbyter’s, Mr. Whiston says, “are altogether untrue;” and he goes on to state, that “the real facts are as follow:” that “the statutes of Henry VIII. (Harl. MSS. No. 1197, fol. 330—336) assign as the *total allowances* of each of the members of the Cathedral, amounts which are described as *stipends* by Presbyter, but which are *not* their stipends, but the sums of three distinct *allowances*, one for commons, another for liveries or clothing, and a third for *stipend*;” and that the chapter of King “Charles’s Statutes,

* New England’s Teares for Old England’s Feares: preached in a Sermon on July 23, 1640, being a Day of Publique Humiliation, appointed by the churches in behalfe of our native country, in time of feared danger. By William Hooke, sometime of Axmouth, Devonshire, now of Taunton, New England. 1641. P. 11.

intituled, 'On the Stipends of the Ministers of the Church,' is drawn up in the very same words" as King Henry's, "and gives exactly the same *stipends* (*besides the commons and liveries*) without any variation at all." "And if 'Presbyter' had noticed page 70 of my pamphlet," says Mr. Whiston, "he might have corrected his supposition of the reduction of the *stipends* by the *fact*, that Charles I. *added* to the incomes of the minor canons and lay-clerks."

"But 'Presbyter' further accuses me," says Mr. Whiston, "of misrepresentation, in stating that the King's scholars were to have 4*l.* for *stipend*. Now what I *did* say (p. 73)," says Mr. Whiston, "was this, 'Their *old allowance* of 4*l.* was the *sum* of a yearly *stipend* of 1*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, and a yearly allowance of 8*s.* 4*d.* for vestments, with 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* a year for commons, or victuals.'" "The fact is," says Mr. Whiston, further, "that the statutes of Charles, just in the same way as the statutes of Henry, and in the very same language, assign to each of the scholars a stipend of 1*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* besides their commons and liveries, and, so far as I can learn, they only receive the *stipend* without the maintenance."

"'Presbyter,' then," says Mr. Whiston, tauntingly, "will have the satisfaction of knowing that he was quite right in saying of himself, 'I *almost* think I must have made some *great mistake*.'" And he then retorts on Presbyter his own language—"It is to be hoped this was negligence. But amidst apparent indications of familiar acquaintance with both sets of statutes, it is anything but creditable to him, or calculated to produce confidence in regard to his statements and conclusions.'"

Thus much for Mr. Whiston's statements as to my misrepresentations. Notwithstanding his taunts, however, I must venture to express my opinion, that my mode of conducting myself towards him was more in accordance with the behaviour which one Christian and clergyman ought to show towards another, than his has been towards me. When facts came before me which I found it difficult to reconcile with Mr. Whiston's statements, I was willing to suppose that I must myself have made some mistake, rather than that another had made misrepresentations: or if he was wrong, I was willing to suppose it a "mistake" on his part. I said, that *either* I had made some great mistake, "or Mr. Whiston" had. I was willing to suppose it "negligence," however culpable that negligence appeared. If I even accused him of "gross inaccuracy," I did not charge him with "great misrepresentation," or designate his pamphlet as "remarkably disingenuous."

Mr. Whiston might, I think, in a similar spirit, have permitted himself to suppose, that I had *not* the "familiar acquaintance" which

he presumed me to possess with both sets of statutes. And if I made a mistake, as I supposed it was possible I had done, the mistake I made arose out of one of which I am in nowise ashamed—viz., that of assuming the correctness of the impression which, I must say, I think I not unnaturally derived from some of Mr. Whiston's statements in regard to King Henry's Statutes. I had not an opportunity of consulting them myself, and relied on the information Mr. Whiston supplied concerning them.

With regard, now, to the confusion between "stipends" and "allowances," I must be permitted to observe, that Mr. Whiston had repeatedly in his pamphlet designated the entire allowances made by King Henry's Statutes to the several officers, in different cathedrals, as "stipends." Mr. Whiston enumerates the sums given in his tabular view, and elsewhere, as "fixed *stipends*, appropriated to the different objects of the founder's intended bounty, (p. 14); he speaks of "the *stipend* of a minor canon" at Rochester (p. 37,) "the *stipends* of the choristers" (p. 38), &c., meaning thereby the entire original "allowance." And King Charles's Statutes for Canterbury supply no clue whatever to the amount of the allowance to be made for commons to the different members of the cathedral establishment, and which, together with the liveries, made up the larger amounts stated by Mr. Whiston as King Henry's "stipends" or "allowances."

In Mr. Whiston's letter to the *Guardian*, indeed, all this is very clear.

"Thus, a Minor Canon had, for commons, 3*l.* 18*s.*; for livery, 1*l.*; and for *stipend*, 5*l.* 2*s.*—in all, 10*l.*

"The Schoolmaster had, for commons, 3*l.* 18*s.*; for livery, 1*l.*; and *stipend*, 15*l.* 2*s.*—in all, 20*l.*

"A Lay Clerk had, for commons, 3*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*; for livery, 13*s.* 6*d.*; for *stipend*, 4*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*—in all, 8*l.*

"The King's scholar had, for commons, 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; for livery, 8*s.* 4*d.*; for *stipend*, 1*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*—in all, 4*l.*

"The chorister had, for commons, 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; for livery, 8*s.* 4*d.*; for *stipend*, 1*l.* 5*s.*—in all, 3*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*"

Mr. Whiston continues.

"Such were the allowances of Henry VIII., and cap. 32 of his statutes on the *stipends* of his ministers runs thus:—

"We will that BESIDES the *commons* and *liveries* above assigned, there be paid out of the *common* goods of our church the following *stipends*, viz.—

To the Minor Canons	£5	2	0
To the Head Master	15	2	0

&c. &c. &c.'"

It is perfectly true that the chapter of Charles's Statutes which

assigns the stipends, gives the same stipends as (it now appears plainly from Mr. Whiston's letter) King Henry's had given: if, however, the reader should infer from the above quotations, that King Charles's Statutes specify and assign the allowances just before enumerated, he will have made a "great mistake." That which had been "above assigned" was "liveries," not "commons" ("præter communias, *et liberatus superius assignatas*.") Mr. Whiston's two statements are, doubtless, separately correct; but not so the conclusion which, I think, an ordinary reader would deduce from them when taken thus together. No trace appears in King Charles's Statutes of the *specific* allowances for commons. Nor of the following, which most readers of Mr. Whiston's pamphlet would, I think, certainly suppose to be part of the statutes still in force.

"In cap. 30, 'Intituled on the *common table of all* the ministers,' is the following. 'We also make it a statute & ordinance, That the treasurer of our church do at the beginning of each month, deliver, count out, and pay to the monthly steward for the *table* and *commons* of all those who have their meals together in the following manner—viz., for the *table* and *commons* of all those who eat together in the third rank—i. e., for each of the grammar boys and the choristers, 3s. 4d. a month, or 2l. 3s. 4d. a year.' In the same chapter occurs the following:—We allow, however, that to the priests and lay clerks, and also to the boys learning grammar or music, having their victuals given gratis within our church (*Victum gratis intrâ ecclesiam datum habentes*), a portion of money be allowed and delivered for their victuals or commons, provided that they pay weekly to the common table a certain sum of money, according to the discretion of the dean and chapter," (pp. 57, 58.)

An ordinary reader of Mr. Whiston's pamphlet would undoubtedly, as I have said, suppose this statute to be still in force. For though, on looking back to p. 56, he would see that Mr. Whiston refers to "the *old* Canterbury Statutes," he would find him continuing the passage just quoted by a reference to an "ordinance" contained "in cap. xxxii.," and saying that "the presence of the grammar boys in the choir (on festival days) is enforced *according to this statute*." He does not state that this "ordinance" is preserved in King Charles's code (cap. xxxiv.,) whereas the two just before quoted are *not*. And these alterations and omissions in the later statutes must, I should conceive, be taken into consideration, in the equitable interpretation of those statutes of King Charles's code, which speak of "maintenance" and "commons." Mr. Whiston's readers would, I am persuaded, generally suppose that King Charles's code was, on these points, in all respects identical with King Henry's.

And specially, according to Mr. Whiston, the keeping up of a

common hall was in the most solemn way made obligatory by the later statutes, as well as by the earlier. He quotes, "as an indication of the righteous and charitable intentions of the two sovereigns, Henry VIII. and Charles I., an injunction" which is "given in cap. xxx. of Charles's Statutes, 'on the inferior ministers of the church,' and relates to the common table, with the keeping up of which for those ministers," he says, "the founder and Charles I. charged (or rather loaded) *the consciences* of the dean and chapter *in the Lord*." He quotes in a note from cap. xxxi. the words "quorum conscientias hâc in parte [in] Domino oneramus." (pp. 69, 70.) Again, in reference to the Eton Statutes, he tells us that "statute 17 is intituled 'on the mode of sitting in the common hall,' and shows that Henry VIII. was only imitating Henry VI. in requiring the deans and chapters of his foundations to provide a common hall, and solemnly charging or loading* their *consciences* with the obligation of doing so."—(pp. 75, 76.) He speaks, again, of persons "by solemn oaths bound faithfully to observe all the statutes and ordinances of their founder," who yet "violate his ordinances and frustrate his manifest intentions, by suppressing or discontinuing an establishment by him intended for the 'sustentation and maintenance' of other parties, without granting any equivalent for the deprivation, and proving thereby 'that they care not for the principles of justice and equity.' " (pp. 36, 37.) And, in another place, still he wishes "the dean and chapter would only provide such an establishment" as the common hall of Queen Elizabeth's time, and "regard the solemn words of their statutes (cap. xxxi.) 'charging or burthening their consciences before the Lord in this very matter'—(pp. 61, 62.)

When Mr. Whiston was quoting thus again and again the words of this statute, he might as well have given the whole sentence. It stands thus.

—"Statuimus et volumus ut minores Canonici omnes, et clerici laici, (quotquot uxores non habent) nec non præceptores et discipuli, *si id Decano et Capitulo commodè fieri posse videatur* (quorum conscientias hâc in parte in Domino oneramus) in communi aulâ simul comedant et epulentur."

In a later part of the statute, which is old, it is said :

"———Liberum tamen esse volumus, et concedimus Decano, aut, eo absente, Vicedecano, non solum quibuscunque ægrotis aut aliis causis idoneis (per eos respectivè approbandis) impeditis, licentiam dare alibi victitandi et comedendi, sed etiam dictos convenientes, aut convenire debentes, onerare aut exonerare in præmissis, aut in aliquo eisdem pertinenti, *prout pro temporis et personarum qualitatibus eis videbitur*

* Canterbury Statutes, cap. xxxi.

magis expedire. Omnes denique ecclesiæ ministros (quocumque nomine consentur) ordinationibus, formulis, et statutis hujusmodi, quæ per Decanum et Capitulum, hisce de rebus, aut eisdem pertinentibus edentur, parere et obsequi volumus."

A large discretion is given in this statute; and one which makes intelligible what sounds otherwise somewhat strange in Mr. Whiston's statement—viz., a solemn charge supposed to be given for the maintenance of that, the possible or probable non-maintenance of which had been just before provided for. For the "injunction" of the preceding statute is, in fact, this. "We will that, if the minor canons, clerks, and pupils use a common table" ("si minores canonici, clerici, et discipuli communi mensâ utantur") then certain officers are to be appointed for the common hall; while it is provided on the other hand, that if there be no common table in the hall, ("si nulla mensa communis in aulâ fuerit,") then the stipends, &c., of the officers of this establishment shall be converted to the use and salary of the minor canons and lay clerks. All this is new in King Charles's statutes.

In the next statute, again, (cap. 32,) in like manner, the continuance or discontinuance of the common table is spoken of hypothetically. The statute is concerning the vestments or "liveries," "liberatura;" in other words, the yearly gown, (Whiston, p. 56.) If, through change of times, or any other reasonable cause to be approved by the archbishop, it shall seem fit to the dean and chapter to omit liveries of this kind ("hujusmodi vestium liberationem,") in that case, the common table continuing ("durante mensâ communi,") the allowance for liveries shall be made to the officers of that establishment, but the common table ceasing ("cessante vero mensâ communi,") their allowances shall cease.

And if we go on still further to the next following statute, we find the common table spoken of as if it had been actually discontinued, and the question was of its *revival* or not. The offices belonging to the table were to be for the future altogether extinguished, *unless* the common table were *restored* ("nisi mensa communis restauretur,") and the stipends assigned to them were to be appropriated as shall be presently mentioned; the present holders of the offices in question, now become sinecures, being allowed to retain them during the term of their natural life.

It is clear from these statutes, that when King Charles gave his new code, the common table no longer existed; and the whole question of its restoration, whether it could or could not conveniently be made, was referred to the judgment of the dean and chapter. The determination of that question of convenience or not is, no doubt, solemnly charged (or loaded, as Mr. Whiston says) upon their consciences; but it is one thing to lay it upon a man's conscience to *do* so and so; it is another thing to lay it upon him to *determine* whether it is convenient and expedient that it

be done or not. And to confound these two things together, and to confound still further the questions of discontinuance or restoration, and thereon to ground a charge against a dean and chapter *now* of neglect and violation of solemn oaths, is as un-"righteous" and un-"charitable" a thing as can well be conceived. And even as regards past generations, no one can look back upon the state of society, the temper of men's minds, and the circumstances of the times, two hundred or two hundred and fifty years ago, and not see the difficulties which stood in the way of maintaining or restoring "the monastic or collegiate characters of the bodies" constituted by King Henry VIII. (Whiston, p. 4.)

As to the common table, it would seem indeed as if it had died a natural death: the minor canons, being married men probably, would prefer dining with their families; and only the unmarried among the lay clerks, it would appear, had a right to their commons there. The grammar boys, being for the most part probably the children of inhabitants of the city, would in like manner take their meals at their own homes; so that the common case, as would indeed appear from one of the statutes just quoted, would be that of seeking to be exempted from dining in the common hall, rather than of claiming it as an advantage and a privilege.* Even in King Henry's Statutes, it will have been observed, an allowance in lieu of victuals or commons was granted only on the condition of a weekly payment to the common table, according to the discretion of the dean and chapter.

Mr. Whiston, however, himself, makes an assertion, or admission, which seems to me, I must say, somewhat difficult to reconcile with what he has stated respecting the common table and allowance for commons. To proceed with his letter,—he says that if "Presbyter" had noticed page 70 of his pamphlet, he might have seen that Charles I. actually "*added* to the incomes of the minor canons and lay clerks." But how? Mr. Whiston shall tell us. There is an injunction "given in cap. xxx. of Charles's Statutes 'on the inferior ministers of the church,'" which provides that if the "common table be not kept up, then the stipends, &c. of the officers of this establishment are, without any pretence whatsoever, and under the penalty of perjury, to be converted to the use and salaries of the minor canons and lay clerks: of course, by way of compensation for the loss of advantages specially intended for them." If King Charles, then, "*added* to the incomes of the minor canons and lay clerks," it was in contemplation, it would appear, of their not having the advantages of the common table. But if this were so, how can it be that the same statutes which made this provision, enforced at the same time in

* The common table at Worcester, Mr. Whiston himself informs us, (p. 118, note,) "was dissolved, on petition of those who partook of it, in 1560.—Green's Worcester, i, p. 183."

the most solemn way, as Mr. Whiston would tell us, the keeping up of the common table? If Charles's Statutes continued to the several members of the cathedral body the provision which King Henry's had made for a common table, or required an equivalent for it, it is difficult to see what that loss was in compensation for which the later statutes "added to" the incomes of some, and some only, among them. And if all this was indeed new, why did Mr. Whiston talk of the "injunction" as "*retained* in the Canterbury" statutes, or of "*the founder*," as well as Charles I., as having left that solemn charge "in the Lord?"

"But 'Presbyter' further accuses me," says Mr. Whiston, "of misrepresentation in stating that the King's scholars were to have 4*l.* for stipend." Now what I *did* say, (p. 73)," says Mr. Whiston, "was this, 'Their *old allowance* of 4*l.* was the *sum* of a yearly *stipend* of 1*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, and a yearly allowance of 8*s.* 4*d.* for vestments, with 2*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* a year for commons, or victuals.'" But Mr. Whiston did also, without comment or correction, refer to Hasted, the historian of Kent, as stating that "the boys have each *by statute* 4*l.* stipend." Hasted, however, it will be found, on referring to him, says what is not exactly the same thing; what he says is this:

"The present grammar school was founded by King Henry VIII., who, by the charter of foundation, which he granted in his 33rd year to the dean and chapter of this church, made such a school part of it, to consist of a master, usher, and fifty scholars, who were to eat at the common table, which the provision made by him for it could not, however, long sustain. The stipend of these scholars *was to be* 4*l.* per ann., and they were to hold them for five years."

The main question, meanwhile, I must still observe, remains pretty much where it was before. Whether it be "stipend" properly so called, or "allowance," the several members of the cathedral body are entitled, according to Mr. Whiston, to the sums specified by King Henry VIII., multiplied by the ratio in which the value of money has decreased, and the price of food, &c. increased, since that time. In his letter to the *Guardian*, he will still insist upon making the reign of Henry VIII. the starting point of his multiplication. It signifies to him nothing that the statutes in force at Canterbury are of the date of Charles I., and those at Ely of the date of Charles II., and that in both cases, as it appears, the original stipends and allowances were retained without augmentation. If this be so, it remains perfectly true, not indeed precisely in the way in which I supposed it to be, yet not the less true,—and to a still greater extent than I had "asserted or insinuated," (if Mr. Whiston's reckoning be correct,)—that by King Charles's Statutes "the *stipends*," even, of "the subordinate officers were very much reduced." For, according to Mr. Whis-

ton's reckoning, a stipend of the time of Henry VIII. must be multiplied fifteen-fold to be of the same value at the present time, or, as he would otherwise put it, must be multiplied fivefold in a century;—on this hypothesis, the stipends assigned by King Charles's Statutes, being unaltered from those of Henry VIII., were *much more* depreciated in value than if they had been lowered in the degree in which, from Mr. Whiston's manner of speaking, I supposed they *had* been in the later statutes.

I have troubled you, Mr. Editor, with a longer letter than I could have wished; but it was impossible to avoid entering thus much into detail, in explanation of the "mistake" with which my former communication was chargeable. I doubt not that I shall stand clear in your eyes, and those of your readers, of the "disingenuousness" which Mr. Whiston finds in it. I cannot but think that he will see reason to regret the tone of his letter, and to feel that his taunts might have been spared, if I am really entitled to represent myself as a brother clergyman, "a priest of the Church of England." I had no wish to avoid incurring personal responsibility for the remarks which I addressed to you; I only wished not to make those responsible who were not. It was not "meant to be an answer for the dean and chapter" of the metropolitical church to Mr. Whiston's statements. I had no authority to offer any such answer. I said, and said sincerely, that I did "not ask a place in your pages for any remarks of mine as the advocate of deans and chapters, or of any of them;" nor did I mean to call upon you to act as their visitor. I thought that Mr. Whiston had grounded his conclusions, to a great extent, on erroneous data, and felt it right to point out wherein, as it appeared to me, he was wrong. I hope I may say with great sincerity, that my desire was to ascertain the truth, in the spirit of genuine charity. I trust I shall never be found wanting in real regard and care for the interests of the "poor," or in efforts to aid and promote, to the best of my ability, by word or deed, such designs, for their welfare and for God's honour, as, being founded in "truth and justice," can alone promote "peace and happiness," and advance the cause of "religion and piety."

I trust that I may not have occasion to trouble you with any further communication in the way of controversy or contradiction. I would far rather enter, in a positive and practical way, upon the consideration of the constitution and uses of our cathedrals.

I remain, Mr. Editor, yours, &c.,
PRESBYTER.

BURNET'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

(Continued from p. 421.)

MY DEAR SIR,—A correspondent (Quæreus) has kindly pointed out to me that the tract respecting Judge Hales, which I sent last month, has been printed by Dibdin in his Library Companion. If I had been aware of this at the time, I should perhaps not have copied it out; indeed my chief reason for doing so was the consideration that Baker had embodied about a third of it in his note.

I now send the last portion of Baker's notes, and beg your readers to make the following corrections in my last communication. P. 396 note *for* Burnet read Burnet. P. 401, for Magriūm read Magrūm.

I am, very truly yours,

Marlborough, October 26, 1849.

J. E. B. MAYOR.

P. 258. [line 22. He that writ Commendone's life.] The famous Esprit Flechier Bp. of Nismes. Vie du Card. Commendon. p. 50.

P. 259. [line 13 from foot. Dilling, a town on the Danube.] Quære, whether this was not Diliga in Flanders; one of the Cardinal's [Pole's] Letters to King Philip is dated Diliga prope Bruxellas (whither he had retired) 7. Id. Augusti, 1554.

P. 263. [line 2. Haddon Dean of Exeter.] he is omitted by Le Neve in his List of y^e Deans of Exeter.

P. 268. [line 9. Archduke Charles, Philip's only son.] Quære, whether Archduke were any of Charles's Titles? I suppose not. In the Act of Parl. primo Mariæ, chap. 2, this Charles is styled, Lord Charles of Austriche, Infante of Spain; & so in y^e Italian copy.

Ibid. [line 10. If the Queen had only daughters, they should succeed &c.] The eldest Daughter should succeed &c. ib. The Articles are recited at large in the s^d Act.

P. 270. [line 5 from foot. Religion not the pretence of the Rebellion, as appears from the account set out by the Queen's order.] v. Fox. Martyr. vol. 3, p. 992.

Ibid. [line 3 from foot. Poinet not in the rebellion, though some of our own writers say that he was.] v. Heylin Hist. Ref. p. 35. The Booke of Politic power that goes under his name might give occasion to such a report. But this Booke was not Poinet's, as appears from the passage in it (chap. 7) concerning S^r Joh. Cheeke, w^{ch} happen'd after Poinet's death. For w^{ch} see Langbain's Life of S^r Joh. Cheeke, compar'd with the time of Poinet's death in Godwin, Apr. 11. But Bale says, Poinet's death was Aug. 11. So it may be Poinet's. In the first edition of this Booke, it is sayd to be compyled by D. J. P. B. R. W. an. 1556. It is quoted under Poinet's name by Authors in Q. Eliz. time; v. Petition, p. 23. Clas. F. 3, 43.—Of the Queen's marriage thus Jo. Parkhurst, afterwards Bp. of Norwich. Nolunt octo, pios qui jure colunt hymenæos—Libertatis amans non vult bonus ille Viatus. Epigram. Juv. p. 166.

P. 271. [line 5. Christopherson "studies to fasten this Rising on the Preachers of the New Religion."] There is a passage in Latimer's Court Sermon, p. 26, too much to this purpose.—The King's Grace hath Sisters, My Lady Mary & My Lady Eliz., w^{ch} by succession & course are inheritors to the Crown, who if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue, God knoweth. But God grant, if they so do, whereby strange Religion cometh in, that they never come to coursing nor succeeding. Goodman in his Book publisht after defends Wyat's Rebellion to the height.

Ibid. [line 17 from foot. Fecknam, three days before Jane's death, had a long conversation with her.] This communycation was held two days before her death, as sayd in the MS account sayd there to be written word for word fourth of hyr owne hand. v. MS. Coll. Eman. Letters of Mart.

P. 272. [line 1. One Harding.] *One Harding.* As if he had been some obscure person, whereas it was the famous D^r Harding, well known by his Answeres to Bp. Juell. v. L. Humfr. Vit. Juelli. p. 139.

Ibid. [line 10. Lady Jane wrote a Greek letter to her sister.] The Letter was in English, & may be seen in Fox, vol. 3, p. 35. It is likewise printed at the end of two Treatises of Affliction & Death, publish'd by order of y^e Protector Edward Duke of Somerset, with a Preface by Himself, with this Title; *An Exhortation written by the Lady Jane the night before she suffered in the end of the New Testament in Greek, w^h she sent to her sister y^e Lady Katharine.* It is likewise printed in the volume of Letters of y^e Martyrs, p. 662, 663. [line 13. She also composed a prayer.] That Prayer is publisht in Tho. Bentley's second Lampe of virginities, printed by H. Denham, 1582, where are likewise certain verses written by the Lady Jane with a pinne, thus. Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt, Sors hodierna mihi, cras erit illa tibi. Jane Dudley. Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus, Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis. Post tenebras spero lucem. v. Tho. Bentley's second Lampe, p. 98, 102.

[Under the Portrait of Jane. Nata 1537.] Here is a mistake in her age. She was aged fifteen, when M^r Ascham found her reading Plato's Phædon, viz., an. 1550, Decembr. 14, w^{ch} was very extraordinary for that age; But had she read Plato at thirteen, it had been strange indeed. v. Ascham. Ep. Lib. I. Ep. 4. Sturmio.

P. 273. [Margin. Eliz. suspected.] History of the Lady Eliz. & her sufferings upon this occasion. v. *The Watchword.* Lond. 1584. Cl. vv. 22, 16.

Ibid. [line 21 from foot. Carew escaped from the Tower.] S^r Peter Carew, at the request of the King then at Bruxels, was pardoned, & all his Lands, tenements, goods & chattels restor'd. v. Dyer Novel Cases, Fol. 124.

Ibid. [line 20. Cheke twice taken in Flanders.] He was only once in Flanders, and once brought into England. See his Life by Langbain. See Fox, vol. 3, p. 761.

P. 275. [line 20 from foot. Goodrick died in April 1554.] Dyed May 10. v. Godwin, & Fuller Worth. in Lincoln, p. 152. He must

have liv'd so long, for he instituted one Rich. Mooke, or Mooke was instituted by his authority, on May 9th, an. 1554, as appears from his own Register. There is another Institution upon the Register, May the 11th, with this note entred in the margin, *Vacat hæc Admissio, quia moriebatur Episcopus ante Presentationem exhibitam*. So it is probable, he dyed on the 11th; And the Register was too quick, to save his Fee.—He was at Somersham on the last day of April, at his mannor there, whence one of his last Collations is dated an. 1554. And probably dy'd there.—v. Registr. Goodrich mutilum, Fol. 22.

P. 276. [line 8. a book this year (1554) set out in Barlow's name.] This Book was not wrote at this time, but printed long before —& at this present revived—as sayd in the preface to the Book (the print being worn out.)

Ibid. [line 14. He seems not to have turned.] That he did turn, appears from Fox, vol. 3, p. 285, where Gardiner proposes Barlow's example to Bradford, to follow. [line 15. he was never married.] His wife is bury'd in Hampshire with this Epitaph. *Hic Agathæ tumulus. Barloi Præsulis, inde Exulis, inde iterum Præsulis, uxor erat. Prole beata fuit, plena annis, quinque suarum Præsulibus vidit, Præsulis ipsa, datas.* v. Fuller's Worth. in Sussex, p. 104. v. S^r John Harrington in the Bps of B. & W. p. 106, &c. [Styrye in his note on this passage says. He was married, and had 7 Sons, and 5 Daughters. This appears to be a misprint, for Baker writes in the margin.] He had several Daughters, all married to Bps, & two Sons.

Ibid. [line 19. He was in Eliz. Reign put into Chichester, a much meaner Bprick than his former, Bath & Wells; probably because offence was taken at his former behaviour.] S^r John Harrington gives another Reason, w^{ch} seems to be the true one. v. Harrington in the Bps of B. & W. p. 111.

P. 277. [line 19. Baldwin in a letter speaks of the lewdness of D^r Martin.] See this Letter in the written collection,* whence it will appear, that the Bp mistakes Martin for his Landlord. For it was he that was overrun with the Fr. Pox. “A testimony geuen forth by Fraunces Baldwin Attrebatius, a Doctor of the ciuill law, and publike reader at *Biturus*, a uniuersity in Fraunce, concerning the bawdy behauour and lecherous lyfe of the foresaid Doctor Martin, such time as he studied in the same university.

Doctor Martinus, Anglus, habitauit in Akademia Biturigum. Quid est, Bourges,† apud quendam nomine Boium, sacrificulum turpissimū, altero oculo captum, toto corpore leprosum, et infami morbo Gallico infectum, sed publicum scortatorem, Domi sue palam alentem infame scortum, et lupanar ludosque omnis impudentiæ in suis sedibus aperientem. Ibique suauiter vixit dictus Martinus, quotidie capiens cibum cum eodem scorto in eadem mensa. Et, quod est turpius, in illo lupanari habebat suos discipulos Anglos, nobiles et ingenuos, suæque fidei concreditos, quos tali exemplo et consuetudine quam misere cor-

* I give it from Bale's book. Baker has not copied the full title, nor retained the orthography.

† Sic. It should, of course, be Biturigum, quod est Bourges.

ruperit hic leno et puerorum perditor potius quam pedagogus, testis esse potest is, qui tunc erat præcipuus eius discipulus, nepos Thomæ Mori, qui hospitis et præceptoris exemplum secutus per omnia lupanaria sese volutarit in ciuitate Biturigum. Et in talibus scholis spurcitie fuit assiduus. Quanquam honesti viri, et doctores eius academice egre ferrent hanc turpitudinem, et eo nomine accusarent illum Martinum.

Solebat Martinus, vt se purgaret, accusare legem pontificis Romani, qui talia furta sacrificulorum tolerabat potius quam honestas conjuges iis concederet; dicebatque, magnum in vtroque esse peccatum papæ, et hoc dicebat palam in medio papatu. Interea tamen malebat apud illum scortatorem viuere, quam apud honestum ciuem. Vnde mirum non est, si nunc susciperet patrociniū scortationis aduersus honestum coniugium; quod si aliquid frontis haberet, saltem puderet eum non meminisse eius legis ciuilis cuius se doctorem profitetur; qua lege Justinianus laudat Epiphanium archiepiscopum et patriarcham Constantinopolitanum, quod Episcopis parentibus et honestis maritis natus sit. Sed Martinus eius legis oblitus esse dici non potest, quia eam linguam legere non potuit: est enim Græce scripta.

Secunda laus Martini est, quod in conclusionibus, quas proposuit disputandas in schola Bituricensi, professus est eos ignorare veram religionem, qui per sanctos jurant, vel aliter quam per nomen vñici dei jurant. Imo publice ausus est reprehendere leges imperiales, que formulam iurisiurandi aliter conceptam quam per nomen dei non reprehendunt. Verum ne hic miser Martinus periclitaretur, habet excusationem, quod eas conclusiones, quamuis suas jactitaret, ab alio dictante accepisset, nec satis intelligeret quid scriberet, vt in tota disputatione nihil eum intellexisse meminit, si nondum sit oblitus, eorum argumentorum, quæ illi primum obiecta fuerunt, et quibus respondere, quia non potuit, non voluit, ac ne verbum quidem unum responderit. Quamuis a toto auditorio propterea turpiter exhibebatur, et omnes hoc nomine etiam Gallos puderet huius dedecoris Anglici, et in hoc nouo doctore Anglico irrideret totam gentem quasi illi similem.

Fuit que tanta hæc infamia vt mox Martinus fugeret ex illa academia, quamuis prius clam emerit nescio quod diploma doctoratus, quo tamen accusari posset a papistis, quia tunc Martinus de more non iurauerit in verba papæ, et solemne illud iuramentum non prestiterit, quia tamen jactabat esse nephas (*sic*). Tertio in eadem academia, quum audiret doctores suos, et alios atque eruditos scholasticos laudare regem Edwardum, et mirari adhuc esse in Anglia, qui tam pio regi suo reclamarent, quum exteri etiam omnes eum colerent: dicere solebat dominus Martinus præcipuum in Anglia esse quendam captium, quondam episcopum Wintoniensem. Sed eum non esse metuendum, presertim quum, vivo rege Henrico, colapho cæsus sit a domino Warwicensi, ut merebatur. Cumque multi rogarent, annon esset ille Wintoniensis, qui tam inepte de coniugio sacerdotum scripserat futes quasdam rhapsodias; respondit ridendo eum ipsum esse; sed mirari neminem hæc debere; quoniam dictus Wintoniensis magis esset idoneus ad res militares tractandas, quam ad ecclesiasticas disputa-

tiones; et quod in castris illas ineptias scripsisset, et quod aliquando esset homo furiosus.

Quumque perlatus Martino fuisset liber Cantuariensis, translatus in linguam Gallicam, de sacramentis, vbi notatur absurda opinio illius Wintoniensis; respondit Martinus, Wintoniensem solitum dicere quicquid in buccam venit, et esse hominem Atheum, quamuis in rebus aulicis valde astutus esset: verum idololatriam sacramentariam tam esse manifestam, ut nullo colore possit excusari, sicuti et tyrannidem Romani pontificis, aduersus quem narrabat scripsisse dictum Wintoniensem, et se quoque, et omnes Anglos a primis annis jurasse se hostes perpetuo fore illius tyrannidis Antichristianæ. Et propterea quicquid tandem accideret mortuo rege Edwardo, nunquam fieri posse ut in Angliam rediret idolum illud sacramentarium, vel Romani Antichristi auctoritas. Et hoc sermone solebat consolari bonos viros in Gallia, qui cogitantes de morte Edwardi regis metuebant infelici Anglie &c.

Franciscus Baldwinus iuris ciuilis doctor, ac iuris illius professor publicus apud Bituriges.*

Ibid. [line 22. Bonner the bastard of one Savage, a priest in Lancashire.] in Cheshire. v. Ful. in Worcest. p. 169.

Ibid. [line 26. Wymsey a bastard son of Bonner's mother.] Wimslow his Archdeacon & his Brother & others. v. Ponnet Tr. of Politic Power chap. 4, p. 29. Sir George Sauage, person of Donham in Leycestreshire was theyr [Bonner's and Wymbeslaye's] father, and had by reporte halfe a dozen more of children besides thē. And when the saide Wimbsey, Bonner's brother, was person of Dorporlay† in Cheshyre, he was not all frutelesse neyther. v. Joh. Bale's Declaration of Bonner's Articles, p. 17, 18.

P. 279. [Margin. Jealousy of the Spanish power.] of a Design of seting [sic] up a Spanish Title. v. The Supplication, a Libel printed an. 1555. Cl. v. 20, 6. [line 18. Philip's pedigree derived from John of Gaunt.] The English were as forward to publish Philip's Pedigree from John of Gaunt as y^e Spaniards, particularly Gardiner, White, & Harpesfield this very year. v. Joh. Bale's Declaration of Bonner's Articles, p. 9. Christopherson drew up the Q & K's Genealogy at large, deducing them both from Edward 3^d: the one by Lionel D. of Clarence, the other by John of Gaunt. But the reason he assigns for doing it was, to show that Philip was no stranger to England. See his Exhortation against Rebellion. Lond. 1554. Jul. 24.

P. 286. [line 23. Philip & Mary married Jul. 25, proclaimed Jul. 27.] They were proclaim'd the same day they were marry'd, under all these Titles, in Latin, French, & English. v. Joh. Elder's printed account, an. 1555, who was then present. v. Fabian Chron. p. 562.

P. 291. [line 23. A new Parl. Nov. 11.] Nov. 12. v. Joh. Elder's Letter, print. an. 1555.—Nov. 12. The Speaker Clement

* Bale's Declaration, &c., fol. 46, seq.

† Tarporley?

Higham was chosen according to Dr Brady. See MS of Parl. The Summons is for the 12th. See Dugdal. Summon. p. 516.

P. 292. [line 4. Nov. 24. Pole came to London.] on the 18th v. Joh. Elder's Letter.* Cl. v. 20. 6. Fox says on y^e 24th vol. 3. p. 108.

Ibid. [line 12 from foot. An order for a *Te Deum* to be sung in St Paul's in expectation of the Queen's delivery.] This Order dat. Nov. 27, directed to Edmund Bp. of London &c, was then printed, In *Ædibus Johannis Cawodi Typographi Reg. Maj.* signed by St. Winton Cancell., Henry Sussex, Arundell, Joh. Bathon., Jo. Huddylston, F. Shrewsbury, R. Rich, R. Southwell, Edward Derby, & Tho. Wharton. On the back of this Order is likewise printed, A Poem or copy of verses, upon occasion of the Queen's Great Belly. At the conclusion of the Order is entred in Archbp Parker's Hand (for it is amongst his Papers that I have seen) this note, *Parturiunt Montes*. I have not transcrib'd this order, it being the same that is printed in Ant. Harmer's Specimen p. 177, 178. Only this is directed to Bonner Bp of London, & that in the Specimen is directed to the Dean & Chapter of Canterbury, Sede vacante; & some of y^e names are different.

[Under Pole's portrait. Cardinalis S. Mariæ in Cosmedin 1536. Maj 22.] Pole was created Cardinal Deacon first, with the Title S.S. Nerei et Achillei an. 1536. Decembr. 22. Afterward Cardinal Presbyter Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin. v. Ciacon. an. 1536. p. 1523. He was made Cardinal Presbyter, with the Title S. Mariæ in Cosmedin in Queen Mary's time, after he came into England. I suppose when he was ordain'd Presbyter, or consecrated Bp. For he came only Deacon into England. v. Ant. Petramellar. Continuat. Onuphrii. p. 49. — He had the Title Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin, before he was ordain'd Presbyter, for an. 1554 Nono Cal. Jan. he styles himself — Cardinalis Polus Diaconus S. Mariæ in Cosmedin &c. v. Stat. 1^{mo} et 2^{do} Ph. et M. cap. 8. — v. Dugdal Monast. vol. 2, p. 847. Presb. Card. Polus.

P. 293. [The Cardinal's speech to the Parl.] v. at length in Joh. Elder's Letter Cl. v. 20, 6, wrote to Rob. Stuarde Bp. of Cathness. [See Tytler *Edward VI. and Mary. II.* 463.]

* The Copie of a letter sent in to Scotlande, of the ariual and landyng, and mooste noble marriage of the mooste Illustre Prynce Philippe, Prynce of Spaine, to the most excellent Princes Marye Quene of England, solemnised in the Citie of Winchester: and howe he was receyued and installed at Windsore, and of his triumphyng entries in the noble Citie of London.

¶ Wherunto, is added a brefe ouerture or openyng of the legacion of the most reuerende father in God Lorde Cardinall Poole from the Sea Apostolyke of Rome, with the substaunce of his oracyon to the kyng and Quenes Magestie, for the reconcilment of the Realme of Englande to the unitie of the Catholyke church.

With the very cōpye also of the Supplycaciō exhibited to their highnesses by the three Estates assembled in the parliamente. Wherein they representing the whole body of the Realme and dominions of the same, haue submitted theselues to the Popes Holynesse." With this colophon: "*Imprinted at London in Fletestrete at the signe of the Sunne ouer agaynst the Conduit by John Waylande. Cum priuilegio per septenium.*" Cambr. Univ. Libr. Bb. 12, 50.

P. 294. [line 7 from foot. The Cardinal's charge on those who had Church goods in their hands.] This charge did only extend to the moveable goods of the Church, & did not concern Lands. v. Stat. 1 et 2. Phil & Mar. Chap. 8.

P. 298. [line 9. Pole, when confirming the holders of Church Lands in their possession, reminded them of Belshazzar's fate.] The Charge does not affect Lands, but moveable Goods only (as the Cardinal's words show) many of w^{ch} were the more unalienable as being consecrated. v. Stat. 1, 2. Ph. & Mar. Chap. 8.

P. 300. [line 3. Gardiner & Bonner de verâ obedientiâ reprinted at Strasburg.] This was printed in Novembr. an. 1553. It is sayd in y^e Title to be printed at Rome at the Castle of S. Angel, at the sign of S^t Peter, but coming out so early, it is probable, was printed nearer home, than either Strasburgh or Rome. John Old is sayd to have translated this Booke. See Bale Centur. p. 721, 722.

Ibid. [line 20. Jan. 23 the Bps went to Lambeth, to receive the Cardinal's blessing.] Decembr. 6, St Nicholas Day, all the whole Convocation both Bps & other were sent for to Lambeth to the Cardinal—& they all kneel'd down & receiv'd his absolution. See Fox vol. 3, p. 113.

P. 302. [Hooper burnt.] Here Hooper's Loyalty to the Queen should have been taken notice of, w^{ch} was very signal. Hear his own words.

As for my truth & loyalty to y^e Q., the time of her most dangerous estate can testify with me, that when there was both commands & Commissions out against her, whereby she was to the sight of y^e world the more in danger, & less like to come to the Crown, yet when she was at the worst, I rode myself from place to place (as is well known) to win & stay the people for her party; & whereas another was proclaimed, I preferred her notwithstanding the proclamations, & to help her as much as I could—I sent Horses out of both Shires, Gloucester & Worcester, to serve her in her great danger, as S^r Jo. Talbot K^t & Will. Ligon Esq^e can testify, the one dwelling in the one shire & the other in the other—See Bp Hooper's Apology—against a report, that he encourag'd such as cursed the Queen, printed an. 1562, 1^m° [*sic* for 12^m° I suppose by mistake.]—And yet Hooper seems to have been one of the first that was committed, for his Letter to Calvin is dated Lond. ex carcere. 3 Sept. 1553.

P. 308. [Flower burnt.] See Fuller's Worth. in Cambr. p. 151. [*See Archæologia* xviii. 181.]

P. 310. [line 1. the words of Hadrian the fourth.] Adrian the sixth.

Ibid. [line 11. The Queen wrote to Gardiner, Arundel, and Paget who were then at Calais, mediating a peace between France & Spain.] Cardinal Poole was then likewise at Calais, & President of the Rest. v. Stow p. 626. See Fox vol. 3, p. 449.

Ibid. [line 29. Paul IV's first Consistory. June 23.] The first Consistory was held May 30th v. Pallavicin. Hist. Conc. Trid. L. 13, C. 12.

Ibid. [line 11. Jun. 7th Paul erected Ireland into a kingdom, and conferred that Title on the K. & Q.] 7. Id. Jun. v. Spondan. an. 1555. 7 Jun. Pallavicin. an. 1555. This Title was conferred by the Pope at the instance of the King and Queen according to Pallavicin. L. 13, C. 12, who appeals to the Public Instrument to that purpose.

P. 311. [Margin. The Pope presses the restoring of Church Lands.] See an answer to this in Dr Johnston's Assurance of Church Lands Sect. 9. And compare this with what is said p. 414 of this vol. of Bulls & Alienations in Scotland. See Fox, vol. 3, p. 221. See Antiq. Brit. p. 344. See this Pope's Bull to Sr Will. Peters, dated this same year, apud Dugdal. Monast. vol. 3, p. 209, 207, Par. 2^d. Motives for the Pope's dispensing with the alienation of Church Lands were drawn up in the 2^d year of this Queen. an. 1554, w^{ch} are lodg'd in the Paper Office. A Copy whereof may be seen in Dr Hakewil's Answer to Dr Carier. p. 248, 249.

P. 312. [line 12. Bp. of Norwich's Letter to Sussex on the Queen's supposed delivery.] v. Stryp's Memorial. Append. Num. 87, p. 203. [See *Archæologia*. xviii. 182-3, & *Tytler's Edward VI. & Mary*, vol. ii. p. 455, 465, 469, 470.]

P. 314. [line 22. Bourn was present at Bradford's trial, but would not say a word in his favour.] Bourn Bp. of B. & W. was not present. Bradford's words imply the contrary, where he supposes Bourn would have done him Right, if he had been present. See Fox vol. 3, p. 283. He was afterwards present, v. p. 289.

P. 315. [first half.] All these fine Reflections seem to be grounded upon a mistake, viz. that the See of Canterbury was not yet declared vacant: as it certainly was. For w^{ch} see Ant. Harmer. p. 127, 128.

P. 316. [Margin. Rastal did not write More's Life.] Pits mentions Sr Tho. More's Life amongst Rastal's Works. But Stapleton speaking of the Helps he had from this Rastal says nothing of any such Life. De tribus Thomis. Proem. p. 988. It is probably a mistake of Wil. Rastal for Will. Roper.—N. H. L. D. who wrote Sr Tho. More's Life in Q. Mary's Reign, Fol. 26, speaking of Mr Sargeant Rastall's design to publish Sr Tho. More's English works, says nothing of his design to write his Life.—In a large Collection of things relating to Bp. Fisher, MS. belonging to or at Gresham College, there are amongst other things, *Certen breef notes appertaining to B. Fyshere, collected out of Sr Tho. Moor's Lyfe written by Mr Justice Restall*. So there can be no doubt but Rastall wrote his Life.

P. 317. [line 3 from foot. William Woley.] His name was Will. Wollsey. v. Registr. Thyrlby Fol. 81.

Ibid. [line penult. Shaxton condemned Pigot &c.] Shaxton could not condemn them, being there only as an Assistant without authority: they were condemned by John Fuller L.L.D. Vicarium in Spiritualibus Dñi Thomæ Epi Elien., et ejusdem Rev. Patris Commissarium specialiter et legitime Deputatum et constitutum—ad negotia infra scripta expediend.—in Capellâ B. Mariæ Elien.—assistentibus ei tunc ibid. Rev.^{do} in Christo Patre Nicholas quondam Sarum, et modo Suffraganeo Episcopo; nec non vñ. et discretis viris M^{ris}

Roberto Steward Decano Elien., Johē Christopherson S. T. Bac., Decano Norwic., necnon Thoma Bacon, Thoma Peacocke, et Tho. Parker S. T. Bacchallauris. v. Registr. Thyrlby Fol. 81, 82, where the Process may be seen at large. The Sentence runns in Fuller's name alone.

P. 319. [line 24. Ridley's request when at the stake respecting Leases &c.] Notwithstanding these godly & just requests, no justice could be had, untill that now of late, some of these shamfull injuries, by order of Law have been redressed. See Letters of the Martyrs printed an. 1564, p. 39, where it appears that Ridley had made the same request by Letter to the Queen.

P. 320. [line 16 from foot. Gardiner died Nov. 12.] Novembr. 12. So Stow p. 627. Novembr. 19. Spelman Glossar. v. Cancellar. p. 135. See an ill account both of his Life & Death, in the *Epistle* before Bp. Ridley's Booke De Cœnâ Domini, suppos'd to be writ by *Grindal*.—v. Bucer Scrip. Ang. p. 942.—He dyed before the 19th Nov. as appears from Fox vol. 3, p. 606.——That Preface wrote by *Whittingham*.

Ibid. [line ult. Sir E. Hobby says of Gardiner that he was of higher descent than was commonly supposed.] S^r Edw. Hoby's Letter to M^r T. H. pag. 108. *Nephew to a Queen of England & cousin German to a King a latere*.—St. Gardiner Bp. of W. was son of Helen, natural Daughter of Jasper Duke of Bedford, who was marry'd to William Gardiner of London Esq^e., & so was Nepos to Catherine Queen of England, i. e. Grandson not nephew. See Sandford's Genealog. Hist. p. 285. [*But nephew is often used in the sense of grandson.*]

[Gardiner's Portrait.] See my MSS. Collections vol. 18. pag. 282. There must be a mistake in this Picture. There is a picture of Gardiner in Trinity College much different from this. He is thus describ'd by one that knew him well. *This Doctor had a Swart Colour, a Hanging looke, frowning Brows, eyes an Inch within the Head, a Nose hooked like a Bussard, wide nostrils like a Horse, ever snuffing into the winde, a Sparrow mouth.*——v. Ponnet Treat. of Politic. p. Ch. 7, p. 63, nor are these Gardiners Arms, His Arms may be seen at the end of the Antiq. Brit., & at the end of Mathew Westminster as published & given to the public Library Cambridge by ArchBp Parker, amongst the Chancellors of that University, viz. a Cross, or, in a Field, Azure, between four Griffin's Heads, Argent. See his Arms thus fairly depicted in Math. Westm. Clas. L. 10, 8. [*row L. 10, 8.*] These Arms should seem to belong to Horn Bp of Winchester, who bears three Hunting Horns, but without a Chevron. Quær. whether the Picture do not belong to him? And yet Sandford Genealog. Hist. p. 285, says, Gardiner's Arms are, Sable a Chevron inter three Bugle Horns argent. Quære where y^e mistake lyes. [*In vol. 3 of Burnet is printed a note of Baker's much to the same effect. Baker has there added.*] See M^r Strype's Ecclesiasticall Memorials [since printed] vol. 3^d. Chap. 35, p. 271, 272, & Chap. 26 Lib. 2, p. 461, 2, of the 2^d volume.——These Arms viz. a Chevron Arg. inter three

Bugle Horns belong'd to My Lord [Thomas Gardiner] Prior of Timmouth, descended from Katherine wife to Hen. Vth after to Owen Tudor, by a natural Daughter of Jasper Duke of Bedford; of w^{ch} see my notes to Stanford's [*sic*] Genealogicall Hist. p. 285.

P. 321. [line 3. One of the Books written in defence of the married Clergy says that no wonder Gardiner and Bonner were such enemies to marriage, having both been born in adultery.] v. Poynt Treatise of Politic Power. Ch. 4, p. 29.

Ibid. [line 8 from foot. Heath Abp of York had the Seals in Feb.] Jan. 1. v. Dugdal. Catalog. p. 24. On New Year's day the Queen gave the Seals to Heath. See Stow. p. 627. v. Spelman Gloss. verb. cancellar.

Ibid. [line 5 from foot. Whitehall.] v. vol. i. p. 80. [*on which page Baker referred to this passage, but as the reference was on the inner margin I did not notice it.*]

P. 322. [line 9 from foot. A Bill for suppressing the First-fruits and tenths, and resigning all Impropriations.] This is neither a true nor perfect account of this Act. The First Fruits only were immediately suppress'd; the Tenths &c were to be order'd & dispos'd of, not altogether as the Legate pleas'd, but for uses specify'd & limited by the Act. v. Stat 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. Cap. 4.

Ibid. [line 20 from foot. Card. Pole makes Canons in Convocation.] Here the Bp. confounds the Synod with the Convocation, w^{ch} ought to have been distinguisht. v. Cardinal. Poli Præfat. ad Reformat. Angl. Dat. an. 1556. 4 Idus Febr.—This was a nationall Synod of both Provinces, as appears from the Letters Mandatory of Summons by the s^d. Cardinall Dat. sexto Idus Novembr. an. 1555. And met in the Kyng's Chapell Westminster Decembr. 2 of the same year, according to Bonner's [Bp. of London] execution of the s^d mandat. Dat. Novembr. 10 an. 1555, in his Summons of the Bp of Ely v. Registr. Thyrlby Fol. 47. v. Collect. MS.* “Mandatum ad comparand. in Sacra Synodo Rēv. Patris Dñi Reginaldi Poole Cardinalis de Latere Legati.

Edmundus permiss. divina London. Epūs Rēv. in Christo Patri confratri nostro Thome eadem permiss. Eliēn. Epō salutem et fraternam in Dñō charitatem. Noverit Fraternitas vestra Rēv. nos Literas Commissionales et Mandatorias Illustrissimi et Reverendiss. in Christo Patris et Dñi Dñi Reginaldi Miseratione divina Sancte Marie in Cosmadin Sancte Romane Ecclīe Diaconi Cardinalis Poli nuncupati, Sanctissimi Dñi nostri Pape et Sedis Aplīce ad Serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Anglie Reges et universum Anglie Regnum de latere Legati, Sigillo illius Illustriss. et Reverendiss. Patris capsæ stannea cum filiis cericis rubei coloris comprehens. sigillatas nuper cum ea qua decuit reverentia obedientia et honore recepisse humiliter exequendas, sub eo qui sequitur verborum tenore. Reginaldus Miseratione divina Sancte Marie in Cosmadin Sancte Romane Ecclīe Diaconus Cardinalis Polus

* Vol. xxx. p. 228, seq., from which I transcribe it, and one or two more papers relating to the same matter.

nuncupatus, Sanctissimi Dñi nostri Pape et Sedis Apostolicæ ad Serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ Reges, et universum Angliæ Regnum de Latere Legatus, venerabili et nobis in Christo dilecto Edmundo Epō London. salutem in Dñō sempiternam. Circumspectioni tue, de qua in hiis et aliis plurimum confidimus, ut Episcopos et reliquas Provincie Cantuar. personas Ecclesiasticas, que Synodis Provincialibus de Jure vel legitima et hic hactenus approbata consuetudine interesse solent, quate [*nus*]* ipse intra competentem arbitrio tuo statuendum terminum, presenti, quam (Spiritus Sancti gratia inspirante) auctoritate Apostolica nobis quomodolibet concessa et commissa qua fungimur, cum ea circumspectione tua et aliis tam ejusdem Cantuariensis quam Eboracensis Provinciarum Epīs et reliquis Ecclesiasticis que jam hic adsunt personis inchoavimus, synodo per se, vel si legitimo aliquo sunt impedimento detenti per Procuratorem idoneum, Mandatum legitimum habentem adesse, et usque ad ejus finem interesse debeant per se vel alium, etiam sub certis contra inobedientes arbitrio tuo comminandis penis, nomine nostro moneas et ad eandem voces eadem auctoritate tenore presentium committimus et mandamus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Datum in Palatio apud Sanctum Jacobum prope Westmonasterium, Anno a Nativitate Dñi Millmō quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, Sext. Idus Novembriæ, Sanctissimi in Christo Patris, et Dñi nostri, Dñi Pauli divina providentia Pape Quarti Pontificatus anno primo, sic signatas, Reginaldus Cardinalis Polus Legatus. M. Antonius Fajta Secretarius. D. Lampsonus. Quarum quidem Literarum Rēv. vigore pariter et auctoritate, nos Edmundus Epūs antedictus, vos Rēv. confratrem nostrum predictum, et per vos Decanum et Cap.^{lūm} et Archidiaconos Ecclie vestre Cath. ceterosque Prelatos quoscunque ac Clerum Diōc. vestre predictæ tam exemptos quam non exemptos quoscunque tenore presentium et auctoritate predicta peremptorie monemus, vobisque ac illis sub pena suspensionis ab officio mandamus, quatenus vos Rev^{de} confrater antedictæ, Decanusque Archi^{di} et Prelati personaliter, dictum vero Caplūm et Clerus per vos auctoritate et tenore presentium monendi per Procuratorem idoneum sufficienter instructum, et Clausulam ratihabitionis in Procuratorio suo habentem, si personaliter comparere non possint aut voluerint coram dicto Illustriss. et Reverendiss. in Christo Patre et Dñō Cardinale et Legato predicto, Synodum predictam, Deo favente, prosecuturo in Capella sive Oratorio vulgo vocat. The Kynges Chapell infra Palatium Regium apud Westmonasterium secundo die Mensis Decembris prōx. post Dat. presentium ventūr. si citius saltem venire non poteritis aut poterint, inter horas octavam et nonam ejusdem diei, cum continuatione et prorogatione dierum et horarum ex tunc sequē., et locorum si et quatenus dicto Illustriss. et Reverendiss. Dñō Cardinali et Legato antedicto ita expedire videatur in Synodo Legatina predict. cum aliis Prelatis et personis tam Cantuarien. quam Eboracēn. Provinciarum compareatis et compareant,

* Baker had ended a line with quater, and the usual mark to show that the word was incomplete, and forgot to add the last syllable in the next line.

interessis et intersint, super iis que in dicta Synodo tractabuntur tractatūr., deliberatūr., consensūr., et conclusuri, cetera que facturi, gesturi, et expedituri, que dicte Synodi natura et qualitas, Literarum predictarum tenor in et de se exigunt et requirunt. Vobis insuper injungimus et mandamus sub pena suspensionis predictæ, quod de receptione et executione presentium, ac de omni eo quod in hac parte feceritis, una cum Scheda nomina omnium in hac parte monendorum sufficienter et plene continente, dictum Illustriss. et Reverendiss. in Christo Patrem Cardinalem et Legatum antedict. dictis die hora et loco debite certificet Fraternitas vestra. Datum in Palatio nostro London sub sigillo nostro, decimo die Mensis Novembris, Anno Dñi Millmō quingen.^{mo} quinquagesimo quinto, et nostre Trāns. anno decimo septimo. Sic subscript. Ita est Edmundus Epūs London.

Certificatorium super executione Mandati predicti.

Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Dñō Dñō Reginaldo miseratione divina Sancte Marie in Cosmadin Sancte Romane Ecclie Diacono Cardinali Polo nuncupato, Sanctissimi Dñi nostri Pape et Sedis Apostolice ad Serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Anglie Reges et universum Anglie Regnum de Latere Legato. Vester humilis et devotus Thomas permiss. divina Eliēn. Epūs, Obedientiam et Reverentiam tanto Rev.^{mo} Patri debet. cum honore. Litteras Commissionales sive Monitorias Rēv. in Christo Patris et Confratris nostri Dñi. Edmundi eadem permiss. London Epī Litteras vestras Reverendissimas Commissionales et Mandatorias in se complectē. vicesimo primo die Mensis Novembris Anno Dñi 1555 jam instanti, cum omni reverentia, qua decuit, recepimus exequendas, sub eo qui sequitur verborum tenore.

Edmundus permiss. divina London. Epūs Rev. in Christo Confratri nostro Thome eadem permiss. Eliēn. Epō salutem et fraternam in Dñō charitatem. Noverit Fraternitas vestra Reverenda, nos Litteras Commissionales et Mandatorias Illustriss. et Reverendiss. in Christo Patris Et Dñi Dñi Reginaldi Miseratione divina Sancte Marie in Cosmadin Sancte Romane Ecclie Diaconi Cardinalis &c. Quarum quidem Literarum monitoriarum antedicti Rēv. Patris London Epī, y.^{mo} verius Mandati vestri Reverendissimi et Illustriss. antedicti vigore et auctoritate, tam Decanum et Archidiaconum Ecclie nostre Cath. Eliēn. ac Cap.^{1u} ejusdem, quam Rectores Vicarios et universum Clerum Diōc. nostre Eliēn. et Jurisdictionis moneri fecimus et mandavimus quatenus predict. Decanus et Archidiaconus Ecclie nostre Cath. Eliēn. personaliter, Capitulum vero et Clerus Diōc. nostre antedict. per Procuratorem idoneum sufficient. instructum ac clausulam rati habitionis in Procuratorio suo habentem, si personaliter comparere non possunt* nec valeant,* coram Paternitate vestra Rev.^{ma} in Capella sive oratorio vocato, The King's Chapell, infra Palatium Regium apud Westm. secundo die Mensis Decembris prōx. futur. post dat.

* So in the MS.

presentium, si sitius [*sic*] saltem venire non poterint, inter horas octavam et nonam ante Meridiem ejusdem diei, cum continuatione et prorogatione dierum et horarum extunc sequen. ac locorum si et quatenus vobis Illustrissimo Patri antedicto expedire videatur, compareant, ac in sacra Synodo Legatina per Rev.^{mas} Paternitatem vestram et alios Epōs ac Prelatos Regni Anglie als inchoata, cum dictis Prelatis et Clero tam Cantuarien. quam Eboraceñ. Provinciarum intersint, de et super iis, que in dicta Synodo tractabuntur, tractaturi, deliberaturi, consensuri, et conclusuri, ceteraque facturi, gesturi, et expedituri, que dicte Synodi natura et qualitas Litterarumque predict. natura et qualitas in et de se exigunt et requirunt. Nomina vero et cognomina omnium et singulorum auctoritate predicta in hac parte monitorum, in Scheda presentibus annexa continentur. Et sic Mandatum vestrum Illustrissimum et Rev.^{mum} antedictum cum omnibus Reverentia obedientia et honore, juxta omnem vim formam tenorem et effectum ejusdem humiliter sumus executi. In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum nostrum presentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. in Hospitio nostro de Holborne in Suburbiis Civitatis London 30. die Mensis Novembris Anno Dñi Millmō quingen^{mo} quinquagesimo quinto, et nostre Translationis Anno secundo.

Nomina Prelatorum Dioc. Eliē.

M^r Robertus Stweard [*sic*] Decanus Ecclie Cath. Eliē.

M^r Henricus Cole Doctor Archiñus Eliē.

M^r Johēs Fuller Legum Doctor Procurator Cleri Diōc. Eliē.

Procuratorium Cleri Diōc. Eliē. ad comparend. in sacra Synodo predicta.

Pateat universis per presentes, quod nos Rectores Vicarii et Capellani omnes et singuli infra Dioc. et Jurisdictionem Eliē. commorantes, ac Clerum universum Dioc. ac Jurisdictionis predict. facien, de Mandato et auctoritate Rēv. in Christo Patris et Dñi Dñi Thome permiss. divina Eliē. Epī in Ecclia B^{te} Marie juxta Forum Ville Cantabrigie convocati, ac ex causis et negotiis tunc ibm nobis serius expositis et declaratis congregati *unanimis* assensu et consensu nostris, dilectos nobis in Christo providos et discretos viros Magros Henricum Colle et Johēm Fuller Legum Doctores conjunctim et divisim ac eorum utrumque p se divisim et in solidum, ita quod non sit melior conditio occupañ. sed quod unus ipsorum inceperit, ipsorum alter id libere prosequi valeat mediare pariter et finire, nostros veros certos legitimos et indubitatos Procuratores Actores factores negotiorumque nostrorum gestores et nuncios speciales nominamus ordinamus facimus et constituimus per presentes, damusque, et concedimus predictis Procuratoribus nostris conjunctim, ut prefertur, et eorum utrique sive alteri p se divisim et in solidum potestatem generalem et Mandatum speciale, pro nobis ac nominibus nostris, et cujuslibet nostrum coram Illustrissimo et Rev.^{mo} in Christo Patre et Dño Dño Reginaldo miseratione divina Sancte Marie in Cosmedin Sancte Romane Ecclie Diacono Cardinale, Polo

nuncupato, Sanctissimi Dñi nostri Pape et Sedis Aplīce ad Serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Anglie Reges et universum Anglie Regnum de Latere Legato, in Capella sive Oratoris vocāt. The Kyng's Chapell infra Palatium Regium apud Westmoñ. secundo die Mensis Decembris jam prōx post Dat. presentium ventūr. inter horas octavam et nonam ante meridiem diei predict. cum continuatione et prorogatione dierum et horarum ex tunc sequēñ. pariter et locorum, si et quatenus dicto Illustrissimo et Rev^m Patri expedire videatur, comparendi absentiamque nostrum et cujuslibet nostrum in ea parte excusandi ac causam et causas absentie nostre hujusmodi allegand., proponend., et si opus fuerit proband., necnon in sacra Synodo per dictum Rev^{mum} Patrem auctoritate sua Legatina als inchoata et divine [debite] celebrat. cum aliis Episcopis et Prelatis ac Clero tam Cantuarieñ. quam Eboraceñ. Provinciarum interessendo, ac de et super iis que in dicta Synodo ad Omnipotentis Dei laudem, Ecclesieque Anglicane dignitatem defensionem et honorem tractabuntur, tractandi, deliberandi, consentiend., et concludend., et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciend. exercend. et expediend., que dicte sacre Synodi natura et qualitas de se exigunt et requirunt, et que nos ipsi faceremus seu facere deberemus, si tunc presentes personaliter interessemus, etiamsi talia fuerint, que de sui natura Mandatum exigant magis speciale, quam presentibus est expressum: Promittentes prout per presentes promittimus, nos et quemlibet nostrum respective et per se rat. grāt. firmum ac stabile perpetuo habiturum totum et quicquid per dictum Illustrissimum et Rev^{mum} in Christo Patrem Cardinalem de Latere Legatum ac ceteros Episcopos et Prelatos Clerumque Regni Anglie, in prefata sacra Synodo hactenus acta gesta tractata exercita seu expedita fuerint, aut eorum communi consilio et deliberatione pendente hujusmodi Sacra Synodo imposterum acta gesta exercita seu expedita fuerint, sub ypotheca et obligatione omnium et singulorum bonorum nostrorum, et in ea parte cautionem exposuimus et exponimus per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum Officii Vicarii in Spiritualibus Generalis et Officialis dicti Rēv. Patris Dñi Elien. Epī presentibus apponi fecimus et procuravimus. Dat. &c. [Deest Dat.]”

P. 324. [In Strype's note on line 29, for *Perkham* read *Peckham*. In his note on line 30, for *Rosses*, *Bedyland*, *Dethick*, read *Rossey*, *Bedyl*, and *Dethick*.]

Ibid. [line 8 from foot. The Clergy in a præmunire for acknowledging Wolsey as Legate.] Card. Wolsey had the King's Licence. v. Ch. Gov. Par. 5, § 18. And more fully in Dr Wake. State of the Church, p. 428. Append. p. 208.

P. 326. [line 13 from foot. Pole's only brother David, so named in some commissions, was probably a bastard.] 'Tis true, Card. Pool's other Brothers were then dead. But this David could not be his Bastard Brother, for in Paul the fourth's Bull this David is sayd to be, De legitimo Matrimonio procreatus. See the Bull in Gunton. Hist. Peterb. p. 69, where he is likewise sayd to have been, first Fellow of All Souls Coll. Oxon., afterwards Dean of the Arches, & Chancellor of the Diocess of Lichfield, but no mention of his being Archd. of

Derby.—Card. Pool styling David his Brother, does not imply him to have been his Brother in Blood, or nature : for all Bps are Brothers to one another, & are so styl'd. 'Tis certain he had no such Legitimate Brother. [*In the copy of Gunton in the University Library Baker has given the variations of this Bull from the Original penes Dec. et Cap., as collated by Kennet. I send you Baker's marginal notes from pp. 67-70 of Gunton, which give some account of this David Pool.*]

“*Commissio Reginaldi Card. Cant. Arepī dilecto filio Magrō Willō Bynsley LL.B. pro custodia Spiritual. Epātus Petriburg. Sede vacante per obitum bonæ memoriæ Dnī Johis Chamber ult. Epī dat. 18 April, 1556, et nostræ consecrat. anno primo. Regr. Pole Cant. fol. 37.*

———*Commissio officialis Curie Cantuar. facta Magrō Davidi Pole Legum Doctori per Reginaldum Card. Cant. Arepūm dat. Lambithæ 27 Martii 1556, nostræ consecrat. anno primo. Regr Pole Cant. p. 15.*

———*Commissio Auditoris Curie Audientie Cant. facta eidem Davidi per eundem Reginaldum. 27 Martii 1556.*———*Commissio Decani de Arcubus facta eidem Davidi Pole LL.D. Archidō Derbiæ per eundem Card. 27 Martii.*———*David Pole LL.D. Ricī Epī Lich. Commissarius in processu solenni habito contra Presbyteros conjugatos anno 1553. MS Harley 39, B. 6.*———*David Pole LL.D. Dnī Regis Capellanus institutus ad Rect. de East-Derham in com. Norf. ad præs. Dnī Epī Elien. 14 Nov. 1540.—1557, Febr. ratione promotionis ult. Incumb. jure Prærogativæ Rex et Regina presentant Johēm Fuller LL.D. ad dict. Rect. de East-Dereham. Lib. Institut. Dioc. Norwic. xvii. p. 67.*———*Injunctions exhibited to the Dean & Chap. of Peterb. by Tho. Benthame, William Fletewood, & Stephen Nevins-son, Commissioners appointed by our Sov. Lady Eliz. &c. in the first yere of her Highness most noble Reigne, xxx die Mensis Augusti. Num. xxxiii delivered by us the Queen's Maj^{ties} Commissioners afores^d in the Chapter House there y^e xxx of August A^o Dnī 1559.*

———*The last Institution given by authority of David Bp. of Petrib. was 21 Octob. 1560. The next Institution is to the Rectory of Scaldwell, 17 Jan. 1560, coram vñ. viris Magrīs Thoma Yale Legum Doctore, Edwardo Ledes in Legibus Licentiato, et Johē Porrey S.T.P. Rev^m Matthei Arepī Cant. Commissarii, ad visitat. Metropol. expediendam &c.”] An. 1540, Nov. 12. Dnūs Epūs Elien. presentavit M^{rum} David Poole LL.D. Illust. Regiæ Majestati Capellanum, Intuitu Literarum ejusdem Majestatis, Epō prædicto in hac parte directas—ad Ecclesiam Paroch. de Estdereham Dioc. Norwic. vacantem per liberam resignationem Edmundi London. Epī ultimi Rectoris ib.—v. Registr. Goodrich. Fol. 125.**

P. 330. [line 7 from foot. Charles's confessor burnt for heresy.] His Confessor was burnt only in effigie. Fece abbrugiar per Lutherani Giovanni Pontio, &c., & finalmente la statua di Constantino Pontio . . . Confessor di Carlo quinto. v. Hist. del Conc. di Trento. L. 5, p. 426.†

* Pole sat in the Convocation of 1536 as Archdeacon of Salop. See Mag. for Sept., p. 319. See below, notes on p. 396 of this vol.

† Edit. M.DC.XXIX.

P. 332. [line 8. Cranmer believed in the corporal presence till Ridley won him over to another opinion.] wth happen'd an. 1546. See the Preface to his Booke publish'd in Latin by the English exiles, an. 1557. The original whereof they had among them, revis'd by him in his imprisonment, wth Booke was translated into Latin by S^r Joh. Cheeke. See Cheeke's Life by Langbain.

P. 337. [line 16. John Hallier burnt in Canterbury, April 2, 1556.] This is a mistake. His name was John Hullier, & he was burnt at Cambridge, as appears from Fox, vol. 3, p. 696—as likewise from *Thirlby's Register*, Fol. 31, whence it appears that he was Vicar of Badburham, of w^{ch} Vicaridge he was first depriv'd, & afterwards burnt, [as the Register has it,] for maintaining erroneous & Heretical opinions.—See Letters of y^e Martyrs, p. 517, where Jo. Hullyer is sayd to have been burnt at Cambridge, April y^e 16th an. 1556.—[Among the transcripts from the Ely Registers in Baker's MSS is one relating to the burning of Hullier. (MSS xxx. p. 219.) “Vacante Vicaria Eccle parōch. de Badburham per Canonicam deprivationem Dñi Johis Hullier ultimi Incumbentis ejusdem, qui postea propter errores et erroneas opiniones fidei Catholice, ac S^ce Matris Eccle determinationi contrarias fuit Hereticus condemnatus atque igni traditus et combustus, admissus fuit Dñus Robertus Cragge ad eandem Vicariam 8 die Mensis Feb. A^o Dñi 1555, virtute Literarum presentat. D.D. Regis et Regine &c.”]

Ibid. [line penult. A child born in the fire burnt.] If Card. Allen's account of this matter might be taken, it extenuates the Inhumanity of this fact, affirming, that this woman was nought [*sic*] of her body, & that to cover her incontineny—she would not utter her case, nor claim y^e benefit of her belly. Answer to Engl. Just. p. 45. This, it seems, had been objected by Harding, & is answered by Fox, vol. 3, p. 750 &c., where y^e whole may be seen.

P. 339. [line 17 from foot. Knox wrote indecently of the Emperor.] This is too soft a word for Rebellion. He was accus'd of High treason against the Emperor, his Son, & the Q. of England. One expression was this, spoke in the pulpit in a Town of Buckinghamshire in the beginning of Q. Mary's Reign, as by the s^d Booke appeareth, where it is sayd, O England, England, if thou wilt obstinately return into Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or League, with such Princes as do maintain & advance Idolatry, such as the Emperor, (who is no less enemy to Christ than was Nero)—then assuredly, O England, thou shalt be plagued & brought to desolation. Troubl. Frankfort, p. 44.

P. 340. [Margin. Pole made ABp. of Cant. March 22nd.] He was made Administrator of the ArchBprick by the Pope before. v. Pallavicin. L. 13, c. 13.

Ibid. [line 15 from foot. Pole's style without life.] I have two Letters of Pool's wrote in Latin to Cranmer an. 1555, with Life & Spirit enough.

P. 341. [In Baker's note on this page in vol. 3, for *Rymer* read *Reyner*.]

P. 346. [line 15. in Strype's note for *Fridernidas jurabat* read *Fridernidas jacebat*.]

P. 348. [line 19 from foot. A Counterfeit, who was pretended to be the Bp of Chichester.] This Counterfeit was only an Ordinary appointed by Card. Pole, the Bp. of Chichester being not yet consecrated, & therefore could not act as Ordinary. This will appear from Fox, vol. 3, p. 823, 824, 789, &c.

P. 353. [line 12. Whether the Queen wrote to the Pope on Pole's revocation Burnet does not know.] King Philip and Q. Mary's Letter to Paul the Fourth, dat. May 21, 1557, is printed amongst the Additional Epistles of Ascham, p. 378, wherein they complain, that in this Revocation, *Legatio Sedi Cantuariensi innata*, was not excepted.

Ibid. [line 6 from foot. Peito, the new Legate, had begun his journey, but the Queen sent him word not to come over.] If Pallavicini may be credited, Peito was all this while in England an old decrepit man, & the Queen's Confessor, & the Bulls sent to him into England. This, if true, will disorder the whole Story. v. Hist. Conc. Trid. L. 14, cap. 2, 5. L. 15, cap. 7. Ciaconius says the same thing ad an. 1557, & quotes undoubted authority. Becatell plainly implies it. So that our Bp must needs be mistaken, as also Bp Godwin, in this, as well as in his name; for his name was William Peito. ib. And likewise Heylin, p. 78, par. 2^d. Pallavicin does not only assert his being then in England, but confirms it by circumstances. Huc vid. Petramellar. de Sum. Pontif. & Cardinal. p. 30, 46. Obüt in Anglia, April, an. 1558, ibique sepulchro mandatur, ib. p. 46.—That he was then in England is imply'd in *The Answer to Sander's Monarchy*, printed an. 1573, v. Lib. 2, c. 26. Cl. vv. 22, 35. Tho' it is express'd there in such a manner as might give occasion to the mistake. See A Booke, entitl'd, English Justice, p. 23, 24, 20. See the Answer to English Justice, p. 147, 159, w^{ch} shows that Peyto was then in England. So likewise Hist. Conc. Trent. L. 5, p. 414. And so Parsons, in his answer to Coke's 5th report, in the epistle dedicatory to S^r Ed. Cooke. [Baker has corrected *Fat.* into *Eat.*, 149 into 159, and Prid. into Trid. in his note on this page in vol. 3; and has there added in the margin.] v. Tract. de visibili Rom'anarchia, p. 204. It appears from the Queen's Letter in M^r Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. 3, chap. 63, p. 463, that Peyto was then in England, so old & unfit for business, that he refus'd to accept the Bprick of Salisbury, offer'd him by the Queen.—K. Philip, & Q. Mary detained in Calles the Messenger of Paulus 4th, when he brought the Cardinal's Hat, & Legacy of England for Friar Peto, in prejudice of Cardinall Poole. See F. Parsons Answer to S^r Edw. Cooke. Epistle Dedicatory, § 46.

P. 360. [line 19. Burnet does not know what was done (1558) towards endowing the house of St. John of Jerusalem.] This might have been known from the Foundation (an. 4 & 5, Ph. et Mar.) printed in the Monasticon, vol. 3, p. 108, where the endowment is mention'd. v. Cart. Fund. an. 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar. April 2, ap. Dugd. Monast. vol. 3, p. 108.

P. 364. [line 22 from foot. Grindal probably wrote the Preface to Ridley's book *De Cena Domini*.] Genevæ An. 1556. Quobus nempe

plus minus annis, hominum capita supra octinginta omnibus crudelissimis mortis generibus, veræ religionis causa, fuisse dedita. But the Author of y^e Preface was Will. Whittingham, as appears from Bale, who knew him well, v. Balei Centur. p. 684, 731. Grindal's Letter to Ridley, mention'd by Fox, vol. 3, p. 448, might give occasion to its being thought Grindal's.

P. 365. [line 16. Bembridge, notwithstanding his Recantation, was burnt.] Fox (vol. iii. p. 885) says, Bembridge retracted his Recantation, & upon that was burnt.

P. 369. [line 13. Pole dies in the 59th year of his age.] cum 58 annos et sex menses vixisset, v. Antiq. Brit. vit. Poli. v. vit. a Lud. Becatel, p. 84.

Ibid. [line 17. Prioli offered a Cardinal's Hat.] Pope Julius nominated Prioli to succeed a Cardinal in the Bprick of Brixia (Brescia), but never offer'd him a Cardinal's Hat, v. Becatel, p. 81.

Ibid. [line 24. Pool's Diary.] *Diurnall*, v. Lud. Becatel, p. 80. See an ample Character of Card. Pole in Manutius's Preface to Pole's Book De Concilio, Rom. 1562.

P. 374. [Elizabeth sends a dispatch to Rome.] [See Mr. Tierney's *Advertisement to Dodd*, vol. iv.]

P. 376. [line 15. Beal, a Clark (*sic*) of the Council.] I suppose this Beal is mistaken for Hales, & all this advice is taken from Hales's oration deliver'd to the Queen by a Nobleman. See Fox, vol. iii. p. 976, 977, &c.

P. 378. [line 5 from foot. Bps of Norwich & Gloucester died 1559.] Alex. Neuyll, who had best reason to know, says, the Bp. of Norwich, Job. Hopton, dy'd the same year with Q. Mary, v. Norwic, p. 204, of grief, as it was sayd, for the Queen. Wood says the same thing, Athen. Ox. p. 590, v. Camden Eliz. p. 26, 36. Within few weeks after the Queen, Heylin, p. 114, v. Anth. Harmer, p. 149, v. Fox, vol. iii. p. 975, 958, where you may meet with an account of the Bps. that dy'd before & after Q. Mary. Of the sole Episcopal Rank 13 dy'd, either a little before the Queen, or some few months after her, v. Godwin, Annal. An. 1558. A common disease then raged over the nation, most mortal to great persons, v. Haddon Contr. Osor. L. i. p. 25, The Sees vacant Dec. 22 1558 were Cant., Norw., Roch., Brist., Oxon., Chich., Heref., Sarum., Glouc., & Bangor, v. Strype's Annal, p. 13, 30-1.—v. Fox's Mart. Edit. i. p. 1707.

P. 380. [line 1, &c. Bacon now (1559) made Lord Keeper, with the dignity of Chancellor.] N. Bacon constituted L^d Keeper, Dec. 22, an. 1 Eliz. v. Spelman Glos. v. Cancellar, p. 135, v. Heylin, p. 103. —The Act of Parl. declaring the power of L^d Chancellor & L^d Keeper the same did not pass till the 5th Eliz. ib. p. 135. An. 1559, 1 Eliz. S^r Nich. Bacon made Keeper of the great Seal 22 Decembr. Annal. Cambd. & Pat. 1 Eliz. See Dugdal. Catalog. p. 24. Dec. 22, 1588 [*sic*]. This day N. Bacon Esq^e appointed & named Keeper of y^e great Seal. Council Book, ib.*

* See Hardy's Catalogue of Chancellors, (Lond. Butterworth, 1843,) pp. 63, 64, with the notes. See, too, Egerton Papers, (Camd. Soc. 1840,) p. 29.

Ibid. [line 22. Eliz. went to the Tower, Jan. 12, and returned in state, Jan. 13.] On the 14th & crowned y^e 15th; v. Fabian Chron. p. 567, 571, & Speed, p. 832. Fox Mart. vol. 3, p. 975.

Ibid. [line penult. She was crowned by Oglethorpe, the other Bishops refusing to assist.] Of the Popish Bps behaviour in the matter of y^e Coronation see the Answer to the Execution of Justice in Engl. p. 50, 51, where it is sayd that Oglethorpe having before this been commanded by the Queen not to elevate the Host at the Mass w^{ch} he was going to say before her, refused to obey. And the reasons assign'd of their refusing to crown the Queen were, because they doubted she would not take the oath for the maintenance of the Church, &c. & that she would have refus'd the solemn Ceremony of Unction.

P. 381. [line 15. Two of Edward's Bishops were yet alive.] Coverdale was then at Geneva, v. Tronbl. at Frankfort, p. 188, 191. Barlow was one of Hen. 8. Bps. Quær. de Scory whether then return'd? He was Superintendent of y^e English Congregation at Embden, v. Fuller, Ch. Hist. L. 8. p. 25. Fox, vol. 3, p. 912.

Ibid. [line 21. Parl. was summoned for Jan. 23, and prorogued to Jan. 25.] **The Speaker was chosen Jan. 24th according to Dr. Brady. See MS. of Parl. In another place of the same MS. he agrees with this account as to the meeting & prorogation.** See the true date of this Parl. in Dyer Nov. Cas. fol. 203, who says there that the printed Books are mistaken.

P. 383. [line 6 from foot. The ABp. of York, &c. protested against the bill for the restitution of tenths to the Crown.] It does not appear that these Bps protested against the Bill, only express'd their dissent, by saying not content. D'Ewes Journ. p. 19.

Ibid. [line 5 from foot. The Bp of Winchester & Abbot of Westminster it seems were occasionally absent.] The Bp of Winton & Abbot of West. afterwards dissented upon the Bills being return'd with provisoes from the Commons, p. 23.

Ibid. [line antepen. The Bill was readily agreed to by the Commons.] It was return'd by the Commons with 5 or 6 Provisoes, ib. p. 21, 23, v. Ant. Harmar, p. 197.

P. 386. [line 9 from foot. Eliz. had a scruple against the title of Supreme Head, which was put into her head by one Lever.] And he perhaps had it from M^r Calvin, whose friend he was. Calvin's opinion or censure in this matter may be seen, Comment. on Amos, ch. 7, v. 13, p. 282. Of Lever see Calvin's Epistle in Bp Juel's Life by Humphr. p. 92. See the Answer to the Execution of Justice in Engl. p. 7.—Not that Calvin's Booke was writ in Queen Mary's time, whome he there styles Proserpina; and what he there says was in opposition to such an unaccountable Supremacy, as had been attributed to the King by Bishop Gardiner.

P. 387. [line 1. Burnet had seen a speech, ascribed to ABp Heath, against the Supremacy, but thought it a forgery.] But there is a more perfect copy in Benet College Library follow'd by Mr. Strype, Annal. p. 74. Append. p. 7, 8, &c. This the Author might have seen.

* The words in italics are erased in the original.

Ibid. [line 7. The Bp of Duresme came not to this Parl. 1559.] nor the Bp of Lincoln, tho' there were no hopes of gaining him——He was sick of ague.——This looks as if the Bp of Durham kept away upon prudential reasons, whereas he was then employ'd in the North, in treating with y^e Scots, & came not up to London, till the latter end of July this year, v. Stryp's Annal. p. 20, 21, 191. Nor did the Bp of Ely absent upon prudential reasons, being employ'd in the Treaty with the French, w^{ch} was not concluded till the beginning of April, ib. p. 25, about w^{ch} time, it is probable, he return'd, ib. p. 60, 188.

P. 388. [line 2. an address by the Lower to the Upper House of Convocation, to be presented to the Queen.] The words of the Address are, *Vos qui Patres estis, ista superioribus ordinibus significare velitis*. Accordingly they were presented by Bp Bonner (not to the Queen) but to the Lord Keeper in Parliament, & as the s^d Bp reported, Sess. 8, were by the sayd Keeper generously & gratefully receiv'd, v. Fuller Ch. Hist. L. 9, p. 56.

Ibid. [line 12. The 5 Articles of the Address were sent to the Universities, and the first four signed by a majority of the members.] In an Instrument under the hand of a Public Notary. Fuller, ib.

Ibid. [A Conference between 9 Papists, and 9 Protestants.] See some mistakes concerning this conference corrected in M^r Strype's Annal. Chap. 5, p. 88, &c. Fecknam is nam'd in this Conference, but Reyner says, he offer'd himself, but the Q. would not admit him into the number. Apostol. Benedict. in Angl. p. 235. Fuller says he was added the 2^d day. Ch. Hist. L. 9, p. 57.

Ibid. [line 6 from foot. The Commons came to hear the conference, and so no doubt the Lords too, though it is not marked in their Journal.] But it is sayd in the printed Account, cum privilegio.

P. 391. [line 7. Saturday.] It is sayd Friday in the accounts printed cum privilegio Cl. v. 20, 6.

P. 391. [line 11 from foot. Bps of Winchester & Lincoln were sent to the Tower, for threatening to excommunicate Queen & Council.] There is nothing sayd of excommunication in the account printed cum Privilegio; they were committed to the Tower for Contempt, ib. And so it is in the Copy of this Account in Fox, vol. 3, p. 998. Fuller mentions their threatning the Q. with excommunication upon another occasion. Ch. Hist. L. 9, p. 58. But Camden mentions it upon this occasion Eliz. an. 1559. S^r John Harrington in the Bps of Winchester, p. 60, says, White Bp. of Wint. was imprison'd by Q. Eliz. for reflecting upon her in his funeral Sermon of Q. Mary.* —In the Act of State here referr'd to, Collect. num. 5, they are sayd to be committed for contempt so notoriously made, specially Lincoln, who show'd more Folly then the other.——Jan. 19, 1558. This day the Bp. of Wint., having been hereto commanded to keep his House, for such offences as he committed in his Sermon at the funeralls of the late Queen.——after a good Admonition was set at liberty &c. Councell Book, ut supra. Apr. 3, 1559. A Letter to the

* In Baker's MSS. xxxviii. 77, is a more perfect copy of this Sermon than that which Strype printed Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. append. 81.

Lieut. of y^e Tower with the Bodies of the Bps of Winchester & Lincoln, whome he is willed to keep in sure & several ward—using y^e otherwise well—especially the Bp. of Lincoln, for that he is sick. Councell Book, ut supra.

P. 395. [line 16. Coverdale being old, had no mind to return to his Bprick.] Coverdale was one of the Congregation at Geneva, a Friend of Knox & Whittingham, a Puritane, and one that could never be brought to consent to impositions, v. Troubl. at Frankfort. p. 188, 195-6, 215; and for such reasons he was not like to return, v. Heyl. Hist. Ref. par. 2, p. 123, v. Fuller Hist. L. 9, p. 64. *Milo vero Coverdalius non nisi togâ laneâ talari utebatur, viz. in consecratione Parkeri.* v. Instrument. Consecrationis &c. p. 363. The other consecrating Bps had y^e habits ib. Collect. p. 364. He was one of those that refused to subscribe, alway continu'd a Friend to the Puritans, & was equally respected by them, as appears by Ant. Gilby's Letter to him & others. And by the Report of the Examination & Conference &c. before the Commissioners an. 1567, ap. Register, p. 12, 23, 25, &c.

P. 396. [line 3. Oath of Supremacy offered to the Bishops.] May 30, an. 1559, v. Athen. Ox. p. 125. Heath ArchBp of York was depriv'd for refusing y^e Oath of Supremacy quinto die Julii an. primo Reg. Eliz. v. Dyer, fol. 222.

Ibid. [line 12. Christopherson of Chichester.] of his death soon after Qu. Mary. v. Fox Mart. vol. 3, p. 975, 973, 958, & of the other Bps dying near that time. Sanders or Rishton do not name him amongst the Rest that were depriv'd v. Sander. de Schism. p. 268.

Ibid. [line 16 from foot. Bonner was suffered to go about in safety.] Bonner was kept in prison till his death, & could not safely go about, least he should have been ston'd by the People.—*Ex illis quatuordecim, novem extra carceres diem obierunt, tres ultro excesserunt Regno, duo tantum in carcere mortui. E primis novem, Primus N. Heath Ebor.—C. Tonstallus Dunelm.—Thirlbeius Elien.—Whitus Winton. in carcere quidem fuit ad tempus, non eam tamen ob causam, sed quod quædam minus pro officio dixisset in concione, verum dimissus tamen inde post, atque extra carcerem, fato functus est. Bournus Bathon.—Turbervillus Exon.—Polus Petroburg.—Oglethorp. Carleol.—Baynus Lich.—salutarunt forte carcerem nonnulli ex his,—sed dimissi tamen post. Tres illi qui ad exteras partes se receperunt, Scot. Cestren., Pate Wigorn.—Goldwell Asaph et illos excessisse Regno fatemur, non tamen ex legis sententiâ aliquâ tantum quia sic ipsi voluerunt. Supersunt duo Watsonus Lincoln—Bonerus autem London, qui regnante Maria cum laniensæ præesset, in odium venerat omni populo (ut nec tutum esset ei prodire in publicum, ne saxis obrueretur) ille quidem in carcere consenuit; sed ubi, si vidisses, inediâ confectum non diceres; vivebat opiparè; horti erant & pomaria, si volebat spatari; denique, nisi quòd certo spatio circumscriptus, haud quicquam instar carceris.* v. Lanc. Andr. Tortur. Tort. p. 146, 147, v. Heylin Hist. Ref. Par. 2^d, p. 115. v. Bonner's Epitaph & Dirige Cl. v. 20, 5. v. Fox, vol. 3, p. 998, 974, 973. This Author in his Append. p. 390, says, Bonner was kept in prison to preserve him from affronts.

P. 397. [line 1. White and Watson given to Scholastical Divinity.] It was Dr John Watson that was given to Scholast. Divinity, styled Scotist by Erasmus Epist. p. 166, 1882.

Ibid. [line 2. Christopherson.] Christopherson was bury'd Dec 28, 1558, v. Stryp's Ann. p. 31.

Ibid. [line 7. Scot.] escap'd out of the Fleet to Lovain, where he dy'd v. Leycester in Cheshire p. 166. See Fox, vol. 3, p. 958, v. Sander. de visib. monarch. p. 664. [ibid. Goldwell.] Goldwell liv'd 26 years after y^s at Rome. Sander. L. 3, p. 268.

Ibid. [line 13. Fecknam lived in great esteem in England.] But commonly a Prisoner. See Bp. of Winton Answer to Fecknam, p. 7, 8, 127, 128. See Athen. Ox. p. 178, 179.

P. 396. [line 7 from foot. Heath.] Heath—shewing himself a Faithfull & quiet Subject—was not restrain'd of his liberty, nor depriv'd of his proper Lands & goods—but liv'd in his own House, & enjoy'd all his purchas'd Lands during all his natural Life, until by very age he departed this world, & then left his House & Living to his Friends. The like did one D. Poole that had been Bp. of Peterborough, an antient grave Person, & a very quiet Subject. There were also others that had been Bps & in great estimation, as Dr Tunstal Bp of Durham, a person also of very quiet behavior. There were also other, Dr White & Dr Oglethorpe, one of Winchester, the other of Carlisle Bps., & Dr Thurleby, & Dr Watson, yet living, one of Ely, the other of Lincoln Bps., not pressed with any capital payn, tho' they maintain'd the Pope's authority against the Laws of the Realm, &c. v. Execution of Justice in England &c. p. 8, 9, printed Lond. 1583.

[Under Parker's portrait, facing p. 402.] Ant. Harmer has observ'd, p. 155, that in Parker's Arms the Keys are inverted. There is another mistake. For whereas the Cheveron here is Blanc, it ought to have been charged with three Stars, Gules. As may be seen in Parker's Arms in the Regent Walks Cambridge, & in the same Arms fairly depicted in Mathew Westminster, published & given by him to the Public Library there, ubi vid.

P. 403. [line 22. consecration of Bentham Bp. of Coventry.] v. Fox vol. 3, p. 922, v. Bp. Juel's Life by Humphr. p. 72.

Ibid. [line 23. and Alley of Exeter.] Alley was installed Bp of Exeter according to Holinshed (vol. 2, p. 1309, 1310.) Aug. 6, an. 1561, consecrated or installed Jul. 14, an. 1560, v. Isack Antiq. Exeter, v. Antiq. Brit.

Ibid, [line 32. Best consecrated after Pilkington.] Best was made Bp. the same day with Pilkington, v. Antiq. Brit. p. 37.

Ibid. [line 33. Downham of Chester.] He was Chaplain to Q. Eliz. before she was Queen, dy'd Novembr. 1577, & is bury'd at Chester, v. Leycester in Cheshire, p. 166.

P. 404. [line 22. The Original Instrument of Parker's Consecration printed by Burnet from MS. C. C. C. C.] Quære, whether this Instrument be an Original. [*It was published, and a fac-simile given, by the Rev. J. Goodwin, Fellow of C. C. C. C. a few years ago, for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.*]

P. 406. [line 5. The Queen at first aimed at comprehension.]

And accordingly the Rom. Catholics at first came to the Protestant Churches, Sermons, & Communion; for w^{ch} we have Sander's or Rishton's own Confession (De Schism. L. 3, p. 273) only they make the thing worse, than they have been charged with. For it is there sayd, that sometimes they had the mass privately at Home, either by other Priests, or sometime the same Priest sayd mass privately to them at Home, & afterwards administred the Communion to the Protestants in their Churches, ib. p. 274. They frequented the protestant Churches for several years, till they withdrew, either upon Pope Pius's Bull, or upon a Declaration made in the Council of Trent, & afterwards publish'd under this title. *Declaratio Patrum Concilii Tridentini circa frequentationem Ecclesiarum, eo tempore quo Hæretici Ritus exercentur, aut prædicatur Hæresis, v. Cl. 14, 12, 88.*—Parsons shows that many of the R. Catholics were Recusants from the begining [*sic*] See an Answer to S^r Edw. Cook's Fifth Report, cap. 16, p. 371, 372. [*See Coke's speeches in the Trial of the Gunpowder plot traitors.*]

P. 417. [Margin. *Vita de Sisto 5.*] L. 6, Gregory Leti is a Romantic Author, worse than Varillas, Sanders, or Maimburg, & not fit to be quoted in a serious History.

Ibid. [line 19, seq. Parpalia, the Pope's Agent, refused entrance into England.] Quær. whether Parpalia were stopt; Camden seems to say he came over, and prints his letter from the Pope. But as to these large offers mention'd by this Historian, Camden knew nothing, only reports them from common Fame, v. Camden Eliz. An. 1560.

ANCIENT CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF A CITY PARISH.

(Continued from p. 341.)

This is the accompte of Adryan Adryanson And George ffrysinfield Churchwardens of the parisshe of St. Andrew hubbard in Lytle Eastcheape within the Cytie of London from the feaste of our Lord God 1578 the xvth of Januarye

Receyptes

ffyrst receyved of the last churchwardens the xv th of	
Januarye in ano 1578	xxv ^{li} xiiij ^s viij ^d
receaved the xx th Daye of Januarye for burying of Joyce	
clerke	vj ^s viij ^d
Receaved for the cloth	xij ^d
Receaved for ij yerres rent of henrye wels	vj ^{li}
Receved of Jhon Lewes Junior for ij yerres Rent	liij ^s iiij ^d
Receved for buring of Jhon Clipsam	x ^s
Receved for the knyll of mrs Acheley	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Receved for mrs wevares buryall	x ^s
Receved for the knyll of mr Drewrey	iiij ^s 4 ^d
Receved for ij yeares rent of mother fann	viiij ^s
receved for the knyll of mrs Adams	iiij ^s 4 ^d

received for mrs Childerlay buryall x^s
 received of peres Colton the xij of Julye for the poore xxiiij^s
 Summa xxxviiij^{li} vij^s viij^d

Receiptes

Received of peter Decoste for the buryng of his sonne vij^s viij^d
 Received of mr burton for his wyfes buryall x^s
 Received of Thomas Grene the xxviij of november toward
 the keping of Catherin Clipsam viij^{li}
 received for the vse of the poore of Thomas burnelaye xxvj^s viij^d
 received for the pytt and knyll of mrs whyte x^s
 Received of Christofer Jhonson for ij yerres rent x^s
 Received of peres Colton for ij moneths pencon for Ka-
 therin Clipsam iiij^s
 Received for Katherin Clipsam of Edward Saunders &
 Rycherd Gyles for iiij monethes pencon viij^s
 Received for the Clerkes wages for ij yeares xij^{li} xj^s viij^d

Summa is xxiiij^{li} xvij^s

Summa Received is in the whole three skore thre poundes iiij^s viij^d

Paymentes by vs Andryan Adryanson and George Ffresinfild Church
 wardens of St Andrew Hubbard for ij yeares from the feast of our
 Lord. 1578 the xvth of January as foloweth

Paymentes

Ffyrst for our Awdyte Dinner & supper iiij^{li} ij^s vj^d
 paid vnto the sumner for warning the vysytation iiij^d
 Item, for the artycles viij^d
 the same Day for covering of Joyce clerk his grave xiiij^d
 Item, vnto the scavenger ij^s viij^d
 Item, vnto the Chamberlayne of London for the ij shedes vij^s
 Item, vnto our metyng two severall tymes about the
 artycles vj^s
 Item, vnto the Joyner for mending of three pases iiij^d
 Item, for paper the 2 of January j^d
 Item, for a quarter bord of 7 foote long viij^d
 Item, for burying of a poor woman iiij^s ij^d
 Item, paid vnto certayne of the poore of the parissch of
 henry wells and of Jhon lewes of their rentes according
 vnto the death of the gever x^s

Summa is v^{li} xiiij^s vj^d

Paymentes

payd the 4th of march for xvth pew Doores the sum xl^s
 Item, for aunswering the Arche Deacon his Artycles iiij^d
 Item, paid vnto Robert Carter for ij yeares wages ending
 at Christmas last x^{li}

Item, vnto his wyfe for wasshing & keping cleane of the church	xiiij ^s iij ^d
Item, for a Dust basket	ij ^d
Item, for oyle for the clocke	j ^d
Item, for Scholing of Jhon warde	xxvj ^s viij ^d
Item, for paving of mr Clipsam pyt the sum	xiiij ^d
Item, for paving tyle	x ^d
Item, for Ringing of the knyll	vj ^d
Item, for the peale for mrs Achelay	vj ^d
paid the vj th of June for a bowdrick for the great bell	ij ^s vj ^d
Item, for setting forth of Jhon childerlay vnto Oxford	xl ^s
Item, for ij bromes for the church	iiij ^d
Item, for mending of ij pewes	viij ^d
Item, for paving of mrs wevar pit	xiiij ^d
and for the peale Ringunge	vj ^d
Item, for the Ringing of Drewries knyll	vj ^d

Summa of this leafe xvj^{li} ix^s ij^d

Paymentes

paid for mrs burton peale	vj ^d
Item, for paving of mrs burton grave	xiiij ^d
Item, for paving & tyle	vj ^d
Item, for mending of the pewes	xiiij ^d
Item, for making the penthouse over wels house	iiij ^s vj ^d
Item, for oyle for the clock	j ^d
Item, for a bok of orders forom my Lord maior	ij ^d
Item, for Artycles from my lord of London & for present- mentes	xij ^d
spent at the kinges head at that tyme	x ^s
for more Artycles	viij ^d
Item, for bromes for the hole yeare	viij ^d
Item, for candle	iiij ^d
Item, for the Delyverye of the artycles	viij ^d
Item, for caring a way of Rubbush	ij ^d
Item, for bread and wyne	vj ^d
Item, vnto the goodman Carter for bread & wyne over and above	vj ^s vj ^d ob.
Item, vnto father fauncer for mending of the clocke	vj ^d
Item, for artycles from the Quene	viij ^d
Item, paid owt of the rentes of henry wels & Jhon lewes vnto the poore	x ^s

Summa is xxxjx^s viij^d ob.

Paymentes

for Ringing of the knyll of mrs Adams	vj ^d
Item, for hinges for a pew Doore	x ^d
Item, for mrs Childerlay knyll	vj ^d
for paving of the pitt & paving stones	xx ^d

Item, for iiij bookes when the earth quake was*	xvj ^d
Item, for mr Cook for sermons	iiij ^s
Item, for mending of the Diall & clock	vj ^s viij ^d
Item, to my L maior offycer for waring of thomas Grene his wyfe before my L maior	xij ^d
Item, paid vnto the poore of the parrish wich was received of peres colton	xxij ^s
Item, vnto the sumner	iiij ^d
Item, for a chest with iiij Lockes	x ^s vj ^d
Item, for a Boke of Artycles	xij ^d
Item, spent at the Kinges head	v ^s 8 ^d
Item, for spending money at the Dagger in cheap	
Item, paid for paving of peter decoste childes grave	xij ^d
Item, for a payre of hinges	vij ^d
and for nayles & oyle	iiij ^d
Item, for one hinge and nayles & paper	iiij ^d ob.
Item, for one hinge for mr parson pev [parson's pew]	
Item, for bringing of Artycles from the Coonsell	iiij ^d
Summa is iiij ^{li} x ^d ob.	

Paymentes

Item, payd vnto mr haddon for keping of Katherin Clypsam	xj ^{li}
Item, for makyng of the wrytinges	ij ^s
Item, to James palmer for mending of the glas wyndowes	ij ^s vij ^d
Item, paid vnto certayne poore of the parrish from mr burnley	xxvj ^s viij ^d
Item, paid for mr whyte knyll & covering of the grave	xx ^d
for caring a way of Rubissh and oyle for the clock	iiij ^d
Item, for Ringing for the Quene	ij ^s
Item, for bromes for the whole yere	vij ^d
Item, for bread & wyne that was lacking	ij ^s v ^d

Summa is xij^{li} xvij^s iiij^d

Receved in the whole 60^{li} 3^{li} 4^s 1^d

Payd in the whole xl^{li} ij^s v^d

So resteth in the whole vnto the newe Churchwardens vidz
xxij^{li} ij^s ij^d

vnto mr Robynson & peres Colton the sum aforesayd
by me James Taylor parson there
by me william Acheley
be mi Alen marchant
william Smythson + mark
By me mychell Lyon
Jhon I.O. Olyver + barnaby bestowe

* "1580. THE ORDER OF PRAYER upon Wednesdayes and Frydayes, to auert and turne God's wrath from vs, threatned by the late terrible earthquake, to be vsed in all parish churches. Whereof the last prayer is to be vsed of all householders with

This ys the acownt of vs Rycharde Robynson baskatt maeker and pearse Collton twrnar beinge Chwrch wardons of the parish of Saynt androwe hwbarde neare Eastchepe within the Ceete of london frome the birthe of owr L god 1580 wnto the ffestat of owr L god 1582 as ffoloethe viz.

In prymos Receved of Aderyan adryanson baskett maeker & Jordges ffrisingffyllde Cooek Last Churtche wardens the some of . . .	} xxiiij ^{li} ij ^s ij ^d
Receved of mr hornar ffor berynge of his wyff . . .	x ^s
Receved ffor the knell of mrs Lyon . . .	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Receved ffor the beryall of Jane bedevell . . .	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Receved ffor the knell of John bedevell . . .	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Receved ffor the beyall of mr smethson . . .	x ^s
Receved ffor the beryall of mr Lyons chylde . . .	vj ^s viij ^d
Receved ffor the knell of harye the tayller . . .	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Receved ffor the beryall of mrs smethsons Chylde . . .	x ^s
Receved ffor the beryall of mrs smethson . . .	x ^s
Receved ffor the knell of mr haden . . .	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Receved of yownge Lewys ffor ij holl years Rennt . . .	liij ^s iiij ^d
Receved of mr welles ffor ij holl years Rennt . . .	vj ^{li}
Receved of mrs whytt ffor a yeare & iiij quarters . . .	xiiij ^s
Receved of the Colecters ffor Clypsams gyft . . .	liij ^s
Receved of mother Twrnar . . .	x ^s
Receved of Chrystoffer Jonson ffor ij years Rente . . .	xl ^s
Receved by the prycke Rowlle . . .	xiiij ^{li} xj ^s j ^d
Some totall of all the Recettes amowntethe To the som of liij ^{li} v ^s x ^d	

paymentes made by Rycharde Robynson and pearese Colton as folyethe

Im prymes paid ffor the awdytt swpar . . .	iiij ^{li} xiiij ^s x ^d
paid ffor ij holl yeares ffor the Clarckes wages . . .	x ^{li}
paid to bys wyffe for washyng Lynen & maeking the Chwrghe . . .	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
payed by Soondrye pertyekolars a Lowede by ws the awdytors the ffwill som of . . .	viiij ^{li} xj ^s

Som of the holl paymenttes amowntethe to xxij^{li} xj^s ij^d

So Restes of this And delyvered to the handes of John Turnar and Joyes vande planck nve Chvrche wardons the some of xxxj^{li} xvij^s

xxxj^{li} xvij^s

I saye xxxj pownd xvij^s

xxx^{li} xvij^s

their whole families. *Set foorth by authoritie.* Christopher Barker. 1580. Quarto. Collates F in fours, last three pages blank. [The University Library, Cambridge.] —Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. W. K. Clay, B.D.

in the pressence receved of vs the awdytors apoynted for this accompt
as herafter followythe and also a cheast with sertayne evedenssys
and wryttynges belongynge to the chyrche with all the chyrche
goodes as apperythe by a Invitorye Indentyd deleveryd to the
new chyrche wardens

Avdytor By me James Taylor Parson there

Andrewe Banberye +
Thomas vewers + marck
by me thomas burnlaye
Jerrwme bwrstone
be me Adryan Adryanson
By me wylliam Redmar
nyckolas Layngleyes marck
by me Recherd Rud.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinion
of his Correspondents.

ST. JEROME ON THE MILLENNIUM.

REV. SIR,—St. Jerome is well known to have been one of the chief
opponents of the millennarian doctrines. Still it is necessary to
examine what was the *nature* of the doctrine particularly assailed by
him. This must be gathered from the statements which he himself
makes concerning it; which prove with sufficient distinctness that his
opposition was much of the same character with that of St. Dionysius
and St. Augustine.

Concerning St. Jerome as a controversialist, Mede remarks: "S.
Jerom is a man of no faith with me, when he describes the opinion of
his adversary: which, whatsoever it were, he would set it forth as
odiously as possible could be. He was a man that cared not what he
said, so it might disparage his adversary. This appears sufficiently in
the cases of Vigilantius and Jovinian. Yea but he lived at the same
time. *Answ.* So do we with those we differ from, and yet we see the
experience daily, that scarce any one will relate the opinion of his
adversary candidly." Letter to Mr. Estwick, Book iv. Ep. 64.

That there is much truth in these observations will appear by an
examination of some of the following extracts, which I select from the
fifth chapter of the fifth Book of Mede's works, entitled "D. Hieronymi
on unciata de dogmate Millennariorum."

"I am not ignorant how great is the diversity of opinions among men. I speak not concerning the mystery of the Trinity, (the right confession of which is the ignorance of [worldly] knowledge :) but concerning other doctrines of the church—namely, concerning the resurrection, and concerning the state of souls and of the flesh of men; concerning the promises of things to come, how they ought to be taken; and in what manner the Revelation of John is to be understood: which, if we take according to the letter, we must judaize; if we discuss it spiritually, as it is written, we should seem to go contrary to the opinions of many of the ancients, of the Latins, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius; of the Greeks, to pass over the rest, I will make mention of Irenæus only, Bishop of Lyons; against whom that most eloquent man, Dionysius, Bishop of the Church of Alexandria, writes an eloquent book, ridiculing the fable of the thousand years, and the Jerusalem of gold and gems upon earth; the restoration of the temple, the blood of sacrifices, the rest of the Sabbath, the mutilation of circumcision, marriages, childbirths, the education of children, the delights of banquets, and the servitude of all the Gentiles; and again wars, armies and triumphs, and the slaying of the vanquished, and the death of the sinner a hundred years old. To whom Apollinarius replies in two volumes; whom not only the men of his own sect, but also a *very great multitude of our own people follows, so far as this point is concerned*; so that I clearly anticipate already of what a vast number of persons the fury will be roused against me." Præm: in lib. 18. Comment: in Esaiam.

This passage and another to which I shall soon advert, were no doubt in the mind of Mede when he very justly remarked, (Book iii. chap. xi.) "S. Hierom was a chief champion to cry down this opinion, and (according to his wont) a most unequal relator of the opinion of his adversaries. What credit he deserves in this may appear by some fragments of those authors still remaining, whom he charged with an opinion directly contrary to that which they expressly affirmed. And yet when he had stated it so as it must needs be heresie and blasphemy whosoever should hold it, he is found to say he durst not damn it because many ecclesiastical persons and martyrs affirmed the same."

The strong language of this concluding sentence I presume is mainly meant to apply to the very gross misconception or misrepresentation of the true millennarian doctrine which is contained in the words which immediately follow those quoted above. "*Quibus non invideo, si tantum ament terram, ut in regno Christi terrena desiderant, et post ciborum abundantiam gulæque ac ventris ingluviam ea quæ sub ventre sunt quæraut.*"

Dr. Pusey has justly remarked on the above extract, that "S. Jerome . . . begins with an inaccuracy, saying that the book [of St. Dionysius] was written against S. Irenæus;" whereas *his* controversy was with Nepos and his followers. He adds, "the tone also in which he describes it as having been written is very different from what would seem likely from Dionysius' own words." If we judge of St.

Dionysius from the account given in Eusebius of his discussion with the followers of Nepos, he certainly seems to have treated the subject in a spirit most remote from that of ridicule, and much more becoming the nature and importance of it. Dr. Pusey further states, that "it seems . . . certain that these details are not taken from Dionysius, but are only his own way of expanding the charge of Judaism; since in other places, (in Ezek. 36,) speaking in his own person, he uses the same language as to all who hold the doctrine, and, as he says, 'especially Tertullian,' although we know from Tertullian's own words that he looked only for joys purely spiritual." (Note in Mr. Dodgson's Tertullian, pp. 127, 8.)

The words of St. Jerome on Ezek. 36, above referred to by Dr. Pusey, are, I presume, the following: "For neither do we, according to the Jewish fables, which they call *δευτερώσεις*, expect from heaven a Jerusalem adorned with jewels and gold; nor are we again designed to suffer the mutilation of circumcision, nor to offer victims of bulls and rams, nor shall we sleep in the rest of the sabbath, which both many of our own writers promise, and especially the book of Tertullian which is entitled 'Concerning the hope of the faithful,' and the seventh book of the Institutions of Lactantius, and the frequent expositions of Victorinus, Bishop of Pettaw, and lately our Severus in the Dialogue to which he gave the name of Gallus: and, to mention [some of] the Greeks, and to join together the first and last [of them,] Irenæus and Apollinarius."

Thus again on Zech. xiv. we have; "Hæc Judæi juxta literam somniant, et nostri *χιλιασταί*, qui rursum audire desiderant '*crescite et multiplicamini*, &c.'" At pro vitæ hujus continentia brevique jejuniis, bulbos sibi et valvus et aves Phasidis et attagenem nequaquam Ionicum, sed Judaicum, repromittunt, &c."

As far as St. Irenæus is concerned, we can confidently refer to his own statements in what is still extant of his works (which statements are sufficiently copious) and inquire whether an impartial reader of them can discover any similarity between them and St. Jerome's professed representations of them: and the same may be asserted in respect to the other fathers who taught the primitive millennarian doctrine. The descriptions of St. Jerome will be seen at once by every candid inquirer to be the distorted misrepresentations of a mind under the influence of prejudice, excited, most probably, by the errors with which heretics of later days had corrupted the primitive doctrine. Indeed, if St. Jerome actually believed that the early fathers of the church taught a doctrine of so gross and really carnal a nature as he represents them to have done, it is most astonishing that he should ever "speak of it," to use the words of Dr. Pusey, "as a question still undecided, and one in which it was apparently perplexing even to himself to have to go against the opinions of so many of the ancients." It would in that case have sufficiently carried with it its own condemnation, let the teachers and maintainers of it have been who or what they might.

Mede, at the conclusion of his extracts from St. Jerome, out of which

the preceding ones have been selected, affirms that, in order to excite odium against the millennarian doctrine, St. Jerome ascribed to Christian millennarians in general the corrupt notions maintained by Jews or Judaizing heretics on that subject: and brings forward the following words of his on Jeremiah, xix. 10, in proof of this assertion. "After the captivity which occurred under Vespasian and Titus, and subsequently under Hadrian, the ruins of Jerusalem will continue even to the end of the world: although the Jews imagine that a Jerusalem of gold and gems will be restored to them; and that again [there shall be] victims and sacrifices, and marriages of the saints, and a kingdom of our Lord and Saviour upon earth: which opinions, although we do not comply with, *yet we cannot condemn them, because many ecclesiastical persons and martyrs have asserted these things.* Let every one enjoy his own conviction, and let all things be reserved to the judgment of the Lord." Mede here justly asks, "have the eminent churchmen and martyrs spoken of actually said these things? and if they had really made the assertions which St. Jerome ascribes to them, would he not unhesitatingly have condemned them for so doing? And then he produces from St. Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho the following passage, which proves the direct contrary to St. Jerome's assertion: "At whose second advent, think not that Isaiah or the other prophets say that sacrifices of blood or of libations shall be offered upon the altar, but true and spiritual praises and thanksgivings." Indeed, as Mede remarks in a letter to Dr. Twisse, (Book IV. Ep. 51.,) it is worthy of observation, "that Hierom in so many passages (wherein he names the Fathers that were Chiliasts) doth never mention Justin Martyr, being afraid, it seems, of the antiquity and authority of the man."

It is evident, then, that the millennarian doctrine opposed by St. Jerome (as has already been proved in the cases of St. Dionysius and St. Augustine) was a gross corruption of the primitive doctrine on the subject, as is plain from the terms in which he himself describes it: that though he himself had prejudices against the primitive doctrine which prevented his receiving it, yet he states that he could not condemn it, on account of the great divines and martyrs who, he allows, had held and taught it; and he also admits that it was still held by a very great multitude of orthodox persons in his own time. This is a very qualified censure of the doctrine, and if it had come to be held in their days in the gross and corrupt form in which St. Dionysius, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome opposed it, "it is not surprising," as Dr. Pusey remarks, "that it sunk, even independently of the influence of three such names; . . . nor need these, on the other hand, be necessarily supposed to object to the doctrine as set forth by St. Irenæus, to which S. Augustine at least sees no objection, even while he prefers another interpretation." (Note in Mr. Dodgson's Tertulian, p. 129.)

I have now completed the course which I originally proposed to myself on this important and deeply interesting subject, and have shown, first, from the teaching of the Scriptures of both the Old and New Testaments, that the second advent of our Saviour is foretold as

to be synchronical with the destruction of Antichrist, the restoration of Israel, and the commencement of his millenary kingdom upon this earth, renewed and delivered from the curse and bondage of corruption under which now it groans: and that this state of Paradise regained, as it were, with still higher glory and blessedness, is designed as a state of preparation for the final period of eternal bliss to which it leads. These truths, which Scripture teaches so plainly, that it cannot be made to teach any other doctrine without such a mode of tampering with its terms as, if applied generally, would lead to the most pernicious heresies, and "bring in the end all truth to nothing," have been shown by copious extracts from the earliest fathers, to have been the doctrine held by all the orthodox for more than the first two centuries; and by "a very great multitude of them," and amongst these by divines of great eminence, subsequent to that period, as is acknowledged by one of the principal opponents of it. Those who opposed it in later ages have been proved, by the very terms in which they set forth the doctrine which they assail, to have opposed not the true primitive doctrine, but a grossly corrupt and distorted form of it. It has been shown that the same doctrine has been held by many great divines of modern times, and especially by some of our own nation of profound learning and unquestionable orthodoxy. Incidental evidence has also been produced, that others, who cannot be shown to have held the whole system of doctrine under consideration, yet certainly held some of the most material parts of it. To call this doctrine a heresy, as some have presumed to do, is to assert what is positively and demonstrably false. At no period has the church ever so decided concerning it; the pretence that it did so in the time of Pope Damasus has been completely refuted by the author of Eruvin, and by Malvenda, in an extract given by me in a former letter. Those who talk of these views concerning the future as wild and extravagant, sufficiently show that they are very imperfectly acquainted with the nature of them; and probably, if they came to examine closely the nature of their own future expectations, would discover that they resembled (if they *really* disbelieve what St. Justin and St. Irenæus taught) the notions of the heretics of early days whom those great fathers so strenuously opposed.

The weapons for the most part employed by the antagonists of the millenarian doctrines are those used by St. Jerome—viz., ridicule and burlesque: the doctrines are first distorted and caricatured, and then held up to contempt. Such arts are unworthy of men of learning and judgment, unsuited to subjects of so solemn a nature, and are infallible indications of a weak cause. Anything amounting to a serious and competent attempt at a thorough and complete refutation of the doctrines of the primitive church on this topic I have never yet seen; and till I do see something very much superior to anything that has yet been undertaken, and that has come under my notice, I cannot but believe such a refutation to be a thing impossible.

I remain, Rev. Sir, most respectfully yours,

M. N. D.

EPHRAIM PAGITT'S HERESIOGRAPHY.

SIR,—Perhaps a few extracts from Pagitt's Heresiography may not be unacceptable to your readers, as throwing light on some curious particulars relative to a very eventful period in the history of our church.

The work is entitled

"Heresiography, or a Description of the Heretickes and Sectaries sprung up in these latter times. 4th Edition. By Ephraim Pagitt. 1647. London: W. W. for William Lee."

In the Epistle Dedicatory the author says—

"What mischiefs these sectaries have already done we that have cure of soules in London find, and see with great grieve of heart—viz., our congregations forsaking their pastors; our people becomming of the Tribbe of Gad, running after seducers as if they were mad. Infants not to be brought to the Sacrament of Baptism; men refusing to receive the Holy Communion, and the Lord's Prayer accounted abominable—a volume wil hardly containe the hurt that these sectaries have, in a very short time, done to this poore church: and doth not the Commonwealth suffer with the church? Whence are all these distractions? Who are the incendiaries that have kindled and blown this fire among us, but these?"

The following remarks on the Plague (especially in these cholera times) may also be noted from this "Epistle Dedicatory."

"The plague is, of all diseases, most infectious. I have lived among you almost a jubilee, and seene your great care and provision to keep the city from infection—in the shutting up of the sick, and in carrying them to your pest house. In setting warders to keepe the whole from the sick, in making of fires, and perfuming the streets—in resorting to your churches, in pouring out your prayers to Almighty God, with fasting, and almes, to be propetious to you."

The cholera has not commonly been considered infectious, I believe; but the measures taken, and so acknowledged, to the "Lord Mayor" and "Aldermen," have a striking similarity to those recorded not long ago in our newspapers.

At page 17 of the work itself, the author says, "They (the Hereticks from Germany) came into England about the year 1535, and as they could be found, wee did the like (alluding to burning, hanging, drowning, previously) to them, burning some, and banishing others. But since the yeare of our Lord 1640, they have crept out of their holes, lift up their heads, challenge our divines to publique disputations, preaching in our churches, publish their blasphemies, print their bookes, seducing multitudes of people."

"Master Philpot's" letter on Infant Baptism; and Sir T. Overburie's "Character of a Jesuit" are introduced in the course of the work.

At page 104, the author says—

"The first Antinomian among us (that I can here of) was one Mas-

ter John Eaton, who had been a scholler of mine, and afterwards was Curate to Mr. Wright, Parson of Katherine Coleman neare Algate; he was for his errours imprisoned in the Gate house at Westminster."

In another part of the work he quaintly remarks, "When I first heard of the name of *Independency*, I confesse I could not well mislike it, knowing the poverty of many livings within the walls of London, and the dependency of the ministers, being not able to subsist without the charities of the people." He continues: "And, for example among others, the tithe of a parsonage of a learned Doctor (who is accounted one of them) not to bee worth above 20*l.* per annum towards all charges, and divers others to be of small value. I could not well blame them if, renouncing their tithes, they have devised some other way to subsist.

"In time of superstition, the said living is reported to have been worth about 200*l.* per annum, by reason of a gang of silly women with child, to the image of our Lady of *Steining*, (in that church,) to which they did trot with many rich offerings, being persuaded that she could give them easie labour: other churches had their working saints, that relieved their parsons, as one could make barren women fruitful, &c. And for this cause, the poorer livings in London were so highly rated in the subsidy. And whereas one man had heretofore many livings, which is now prohibited, as my predecessor had three, Allballowes the Great, the Temple, and Edmunds within the line of communication. And also our vailes for burials and christenings is in a manner ceast, which were a great help too. Should I blame the poore ministers to devise some means to have a being? but whereas they gather congregations among us who are as poore as themselves, getting our fattest sheep from us, and for other causes, I like it not."

I am, dear Sir, yours truly, B.*

DR. MAITLAND'S ESSAYS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE REFORMATION.

MY DEAR SIR,—A very gross blunder in my "Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England," has been recently pointed out to me; and as I originally made it in the *British Magazine*, will you allow me, through the same medium, to acknowledge it. It is in No. XII., which appeared in the *Magazine* for December, 1847, and at p. 258 of the volume in which the *Essays* were reprinted. I have there spoken of "more than five-and-twenty thousand," where I should have said "more than two thousand five hundred," (25,000

* [The Editor is much obliged by his correspondent, "B." taking the trouble to make the foregoing extracts. Mr. Lathbury's valuable contributions show how much light may be thrown on numberless particulars connected with the history of our church, by extracts from contemporary pamphlets, books, and sermons. And it is gratifying to find that other clergymen are conscious of the service they may do by noting and transcribing the passages they may happen to meet in the course of their incidental reading.]

instead of 2,500) as the product of multiplying 365 by 7. As I do not know that this mistake has been noticed in print, I feel it right to mention it; and (though it was not in the Magazine) I may take the opportunity of saying that the note on p. 450 should be put out as mere mistake. I do not know what led me to imagine otherwise; but certainly the 4th of February *was* Tuesday.

I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,

S. R. MAITLAND.

PAROCHIAL CONSIDERATIONS.

DEAR SIR,—There are many things that may, perhaps, be classed under the head of parochial considerations, some of which may possibly not be inadmissible into your pages.

As to the money collected as alms, it has been termed "blood money." I do not particularly admire the term; but it would appear consistent that it should have some special use, being received under special circumstances. The sick, the poor, the aged, have their claims to Christian bounty—but, do you not think that communicants, *ceteris paribus*, should be preferred? I have heard of such things as spectacles being bought for the poor, occasionally; but, one would think, that with the well-disposed and comparatively prudent poor, the money itself might as well be bestowed. An objection there has been with some, to render account of expenditure of these alms. One would suppose that it would be a satisfaction to prove that objects as worthy as circumstances would admit, were benefited. We might remember that the poor themselves are apt to contribute to the sum; and should we not distribute their mite to the best of our ability? I recollect an instance in which there was a printed paper of statement distributed in the pews, from time to time, and I do not think, especially where the alms were considerable, that it was a bad way. The offertory collections have been regarded as more abundant in proportion than those at the doors, and this would render it the more desirable that the wants of the poor should be exhibited, together with the relief of the same. Were these in general use there would be a parochial fund very serviceable to the pastor of the parish, and the systematic method would justify an abridgment of the number of appeals. Even small gifts repeatedly would count up, and thus a charity sermon would seldom be required, though it would have its force when it did come. As the matter now is, from the opposition of societies and other causes, there is a continuous need for a clergyman to be decided as to the course that he will take; and hence, "nolens volens," he must appear a party man. Whereas, if a proportion of the "sacrament money," as it is unjustly styled, (for we never pay for a sacrament: the sacraments of God are surely free,) were to be given to church societies generally, many a special animosity would cease;* with equal participation there could be no room

* I am one of those who would desire to keep close to the church, but would do much to promote "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," for "Pax in terris xenium Christi."

for it, whilst a charity sermon, for very definite purposes—say chiefly for extraordinary occasions—would be met with a liberal hand.

Under this head might perhaps be mentioned the present and past support of the poor, and ditto of the minister; and this would bring us to a word upon “Easter dues,” upheld by some, and not enforced by others.

But next, there are various rates of fees in different parishes. It were well perhaps if the grounds of these were sometimes stated, for an incumbent is apt to be complained of, as if he had taken some arbitrary part, when he probably has all along been acting upon precedent; and possibly reducing, rather than increasing, the ratio—even with a sympathizing eye to the “poor and needy.”

The relative position of incumbents no doubt requires much attention. Successors there must, in the course of human nature, be; and hence a man may conceive that he has surely a right to do exactly as he pleases; still, these interests may be fairly computed. For dissimilar views he cannot provide, and men’s hearts will differ in the matter of generosity; so will their judgments as to compensation, &c.—but this he can do—he can consider how far another may be able (however willing) to effect even an advantageous change.

The thought of “ne quid nimis” bids me conclude for the present.

Believe me yours,

CLERICUS.

REMARKS ON ROMANS III., 25, 26.

SIR,—In the passage on which I am about to offer a few remarks, a distinction of great importance is made in the original, which is not clearly marked in the English translation. The pronoun αὐτοῦ in the clause ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι, clearly refers to the object of the verb προέθετο, that is, to Christ the Son. The next clause, which is translated, “to declare his righteousness,” stands in the original, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, where the reflective pronoun αὐτοῦ must be referred to the nominative of the same verb, which is ὁ θεός, God the Father. In order to preserve this distinction, the clause ought to be translated, “to declare the righteousness of himself.” So the first clause of verse 26, πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ, should be translated, “to declare the righteousness of himself in the present time;” and it will then be apparent that, in the sentence which next follows, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον, the αὐτὸν refers to God the Father. This, however, is also evident from the concluding sentence, καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ. In illustration of the expression ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ, verse 21 of the same chapter may be cited. The Apostle, after speaking of the manifestation of the righteousness of God, by judgment in the world to come, says, with reference to the time of the present world, Νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ πεφανέρωται, μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, which may be thus rendered: “But now apart from law [by which men are judged] the righteousness of God is manifested, being witnessed by the [writ-

ten] law and the prophets." The word *νυν* is emphatic, and answers exactly to *ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ* in verse 26.

Assuming that the grammatical sense of the passage under consideration has been truly pointed out in the above remarks, two questions of deep import naturally suggests themselves. How was the righteousness of God declared by the death of his son Jesus Christ? And in what sense can it be said that righteousness was declared that God might be just, seeing that He is ever and essentially just? In making some attempt to give answers to these questions, I shall begin by proposing another, which at first sight may appear to have little reference to the subject, but will be shown in the sequel to be closely connected with it. Why is our Lord in several passages of the Scriptures spoken of in an especial manner as *The Branch*? (Isaiah, xi. 1, Jeremiah, xxiii. 5, Zechariah, iii. 8, and vi. 12.) And why are those whom he saves called "*trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord*," (Isaiah, lxi. 3.) It is not enough to say that these are figurative expressions to be accounted for by Hebrew phraseology. The remarkable uniformity and consistency with which different sacred writers use this and similar figures, is only to be explained by their being taught the use of them by one Holy Spirit of wisdom. The analogy between the symbol, which is generally some familiar object of sense, and the thing symbolized, which is of a more abstract nature, is so strict, that a conception of the latter is attained by means of our perception of the former. The *science* of the word of God consists in rightly reading these symbols.

In the instance before us, the symbol uniformly relates to righteousness. Trees are righteous people; the Branch is the Lord our Righteousness. As a tree is *planted* and *grows*, so the righteous are the planting of God, and grow by his power. Thus of the Messiah it was prophesied, "he shall *grow* up before him as a tender *plant*." As a tree bears fruit, so the fruits borne by the righteous are joy and peace in the Holy Spirit. As a tree lives by water, so the righteous flourish in the waters of affliction and suffering. Even so the Captain of their salvation was made perfect through suffering. In that water,—by that baptism,—he manifested and completed all righteousness. Now righteousness is essentially objective in its character: it relates to what is outward (*τὸ ἔξω*), as holiness to what is inward (*τὸ ἔσω*). That it may be, it must be manifested. And being such, it is manifested in a visible nature, man. Accordingly our Lord descended from heaven to earth to manifest righteousness, and took upon him the form of a man. But how can this be called the righteousness of God? Clearly because Jesus Christ is God. These considerations may serve to answer in some degree the first of the proposed questions.

Again, in proof of the position that righteousness exists only as it is manifested in man's nature, a remarkable passage may be quoted from St. Paul's writings. "He hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him," (2 Cor. v. 21.) The use of the abstract term "righteousness" here, is worthy of all consideration. The essential connexion of righteousness with humanity is distinctly expressed, by asserting that we are

made the righteousness of God. How otherwise can the intimate relation between the human and the divine natures revealed in the Scriptures be understood? How otherwise can we comprehend that it should be possible for any of mankind to "become partakers of the divine nature?" But if this be so, it follows that righteousness must be perfectly manifested in man's nature, in order that God himself may be just. It was so manifested by Jesus Christ: and the righteousness he manifested is the righteousness of God, because Christ is God.

These views are offered as an answer to the second of the proposed questions. They are quite consistent with the doctrine that God is ever and essentially just. For as there is no necessity above the will of God, even his eternal perfections are the creations of his will. Accordingly, it has pleased him to unfold *in time* his perfect righteousness through Christ his Son, and of this wonderful economy we his creatures are witnesses and a part. The same views are consistent with the doctrine of the eternity of the Son. The Son of David is David's Lord. For though he grew up as a plant, and at the appointed time suffered in obedience to his Father's will for the completion of righteousness, yet is he "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," that is, ever and essentially such. That this is the meaning of the expression ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, will appear by consulting Romans, i. 20, where things which, from their nature, cannot be objects of bodily sense, the eternal power and Godhead of the Creator, are called τὰ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπο κτίσεως κόσμου.

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. C.

Cambridge, Oct. 22, 1849.

ON THE RECENT APPOINTMENTS IN THE CHURCH.

BEFORE we say anything on the subject of the appointments lately made by the first minister of the Crown, we think it desirable to lay before our readers two extracts from recent numbers of the *Tablet* newspaper, as they will put them in possession of the mode in which the organ of the Romish party has discussed them. And to this we shall subjoin an extract from the *English Churchman*, which claims to represent the views and feelings of a considerable number of the clergy of the Church of England.

The first extract is from the *Tablet* of October 6th.

"THE 'NEW BISHOP OF NORWICH.'

"It appears certain that the vacant Anglican bishopric is to be conferred upon Dr. Hinds, formerly Vice-Principal of St. Alban Hall, and chaplain to Dr. Whately, and more recently Dean of Carlisle. As the choice of her Majesty's ministers lies among heretics of greater or less malignity and audacity, it is generally a matter of comparatively little interest to Catholics upon what particular heretic the choice may fall; but the appointment of Dr.

Hinds is characterised by a boldness on the part of its authors, and has been received with an apathy on the side of the Establishment, which, considering its nature and probable results, are rather unusually significant of what the ministry is prepared to do, and what the Church of England is willing to accept.

“Of all the nominations to the bench which have proceeded from the present Government, that of Dr. Hinds indicates, perhaps, the most entire indifference to the cardinal points of Christian doctrine. Personally we have no doubt that Dr. Hinds is an amiable and respectable gentleman; but, unlike his predecessor at Norwich, and unlike most of his future brethren on the bench of bishops, he is a professed theologian, and has written a work on a subject intimately connected with the doctrine of the most holy Trinity. Unlike others who have attained the same elevation, he has not merely insinuated false doctrine, under the garb of philosophy, but he has published a theological treatise of plain and admitted heresy. The work to which we refer is called the ‘Three Temples of the One True God,’ and its object is to resolve the doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity into a triple manifestation of the divine unity, under—1. the law; 2. the gospel; 3. the church. The nature and tendency of such a view will at once make themselves plain, not merely to the judgment of theologians, but to the instinct of all well-instructed Catholics. They will at once recognise in it that peculiar interpretation of the Scripture which is associated with the name of Sabellius in the early church, and which has recently been followed, in a popular treatise on logic, by the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, under a definition of the term ‘person.’ The work in question has never, that we know of, been either retracted or modified by its author.

“That Lord John Russell, who is known to dislike the Athanasian Creed, should not consider a book diametrically opposed to the language of that creed, as a disqualification for a bishopric, is anything but wonderful. Nay, that any minister, of any time, should wholly ignore a treatise on what would popularly be called a ‘mere speculative question,’ as any difficulty in the way of an appointment otherwise creditable, and rather look on the fact of his favourite candidate having written a book of some kind as a recommendation with the public, than concern himself about its subject and theological tendency, this, too, is but in harmony with the usual distribution of church patronage by professed men of the world. But the case on the side of the Church Establishment accepting, is very different indeed from that on the side of the minister making, such an appointment. Of course we are not supposing any power in the Establishment finally to cast off the state-nominee. But when we recollect the violent disturbance which was created by the appointment of Dr. Hampden (in some respects less extreme, though more adventurous, than the present,) it certainly strikes us as a remarkable fact, that the proposed nomination of Dr. Hinds should have elicited no active demonstration of resentment, nor even any considerable amount of unfavourable comment.

“The Premier has played his cards well, and has now the game in his own hands. By Dr. Hampden’s appointment he succeeded in

making a wide breach in the enemy's walls; and now he may let in pretty nearly whom he pleases. The Anglicans are in the disadvantageous position of men who have 'shewn their teeth when they could not bite.' They have learned, though too late for their cause, that sullen acquiescence is wiser than ineffectual opposition. It is true that their more warlike policy, though unsuccessful, was not without honour to themselves. It had the appearance of being bold, disinterested, and highly-principled. But all the credit which it gained them they must now be prepared to forfeit. Their present supineness reflects upon their former resistance the character of political animosity, or personal annoyance, rather than of honest indignation and religious zeal. Not one voice of protest is now raised by those who for the sake of what they call 'Church principles' have thrown half England into commotion, to vindicate their establishment from the shame of dignifying avowed Sabellianism, where the defence of Rome, who through evil and good report has guarded inviolate the Athanasian faith, is the signal for episcopal interference, and the pledge of professional downfall. Does it never strike thoughtful minds in the Anglican Communion, as an impressive circumstance, that whereas, during the last five years, clergymen of the establishment have published not a few books of evil tendency, some against the faith of the early church, some against the plenary inspiration of Scripture, some even against the facts of revealed religion, which most heretics admit, the two particular works to draw upon themselves authoritative censure, and to disappear accordingly from the field of literature, should have been—the 'Ideal of a Christian Church,' and the 'Journal in France and Italy.' "

The subject has been resumed in an article in the *Tablet* for October 27th.

" The appointments in the Established Church which have followed upon that of Dr. Hinds to the See of Norwich, exhibit the same *animus* on the part of the Minister, and the same ingenuity of selection, which we attributed to him in the case of the Bishop of Norwich. Mr. Milman's nomination to the richly-endowed Deanery of St. Paul's is no doubt the boldest stroke of all; but so tempered is its force by the countervailing influence of Lord Auckland's moderation, and Dr. Tait's caution, that what would have excited a hubbub as an isolated act, is likely to pass *sub silentio* as the element in a combination. Mr. Milman, as our readers are aware, is the author of a 'History of the Jews,' and a 'History of Christianity,' in both of which he manages to dispose of the miracles of the two Testaments by explanations which render them acceptable to the capacities of rational men. Mr. Milman's justification of his interpretations we believe is this: that to exhibit the human or philosophical account of an extraordinary fact is not necessarily to deny the supernatural side of it; a true statement, no doubt, yet a somewhat odd defence for a clergyman to set up in behalf of works professing to embody the history of revealed religion. Moreover it is unfortunate for Mr. Milman that many of his interpretations remarkably coincide with those of modern

German commentators who have begun or ended in positive infidelity. Well, but the Church of England is to be thoroughly rationalized, and who so fit to aid in the task as a rationalizing divine of Mr. Milman's great ability and distinguished reputation? Accordingly he is placed, not in a bishopric (at least just yet), but in the highest Ecclesiastical dignity, short of a bishopric, which the Establishment offers, and one even more favourable to the propagation of his opinions than would be a more laborious and extensive sphere of duty.

"The appointment of Dr. Tait to the Deanery of Carlisle, though a far less conspicuous, is hardly a less politic instance of the same effective diplomacy. Dr. Tait is a young, popular, and distinguished man, who, after a few years, or perhaps not more than a few months, of dignified retirement at Carlisle, will pass by an easy and natural transition into a seat in the House of Lords. Now, Dr. Tait is an active and what would be called a religious man; and he has the advantage of belonging to no party. By birth and early education he is a Presbyterian; by academical connexion he is a churchman; by his marriage, he belongs to the Evangelical party. When Puseyism was a formidable power, Dr. Tait was one of its most zealous opponents. With him and three other tutors of Oxford originated the attack on the celebrated Tract 90; and in all subsequent questions relative to the sayings and doings of the same party, Dr. Tait was on the side of the opposition. When Puseyism died away or merged into other shades of opinion, Dr. Tait, who is too amiable a man to love controversy for its own sake, acquiesced in his victory with dignity and forbearance. But it appeared in the course of these proceedings that Dr. Tait had positive views on religious subjects better defined than those of many of his party; and if our recollection do not fail us, he has publicly expressed a very decided sympathy with the views of the German school.

"How far the colour of these appointments may be shaded off—we may doubt if their effect can at any rate be mitigated—by the counter influence of Lord Auckland's nomination we cannot say; because of Lord Auckland we know nothing but that he is one of half-a-dozen clergymen who have in rapid succession sat upon that (apparently) most uneasy stool which the Bishop of Sodor and Man is allowed to occupy at the feet of his more fortunate companions in the House of Lords. But that in themselves they indicate a determined course of policy with respect to the Establishment, no thinking man can reasonably question. For whatever differences may exist between the members of the dignified triumvirate, who will now enjoy their respective gradations of dignity in the north, east, and south of England, it is undeniable that all of them, like all others whom Lord John Russell has raised to posts of dignity in the Establishment, agree in cordially detesting three at least among the essential characteristics of Catholic Theology: first, the Mystical; secondly, the Sacramental; and thirdly, the Ascetic principle.

"Meanwhile, the organs of Puseyism are either won over, or silenced; at any rate they are acquiescent. The *Guardian*, the ablest and most influential among them, has no charge to bring against Mr. Milman but that of a tendency to 'Liberalism.' While of Dr. Tait's

appointment the same critic pronounces that it is comparatively 'unexceptionable.' And then this party has the coolness to deny that it has retrograded, in sensitiveness to orthodoxy, during the last three or four years."

Whether the *English Churchman* should be classed among "the organs of Puseyism" or not, it certainly has not been "silenced," as the following article which appeared in a late number will testify.

"It is, generally speaking, not so much the justice of a cause, as the course of events, which practically brings it before the public, and shows them the necessity of acting in its favour. We suppose that most persons would be ready to admit that the clergy and laity of the church ought to have a potential voice in the appointment of their bishops. Abstractedly speaking, they would concede that the first article of Magna Charta (which binds King John and his heirs to grant to the clergy that '*libertatem electionum, quæ maxima et magis necessaria reputatur Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,*' and which has been ratified by his successors over and over and over again,) is a just enactment, and should be religiously kept. They would also grant that the confirmation of bishops should be a reality, and not a mockery; and that, if any charge of heresy or immorality was then brought against the bishop elect, it ought to be investigated by the archbishop; and that, if proved, a new election ought to take place. They would also concede that the clergy have as much right to meet and manage their own affairs as the laity; and that the crown has, strictly speaking, no more right to prevent the Convocation from assembling than it has to prevent the meeting of Parliament. All these things are readily conceded. Their justice is so apparent that Englishmen would hardly be found to say anything against it. But, when you come to put the matter to the test, and asked them if they would help you to procure the restoration of these undoubted privileges of the church, you were immediately met with some such answer as this:—

" ' Things are going on very well at present; you had better let well alone; abstractedly speaking, no doubt you are right, but what practical inconvenience arises from the present mode of conducting the affairs of the church? You get very good bishops now, quite as good as you would get in any other way. If sometimes you get one or two bad ones, another ministry then comes in, and then you get better bishops. As to the Convocation, the members of it would only quarrel and dispute; we are quieter and better without it.' Such is the answer that was sure to be given a short time ago.

" But events have lately happened, and are taking place at present, which are beginning to cause a change of opinion even amongst the most thoughtless and indifferent. We have seen the election and confirmation of Dr. Hampden and Dr. Lee. We have seen all the appointments in the gift of the crown given to men of similar opinions. The see of Norwich is now offered to Dr. Hinds, who is generally reported to be a thorough latitudinarian. If a change of ministry were to take place, what advantage should we gain? Have we any right

to expect better treatment from Sir Robert Peel, the endower of Maynooth, the author of the dissenters' chapels bill? Or from Lord Stanley, the destroyer of ten bishoprics, the founder of the national system of education in Ireland? If the Convocation were to meet to-morrow, could we be more divided than we are?

"Another circumstance which has tended much to open the eyes of the people to the real state of things, is the refusal of the Government to appoint a general fast on account of the cholera, and the consequent behaviour of the bishops. Instead of appointing a fast day, the Government order a prayer to be drawn up by the Archbishop in the place of the one in the prayer book. Some of the bishops appoint no fast day at all; some actually appoint Sunday as a day of humiliation; and some leave it to the clergy to fix their own days, dreading to take any responsibility upon themselves. When the Archbishop of Canterbury is applied to, he says he could not even recommend such an observance. Now if his Grace could not authorize a fast day to be kept throughout his province, why did he not call together his suffragans and get them all to agree upon the same day? For it is admitted that every bishop has power to order a fast to be kept in his own diocese. It is not a matter of politics, for men of all political parties approved of it. It is not a question of party, for high church and low church agreed in demanding it. Why then was it not done? Simply because our bishops are chosen by the Government, and not by the church. Consequently there is a strong tendency in them to represent the Government and not the church.

"The course of events is therefore bringing to pass what justice would not have obtained; and churchmen are beginning to find out that the church will never be in a satisfactory state, so long as the bishops are appointed by the Crown. This is the plague spot of the church, and it paralyses her exertions. What would be the fate of an army, the generals of which were appointed by neutral parties or foes? Yet this is really the state of the church. She must receive her leaders from whoever happens to be Prime Minister—from men who may wish to destroy her—from men who may be of any or no religion. How long will churchmen suffer such a state of things to continue?

"Since writing the above, we have been informed, on good authority, that there is a serious intention of opposing the confirmation of Dr. Hinds, should he be elected (?) by the Dean and Chapter of Norwich. If Lord John Russell persists in not only appointing unsound men, but in systematically excluding, as a general rule, those who are acknowledged by all to be eminently qualified for the episcopate, it is evident that something must be done to bring his Lordship to a sense of the danger and injustice of his proceedings."—*English Churchman*.

The *English Churchman* has certainly not been "won over or silenced,"—to use the language of the *Tablet*, whose editor, however, is too clever a man to require to be informed, that there are

other reasons than the mean and selfish ones he suggests, which may sometimes render it unwise to agitate questions of this nature in any church.

But, in truth, whatever "organs" may have been "won over or silenced," there have never been wanting, at any time, or under any administration, persons disposed to agitate as far as the liberty of speech, and writing, and acting were allowed them, and not at all of that material which would make it easy for any one to win them over or silence them. The history of our church shows, what a plentiful crop of agitation the enemy had sown in the time of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., and what were the fruits of their agitation also. Those who desire a proof of this statement in both particulars, will find abundance in Dr. Maitland's admirable papers on Subjects connected with the Reformation; and, for a later period, in the series of articles from the pen of Mr. Lathbury, which have for some time been in course of publication in this Magazine. Whatever party-men may think of the necessity of agitation, there are two facts which we believe no well-informed person will consider to admit of a question; the first, that the greatest trials which have ever been experienced by our church have been caused by agitation; and secondly, that the enemies of our church have always understood this so well that they have invariably laboured to encourage agitation, wherever they could find persons foolish enough to take their advice, or weak enough to be goaded into rash and ill-advised proceedings by their scoffs and tauntings.

This Magazine has from time to time spoken too distinctly on the fearful nature of the erroneous doctrines imputed to the clergymen recently nominated for high appointments, to be suspected of any inclination to make light of the impropriety and danger of preferring any person whose writings or opinions can be justly charged with Rationalism or Neologianism, or that poorly disguised modification of Socinianism which is called by the name of Sabellianism, as the term by which the theory was anciently known. If the providence of the Almighty has seen fit, in its inscrutable wisdom, to consign the appointment to the highest dignities in our church to the hands of an individual whose education and whose private opinions may dispose him to set about deliberately, by the use of the patronage of the Crown, the destruction of orthodoxy in the Church of England, we believe there is no true churchman who could regard such a circumstance in any other light than as a heavy trial and chastisement. If these appointments were, so to speak, accidental, if the Prime Minister, acting on the theory on which the Whigs have always professed to act—that the disposal of ecclesiastical dignities is a sort of perquisite of the Prime Minister for the time being, and that no one has a right to interfere with him in the matter—if this

were the only principle on which appointments were made at present, one could not regard it otherwise than as a chastisement and a trial. And so, no doubt, it was felt, even by that class of divines of a past generation, who thought that, valuable as orthodoxy, and learning, and piety were, still the most important of all things was, that the ministry of the day should be gratified, and upheld, and strengthened. We do not believe that this good old theory of the Whigs has been altogether given up, as some seem to imagine. We apprehend, that of several appointments that have of late years been made, no other reason whatever could be given, but that some political supporters or connexions were to be gratified or compensated. And if it has so happened, that the candidates put forward by the supporters of a Whig and extremely liberal ministry were not of a particularly orthodox description, we do not see how any one can be much surprised. Still even under the Sir Robert Walpole system of church management, the state of things which inevitably results is a trial and a chastisement, and cannot be felt to be otherwise by any true churchman. How much more if appointments are made to subserve the religious views and objects of the minister—and if those views and objects should be directed to the undermining and overthrow of the orthodoxy of our Church. Somehow or another, by chance or by design, it is not for us to conjecture, the current of ministerial favour has lately seemed to run almost wholly (if there be any exception, except in the few instances where ministerial obligations and convenience may have prevailed) in the wrong direction—as far as the Catholic faith and the authority and inspiration of Holy Scripture are concerned: and if this be the result of a settled intention and design, the fact of its being so seems to be more plainly developed as matters proceed. No churchman can feel this to be anything else than a trial and chastisement, and a most painful one.

To regard it otherwise, however, to lose sight of the authority and power from which the trial and the chastisement can alone proceed, is to forget that the Church and all its concerns are in the hands, and under the direction, of its Almighty Head, and that nothing can happen without His permission. But if so, how can any well-instructed Churchman act otherwise in this particular case than he would act, as a Christian man, if his faith and patience were tried in any other way. It is not by fretfulness, or clamour, or the angry vindication of rights, that a true Christian will choose to redress his private wrongs. How much less those where Providence has so clearly permitted the responsibility to devolve on another. Right or wrong—just or unjust—it is a matter of fact and notoriety, that a particular individual claims and exercises the sole right of patronage to all the highest classes of ecclesiastical appointments. How this might be mended is

another question :—though we are quite certain that the admission of *bonâ fide* elections would be anything but an improvement. To speak plainly, we believe, and have long believed, that free elections by the clergy are absolutely destructive to the morals, piety, and respectability of any church *circumstanced as ours is*. We speak thus guardedly, merely to avoid a question which would draw attention from the point with which *we* ourselves are practically concerned. But even in an unendowed church, the fearful injury done to the clerical character by the elective system will be but too obvious to any one, who will inform himself as to the mode in which the elections of the Roman-catholic bishops in Ireland are managed, and the horrible bribery and prostitution by which a majority of votes is too commonly procured. As long as there are free elections, there will be contested elections ; and if ever our bishops or dignitaries of any sort are appointed in that way, consequences will result which will compel men to look back with regret on the worst and most reckless system of ministerial patronage that has ever yet afflicted our Church.

We repeat it : the Church has had no lack of agitators at any time, and has had pretty sufficient experience of the fruits of agitation. There have never been wanting, however, those who feel as deeply at least as any agitators can, though they resort to other remedies. Such men believe, that there is real power and efficacy in the prayer which continually ascends to the throne of grace, that it may please the Head of the Church to rule and govern it in the right way. . They believe that, as the hands of the inspired patriarch were not guided by chance, so the most painful appointments do not happen without the Divine permission : and they believe also, that strength is found in such cases by *sitting still*, as contradistinguished from the clamour and bustle of agitation ; and that he who studies at such times “to be quiet, and to do his own business,” and in the solitude of his chamber, and in the offices of the Church, commits the matter into the hands of the Supreme Disposer of events, is consulting really and effectually for the safety of the Church, and the preservation of the faith once delivered to the saints. There is a degree of faith in the ill-regulated and impatient zeal of agitation. But it is a higher and a more prevailing faith which takes refuge in its “chamber,”—in the retirement of prayer, and humiliation, and personal duties, until the trial and chastisement have done their work, and the “calamity be overpast.” The disciples had real faith when they awakened the Lord, and called on him to save them from the storm ; a greater faith, however, would have kept them calm and unaffrighted : for sleeping or waking, as long as he was with them, how could they perish ? and therefore his rebuke was, “O ye of little faith.” Such we sincerely believe has been the conviction of the great body of the clergy of our church at all times, and

such we believe also the secret of its safety, and of the hold it has at this moment on the affections of the laity. An agitating clergy may produce changes and revolutions, and carry matters pretty much their own way. But they will never, for any length of time, retain the respect of the religious and sensible portion of the laity. Such persons know what the effects of agitation are on the morals of the people. They expect the clergy to teach them to confide in other methods, and to set them the example of such conduct by doing so themselves.

We are quite aware how very unpopular these views will be with all those who tell us that we must do something to bring Lord John Russell to his senses. We are content that they should be so. This publication was not established for the purpose of advocating or abetting agitation of any sort. It is sufficient for the discharge of the responsibilities of a writer or private Christian, to have declared our abhorrence of everything that is opposed to the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures and the Church of Christ—and having done so, to wait patiently, as long as it may seem the will of God to allow the faith and patience of his Church to be tried by those on whom his providence has allowed the responsibility of making a wrong or a reckless appointment to rest. It is the voice of Divine wisdom which has uttered the maxim—"He that believeth shall not make haste."

THE DWELLINGS OF THE POOR.

THE following letter, which is reprinted from the *Times* newspaper, brings forward a variety of topics which must eventually engage the attention of those who wish to ameliorate the condition of the poor, especially in the metropolis. The change which is gradually taking place in London is rapidly bringing matters to a crisis. Numbers of houses which were, a few years ago, the residences of respectable families, are now let out in single rooms to the poor, if not to actual paupers. In these, whole families are crowded into every chamber; and all those ill consequences ensue to their health, morals, and decency, which can scarcely be imagined by any one that is not in the habit of visiting the poor in their own dwellings. The remedy is, unfortunately, not so obvious as the evil. The system of lodging-houses, no doubt, has too many advantages to warrant its being refused a fair and patient trial. The baths and washing-houses, also, under proper regulations, cannot fail of being a very great comfort to the poor, and must be conducive to the health and convenience of multitudes. Such, we believe, they are esteemed by many of the class for whom they are intended.

A practical difficulty, however, seems to present itself in the way of improvements in some of the most over-crowded places. What is to become of the poor if we interfere with the present system? Where are they to go to? But, on the other hand, it must be recollected, that many of them have no particular reason for preferring the neighbourhood in question to any other. It is often a real kindness to their souls and bodies to do anything which will lead to their removing to a more suitable place, for example, to the outskirts of London; where a cottage in an open, healthy situation can be hired for little more—in many cases for less—than they are now paying for one filthy room. But for those who, on account of the nature of their employment, require to live close at hand, it is a serious question, whether something cannot be done to improve the circumstances of their lodgings—and, where this is practicable, to erect on the spot a more suitable and befitting class of houses for their accommodation. The question, as all who are not mere theorists know, is beset with difficulties;—but, in some cases, at least, the difficulties can be overcome; and wherever they can, and that men of judgment and experience are at hand to direct the undertaking, a very great amount of good can be done.

“ LORD ASHLEY ON SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT AMONG THE POOR;

“ *To the Editor of the Times.*

“ Sir,—It is with some reluctance that I venture to request for this letter a place in your columns. I am induced, however, to do so by an earnest hope that the present opportunity, resulting from the ravages of the late epidemic, and the painful experience it has conveyed, may issue in some effective and permanent improvement of the domiciliary condition of the working classes.

“ The time is singularly favourable for such an effort. We have been spared, by God’s mercy, the profligacy and demoralization so often the consequences of pestilence and mortality; the people have been rather softened than exasperated by their sufferings. The valuable reports of Mr. Grainger to the Board of Health, and of Mr. Simon to the Corporation of London, will attest that they are labouring under no prejudice, nor belief of poisoned wells, and sinister attempts to reduce the population; nay, the reverse; they are really grateful to those who have visited from house to house in their behalf; and, having acquired at last a better understanding of their own physical and social exigencies, are most ready to receive any counsels that friendly and experienced persons might be disposed to give them.

“ I refer now especially to their domiciliary condition, because it lies at the root of all attempts to render to a people substantial service. Regarded physically or morally, it is an indispensable preliminary to all improvements that they should possess within their dwellings whatever is required for cleanliness and decency. Now, to show the

physical mischiefs that, in this respect, beset the population of London, as well as most of our towns, be they great or small (and much that is said of the towns may be applied to not a few of the agricultural districts,) I need only refer to the statements nearly every day in the columns of your journal, the reports of the registrar-general, and of the various sanitary associations. Disgusting and horrible as they are, I can assert, of my own personal knowledge, that they fall short of the monstrous reality. If they do not beget, they unquestionably invite and localize epidemic disorders, and I have indeed long entertained a belief, which is confirmed by hourly investigation, and the opinion of many friends who are joined with me in these inquiries, that a very large proportion of the pauperism of the country, with its appalling train of debilitated frames, widows, and orphans, is the result of the sanitary condition to which our neglect has abandoned such vast multitudes.

“As for the moral mischiefs, their name is Legion. I can call to witness, I am sure, every minister of religion, the scripture-readers, the city missionaries, the district visitors. They will concur with me in declaring that to aim at the spiritual improvement of the fetid swarms that, without either the practice or the possibility of decency—without limitation of age, sex, or numbers, crowd the stinking apartments of the lanes, courts, and alleys of this great metropolis, is a vain and fruitless effort. The work, too, of education is altogether baffled; for the child, returning to these abodes of promiscuous and animal life, unlearns in a single hour the lessons of an entire day.

“An effort such as this offers another advantage,—it requires no preliminary delay; we may commence forthwith. The improvement, I rejoice to say, of the dwellings of the poor, with its concomitant blessings of health and morals, is no longer a matter of theory or investigation; it has been established by abundant proof; it may be seen in full operation in the various model lodging-houses of London; founded by the Labourers' Friend Society, by many benevolent individuals, and by the Metropolitan Society for Improving the dwellings of the Working Classes—which, if it were well supported, would, of itself, be able to grapple with half the mischief. We may see in them decency, cleanliness, and repose; in the houses for single men, every comfort their station requires, at the price which each one would elsewhere pay for the twentieth part of some pestilential sty; in the houses for families, three well-aired apartments, with a daily and ample supply of water, for the rent they would otherwise pay for one single room, and no water at all. The effects are corresponding; the human beings are elevated; they look better, speak better, think better, and are placed in a situation where it is their own fault if they do not discharge their duties as Englishmen and Christians.

“It is well worthy of remark that, while the cholera was ravaging, to a frightful extent, the filthy and overcrowded receptacles, these new-fashioned lodging-houses were altogether spared. In all the establishments belonging to the Labourers' Friend Society there was not (so I am informed by Mr. Berry, our honorary surgeon,) one case of cholera, and two only of diarrhoea, which speedily yielded to medical

treatment. I have heard the same most striking statement from Mr. Gatliffe, the Secretary to the Metropolitan Association.

“The establishment of baths and washhouses is an indispensable part of any system for improving the domestic condition of the poor. To omit for a moment the serious effect upon health, we may assert that it is absolutely impossible to a large mass of the population, however well-disposed, to be cleanly in their clothes or in their persons. This is no figure of speech—if any one doubt it, let him perambulate the streets and alleys, penetrate the courts, dive into the cellars, and climb into the garrets, the swarming nests of filth and misery, and he will then admit the truth of this assertion. He may find some houses, perhaps, where the laborious, scanty, and imperfect washing is carried on in the only apartment tenanted by the whole family. But an evil arises here, for hundreds of instances may be recounted, in which the husbands, to avoid the disorder and discomfort of their homes, have become the habitual frequenters of the pothouse.

“These, too, require no further investigation; the success of the admirable establishments in Goulston-street, Euston-square, and the parish of St. Martin, has manifested, beyond a doubt, the adaptation of such arrangements to the welfare of the people, and the exigencies of the times.

“The truth is, that all these provisions should henceforward form a part of our normal state, and become inseparable items of the parochial system.

“Every one will admit it to be a singular advantage, in the plans proposed, that they partake in no respect of an eleemosynary character. The institutions are self-supporting, and, in order to be widely diffused, must be remunerative. The model-houses, constructed or adapted to the purpose, at the expense of individuals or associated bodies, have proved that they will be so, and encourage the outlay of public and private funds in a benevolent yet profitable investment. The rents, fixed at a reasonable amount, are rigorously demanded and punctually paid. The independence of the working man is thus consulted and maintained, while the aid of those who possess capital or leisure (the very things which the working man generally neither have nor can have) does no more than render available for his service the gifts and resources of health and industry.

“It has been estimated that, on an average, the working man loses by sickness (the result, in most instances, of his noisome abode,) about thirty days of labour in each year. Suppose his condition improved, and he lose but ten, the savings on the twenty, in time and medicine, may be calculated as worth at the least 3*l.*; no inconsiderable sum in the minute details of 10*s.* a-week. But the pecuniary benefit of the washhouses to the labouring class is still greater. A woman may now, by the excellent arrangements of these institutions, do for herself and her family, in three hours and a half, and with the outlay of a few pence, as much as (badly done, after all,) would have occupied in her own house the better part of two days, amidst neglected children, a disordered household, and the pestiferous exhalations from linen hung to be dried in the common apartment. And, as to the financial effects,

some housewives of this class informed me that they calculated the reduction on the actual sum formerly assigned to washing expenses (omitting the value of the time saved) to be no less than 75 per cent., and in some instances even more.

“ These several reductions must be estimated as tantamount to an actual increase of the wages of labour by a legitimate and permanent mode, which hurts no principle of political economy, maintains and confirms the independence of the working man, and simply opens to him the field for the free and rightful exercise of his moral and physical energies. If I am correct in this view, it will be unnecessary to seek any further arguments; those to whom I appeal will remember the 10th of April and the noble demeanour of the people; they will remember their fortitude and patience under their late sufferings, and will award that sympathy and co-operation which the wealthy and powerful of these realms have oftentimes been so forward to bestow.

“ I am, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

“ October 16.

“ ASHLEY.”

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES IN IRELAND.

WHATEVER expectations the public have formed of the new colleges in Ireland being—as it was pretended they were to be—of a neutral character, and adapted for united education, their hopes seem likely to be disappointed. In a late number of an Irish newspaper, the *Newry Telegraph*, is an account of a recent meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterians in Ireland. It is quite proper to reprint it, as it furnishes such an extraordinary instance of the manner in which the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics succeed in extorting from government any concessions they choose to demand.

“ SPECIAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND.

“ The Assembly met on Wednesday morning at seven o'clock, and after prayer, the minutes of the previous day's proceedings were read.

“ The committee appointed to take into consideration the whole question respecting Mrs. Magee's bequest, presented the following report :

“ ‘ That they have agreed to recommend to the Assembly that, inasmuch as from the letter of Mr. Fleming, it appears that a settlement of this matter is now practicable, a committee be appointed, consisting of Rev. Dr. Barnett, moderator, Rev. Drs. Stewart, Cooke, Dobbin, Edgar, and Morgan, with Messrs. Neilson and Potts, elders; Dr. Cooke, convener—to meet in Belfast, upon the 1st November next, at two o'clock; and that they have full power to confer with the executors and trustees, and endeavour to effect this desirable object; and, further, should this committee not succeed in effecting this arrangement, that they be empowered to take such steps as they may be advised, for the protection of the interests of this church or the college

bequest ; and also for the immediate application of the bequests for mission purposes.'

" After some discussion the Assembly adopted the resolution, and appointed the committee with the powers specified.

" The committee also presented a resolution, respecting the attendance of students upon the classes in Queen's College, Belfast.

" Dr. Houston proposed an amendment to the following effect :—
' That inasmuch as the Assembly adhere to their already expressed opinion, that it is the duty of this church to secure a sound literary, as well as theological, education for the candidates for the ministry, in a seminary under our own control ; and, as we cannot approve of the principles on which the Queen's College is founded, and the statutory regulations, we cannot sanction their attendance at its classes, but will make temporary arrangements for their instruction in the under-graduate course.'

" Dr. Brown seconded the amendment.

" After a short discussion the Assembly adjourned till ten o'clock, at which hour it resumed, and was constituted in the usual manner.

" The minutes of the previous *sederunt* having been read, the clerk read the following resolution, which had been prepared by the committee appointed on Tuesday, to take the subject into consideration.

" ' That whereas her Majesty's Government have already provided for the religious instruction of all our students, during the college course, by the endowment of a theological faculty, under our own exclusive jurisdiction, and whereas one of our ministers, in whose capacity and paternal care we have entire confidence, has been appointed dean of residence, to whom has been committed the constant inspection and conduct of the students ; and whereas the qualification and character of the professors appointed in Queen's College, Belfast, for those classes which the students of the church have been hitherto required to attend, are such as to justify the Assembly in accepting certificates and degrees from the college, as they have hitherto done from other seats of learning, they do not find it necessary to continue the temporary arrangement for the education of the students in the under-graduate course ; and they now permit them to attend the classes of that department in Queen's College, Belfast.'

" Mr. Killen observed that he understood the Government had appointed a dean of residence connected with the new college, and he would like to know on whom the appointment had fallen.

" The Moderator.—Upon Dr. Cooke.

" Mr. Rogers, of Comber, said he had a strong objection against sending their students to the Queen's colleges. He would vote for the amendment, for he thought, by sending their students to the Queen's colleges, they would be acting inconsistently with their former declarations.

" Doctor Cooke had no notion of replying to all that had been said. The Latin phrase *vox et preterea nihil* would illustrate what Mr. Rogers had said. If any argument had been used he could meet it ; but when there were vagaries introduced from the battle of Trafalgar

to the field of Waterloo, where Dr. Brown did not die, he really thought he would be only wasting the time of the Assembly by making any observations ; he would rather they would come to a vote at once.

“ Mr. James Gibson (elder) supported the original motion.

“ Mr. Dobbin thought it would not be necessary to discuss the merits of the motion and amendment before the house, as the adoption or rejection of the amendment would settle the question. He believed that if the amendment should be carried, the members of the Assembly would not carry with them the feelings of the people of the province of Ulster. (Hear.) For his own part, he rejoiced at the establishment of the Queen's colleges, for the young men would be educated there as well as in any university in the empire ; and one thing he was certain of, that whether the Assembly said yea or nay, the students would go there.

“ Dr. Brown was of opinion that they should have nothing to do with these colleges. He was convinced that if they had set to work with energy, the Government would have given them a college to themselves. He affirmed that they should have equal rights with Episcopalians, and the state had given them Trinity College. The state had also given endowments to the Roman-catholic College of Maynooth, besides which the Roman Catholics, greatly to their own credit, had established several colleges. He would put it to the Presbyterian body—he would put it to the council of the church, whether they would content themselves with jobbing when they had the prospect of Mrs. Magee's munificent bequest before them, or whether they would not take advantage of it, and carry out their original intentions of having a college of their own for their students ?

“ The amendment was then put, and was negatived by a large majority, only seven voting in favour of it.

“ On the suggestion of Mr. Neilson, Dublin, the appointment of Dr. Cook, as Dean of Residence, was approved of, and a resolution to that effect was adopted.

“ The following is a copy of the letter, addressed to the Rev. Doctor, containing the appointment, which was read by the clerk :

“ ‘ Dublin Castle, 29th Sept. 1849.

“ ‘ Sir,—I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to inform you, that having fully and anxiously considered the question of Deanship of Residence of the Queen's College, Belfast, for the students of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, who may attend that college, and having taken into account your high position, your great experience, and the public convenience which will arise from the coincidence of an important portion of your present official duties with those which Deanship of Residence involves, his Excellency feels much pleasure in appointing you to discharge the functions of that office in accordance with the provisions of the statutes, rules, and ordinances of the Queen's College, Belfast, defining the powers of the Deans of Residence.

“ ‘ The necessary intimation of your appointment has been forwarded this day to the Moderator of the General Assembly.

“ ‘ I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ ‘ THOMAS REDINGTON.

“ Rev. Mr. Killen again alluded to the appointment of Dr. Cooke as having been made without consulting the Assembly.

“ Dr. Cooke—It may, perhaps, take the sting out of my young friend's objection, when he is informed that there is no salary attached to the office. (Laughter.)

“ The subject then dropped.

“ Doctor Molyneux, before the original motion with reference to their students attending Queen's College passed, wished to propose an amendment to the effect, that the education of the students should not be confined to the Belfast College alone, but that the Cork and Galway Colleges should be open to them.

“ Mr. James Gibson seconded the amendment.

“ Dr. Cooke opposed the amendment, because the Professors of those colleges were very different men from those appointed to the chairs here. The fact was, he had stated his conviction to the Government that, if a Roman Catholic or an Arian were appointed to any of the chairs, he, for, one, would advise their students not to attend any of those classes. The reason he would vote for the Queen's College here, and object to the amendment was, because the appointment of the Professors had been made with a view of satisfying the Presbyterian people, whereas in Cork and Galway, the appointments were made to please the Roman Catholics.

“ After a few observations from Dr. Stewart, in opposition to the amendment,

“ The original motion, after some verbal amendments, was put and carried ; and the meeting of Assembly terminated.—*Northern Whig.*”

It is quite clear from this that these colleges will be absolutely sectarian, as far as religion is concerned. And it is but too evident also, that, if the Presbyterians can but get the Belfast College into their own hands, they are perfectly satisfied to allow the colleges of Cork and Galway to be handed over to the Roman Catholics. But is it possible that any administration can be parties to so disgraceful a transaction ?

THE NEW MOVEMENT AGAINST THE CHURCH IN IRELAND.

THE project put forward by Serjeant Shee in the document we printed last month, is not likely to be let to drop. One of the Romish bishops has already recommended to his clergy the adoption of this new species of agitation ; and Serjeant Shee has printed a second letter, in which he again urges it on the members of his church. We have not room for it at present, but we com-

mend to the attention of all the following article, which was reprinted in the *Tablet*, from an Irish newspaper. It is quite evident, that the days of reserve have gone by, and the Romanists think the time has now arrived for avowing their real objects, and demanding the property of the Protestant church for their own uses :—

“ THE IRISH ESTABLISHMENT.—PETITION OF THE UNION OF THOMASTOWN.

“(From the *Kilkenny Journal*.)

“ We stated in a recent number of the *Journal*, that in bringing the absurdity of the Protestant church system to the notice of the English Parliament and people, an example of practical work would be set by the diocese of Ossory. We subjoin a petition, now in course of signature in the union of Thomastown.

“ We observe in the document, which is most carefully drawn up, that a distinction is made in it between the project of a state pension for the catholic clergy—that shallow device for the destruction of their just influence over their flocks—and the provision of suitable church room, out of the Irish church revenues, for the Catholic people of Ireland.

“ Thomastown formerly returned two members to the Irish parliament. It contains a population of 2348 inhabitants, and is the largest of the small towns of the county of Kilkenny, except Callan, which has a population of 3111. The mere statistics of the petition, (and there are many cases much worse) furnish irrefragable evidence of the impolicy and injustice of a system without example in the history of any country but Ireland. They expose, in frightful enormity, details which are a disgrace to any government or system on earth :—

“ ‘ That the union of Thomastown, consisting of the rectories of Thomastown, Columkill, and the impropriate cure of Farnagh church, contains, according to the census of 1831, a population of 3959 souls.

“ ‘ That of these, nineteen-twentieths, at the least, are of the Roman Catholic faith, the remainder members of the Protestant church by law established.

“ ‘ That the church revenue of the said union amounts to the sum of 410*l.*, the whole of which, subject to some small deductions for church purposes, and to the tax imposed upon benefices by the 3 & 4 Wm. IV., c. 87, is charged as a joint incumbrance upon the lands of the said union, and received by the Protestant rector for the support of himself and his curate.

“ ‘ That the said rector resides in a glebe-house, built at an expense of 1025*l.* 15*s.* 8½*d.*, and surrounded by about twenty-two statute acres of glebe land.

“ ‘ That he officiates in a church built (A.D. 1811), at a cost to the inhabitants of the said union of 1188*l.* 12*s.* 3¼*d.*

“ ‘ That the said church, though built to accommodate not more than 120 persons, is abundantly sufficient for the wants of the Protestant population of the said union.

“ ‘ That the congregation attending divine worship at the said

church never exceeds 100, and seldom amounts to the number of sixty persons; that many reside beyond the limits of the said union; that all of them are in a respectable station, and in a condition conveniently to bear the cost of repairing from time to time the fabric of their church, and of the suitable performance of its public service.

“That these charges are nevertheless defrayed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland out of the revenues of the Irish church placed by law at their disposal for such purposes.

“That the Catholic chapel at Thomastown, in which the vast majority of the population of the said union assemble for the worship of Almighty God, is an ancient building, unworthy of substantial repair, and wholly inadequate, in respect of its size, to the need of the Catholic population.

“That two morning services are on every Sunday of the year celebrated at the said chapel, and that at the service which commences at twelve o'clock, from two to three hundred adult persons are often obliged, for want of room in the said chapel, to kneel on the chapel yard, exposed to the cold and the rain.

“That the aged and the infirm members of the congregation, and between two and three hundred children of an age to receive religious instruction, are prevented by the inconvenient pressure within the walls of the said chapel from attending the public worship of their church.

“That two other chapels in the remote parts of the Catholic parish of Thomastown, one situate at Mong, in the said union, and the other at Kilminock, are, if possible, in a less satisfactory condition.

“That although a sum of 200*l.* was bequeathed by the Rev. Laurence Murphy, parish priest of Thomastown, to his parishioners, for the purpose of rebuilding their chapel, the distress occasioned by the calamity of famine, with which it has pleased Providence to afflict their country, has wholly disabled your petitioners from commencing that undertaking.

“Your petitioners have been informed that large sums of money, not less in the whole, as your petitioners believe, than two millions sterling, have been voted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom to a corporation, enacted by an act passed in the 58th year of the reign of his late Majesty, King George the Third, by the name of “His Majesty’s Commissioners for New Churches” for the purpose of providing adequate church accommodation for the people of large and populous parishes in England and Wales, and that provision has also been made by Parliament for increased church accommodation in the highlands and islands of Scotland.

“That it appears from a report recently submitted to Parliament by the said Commissioners that they have provided church accommodation for more than 480,000 persons, including 250,000 free sittings, for the poor.

“That no such pension to the extent of a single farthing has been made for the church accommodation of the Irish Catholic people.

“Your petitioners humbly beg leave to assure your honourable

House that they have been moved to the adoption of this petition by no unkindly feeling to the rev. members of the said union, whose humane and charitable conduct in seasons of distress and difficulty they must always gratefully remember—by no unworthy jealousy of their Protestant neighbours, with whom they have the happiness to live on terms of unusual friendliness and respect.

“ ‘ They implore your honourable House not to assent to any measure, having for its object the connexion, by means of a state provision, of the Catholic clergy with the state; but they earnestly pray your honourable House to find a remedy for the great injustice of the religious inequality above set forth, and so to alter the laws relating to the temporalities of the Irish Protestant church, that its revenues may be applied to purposes of more extended usefulness, and, in particular, to the increase of Catholic church accommodation, in populous Catholic parishes, for the Catholic people of Ireland.

“ ‘ And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.’ ”

We cannot but commend this document to the serious consideration of all Churchmen. It is impossible to imagine a more iniquitous proposal than this, or one which more directly contravenes the fundamental articles of the legislative union of the two countries. One would like to know, how long it will be before the Romish party begin to call for the transfer of ecclesiastical property in this country also to themselves. He is surely a very shortsighted politician who dreams of satisfying their cravings by the sacrifice of the church in Ireland. Already, indeed, they are giving very intelligible hints as to their right to all the property and the buildings that are in the possession of our church.

REVIEW.

Illustrations and Enquiries relating to Mesmerism. Part I. By the Rev. S. R. Maitland, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., sometime Librarian to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and Keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth. London: William Stephenson.—Pp. 82.

THE subject of Mesmerism is one which has not yet received the attention its important bearing on a variety of other subjects demands. It has been met in general, and even by those whose duty it would seem to be to examine into the truth of such stories as have been and are constantly published, with contempt or ridicule as a manifest imposture, or, if not, something so silly that no one need trouble himself to investigate whether it was true or not. The writer of this notice has never had leisure or opportunity to examine the question. But it is perfectly clear to him, that some one ought to investigate it, and to do it thoroughly. If

it be an imposture, it is quite too serious a one to be treated with indifference. It should be publicly exposed and put down. If it be not,—if the statements, or one tenth part of them, be true—then we cannot but feel that it is a plain duty, that it should be looked into more than it has been. For, if there be such a power as *clairvoyance*, and still more, a power in one person to control the will of another in the way that has been alleged by the writers on mesmerism, the consequences that may arise from unprincipled people meddling with such powers must be very serious indeed.

Dr. Maitland has bestowed a vast deal of attention to the subject for many years past, and the present pamphlet is, in part, the result of his thoughts and enquiries. There is a good deal in it, which we should have been glad to quote, in order to put our readers in possession of the author's views. But we content ourselves with referring our readers to the pamphlet itself. There will very likely be differences of opinion with regard to one or two views he has suggested, especially with regard to the familiar spirits and demoniacs of the sacred history. But these are questions on which one is always glad to receive the suggestions of a man of learning; and there is no subject on which Dr. Maitland would write on which his thoughts would not be valuable.

For the present, we prefer laying before our readers some extracts from his pamphlet, for the length of which we shall make no apology, because our object in doing so is this, that we think the impression produced on our own mind, on reading them, must be produced on the minds of our readers also—namely, that the question is reduced to one of truth and falsehood—and that if the statements here made with such distinctness and minuteness of particularity, by persons of such name and station in society, are to be treated as unworthy of notice, it becomes a serious question what the value of human testimony is.

Our first extract contains a statement made by the Hon. Miss Boyle, one of the maids of honour to the Queen Dowager, in a letter to Dr. Elliotson, dated Jan. 24, 1845.

“Miss Boyle having applied to Dr. Elliotson to recommend a mesmerist to attend a lady who was ill, was by him recommended to Mr. Hands, with whom she had been previously unacquainted. Her interview and conversation with Mr. Hands led to her seeing and being placed *en rapport* with his patient, Ellen Dawson, already mentioned. Their first mental journey was to Normandy, where the clairvoyante (who can scarcely be suspected of falsehood in professing that she had never been in France,) not only described the interior of the church of St. Owen at Rouen, which Miss Boyle was well acquainted with and greatly admired, quite satisfactorily, but minutely detailed the circumstances which had occurred to that lady during a solitary visit which she had paid to the church. After this the dialogue proceeded;—

(8.) "Now, if you like, we will go to my home in Somersetshire. 'Have you ever been to Bath?' 'I can see Bath; it is such a pretty place,—all those houses are so very pretty.' 'Now we are at the White Hart Hotel, and there is a carriage to take us by a very beautiful road and along some lanes to my house, and through a little park.' (Eagerly) 'Oh! the dogs, that dear great dog.' 'What dogs?' 'Why your dog—there he is at the door. (Ellen was in great glee, and quite like a happy child.) He is so glad to see you: how he does jump at your face—how large he is—and how he follows you!' 'Yes, Ellen, up to my room, does he not?' 'Yes. Oh! what a pretty room it is.' 'What do you see in it? Tell me all about it.' 'A wardrobe; it stands just as you go into the room: it is a high wardrobe, with clothes in the drawers.' 'No, Ellen, there I think you are wrong; I think they were all taken out the morning I came away.' (However, my maid here made me a sign that Ellen was right.) 'But there are only clothes in the drawers; I see something red in the closet part of the wardrobe—yes, it is lined with red, and there are colours: and there I can see a tall white figure standing.' 'How is the figure standing?' 'Like this'—(and here Ellen rose from the chair, and put herself in the exact attitude of the statue in my wardrobe. I was then at a loss what to know she meant by colours; however, when I reached home, I found Ellen was right there—by the statue was a purple, red, yellow, blue, and green box, which I had quite forgotten.) 'What are the colours of my curtains?' 'Why, the bed curtains are striped green, and so are the window curtains, and I see red chairs. I can't see all the things at once. There is what looks like a very odd bookcase lined with dark red outside.' (The case is carved, and shows the lining through the open gothic work.) 'What books are in it?' 'No books at all. Oh! how many things there are on the mantel-shelf.' 'But what do you see in my bookcase?' 'It is not a bookcase, it opens, and there I see a white figure which looks just like a baby in a night shift—a long loose dress; yet it cannot be a baby's figure, because there it has a coronet on its head and flat hair.' 'Is that then in the bookcase? I wish you would attend.' (Ellen thinking.) 'Yes, it is.' 'Well, now you are quite wrong.' 'Well, let me see again. Oh! no, (eagerly) the baby stands to the right of the bookcase: and now I can see a sort of a bust of a young lady.' 'How is her hair done?' 'Flat: oh no, that's the figure to the right,—it's done in thick bushy curls off the forehead; she has a glove on, and there is gold and colours close by.' Ellen was right, the baby figure, as she called it, is even with and on the right of the carved case, and represents St. Margaret in a long loose robe fastened at the throat, very much like a child's night-gown; she has a coronet on her head; her hair is flat. The oak case contains a bust of my only sister, exactly as Ellen described it; the colours are letters on a gold ground, and my sister's shield emblazoned with the Boyle and Courtenay arms, red, white, and yellow."—*Zoist*, No. X. p. 239.

"We then went to the cottages in the village. She there described a lunatic chained and an epileptic patient, and told me in detail how

to cure each, and in what manner I should get the lunatic sufficiently tranquil to be mesmerised. She also told me of a conversation I held eleven years ago in the church of Santo Spirito at Florence; described the person I was there with, and who has never been in England, and what objects (some of which were peculiar, and which she was a long time making out or seeing, as she told me) were around us at the time. Strange, passing strange, I admit; nevertheless, strictly true, I most solemnly declare."—*Ibid.* p. 240.

It seems equally difficult to resolve such a story into fraud on the part of the clairvoyante, or of delusion on the part of Miss Boyle.

Our next extract contains a story of a different character. It is introduced in the following manner by Dr. Maitland.

So far as concerns the marvellous, it might perhaps be difficult to settle the order of precedence among some of the cases reported in the 'Zoist;' but certainly that one to which the following extract refers is not the least remarkable. The patient was Frances Gorman, a young woman residing with her mother, at No. 12, Union-place, Harper-street, New Kent-road. "Some people," says Mr. Hands, her mesmerist, "do not attach much merit to, or rather do not wonder at, the power which clairvoyants have of seeing into places at a distance." Such unreasonably apathetic people it has not been my lot to meet with; and certainly I am not one of them. Postponing the question of "merit," I can assure Mr. Hands that I "wonder" as much as he could reasonably desire, and I offer the story to my readers in the fullest confidence that they will sympathize with me. I do not say this with a view to throw doubt on the truth of the statement. I cannot vouch that there is no error or misrepresentation in any of the stories which I have already given; but it must be obvious that it would not be to my purpose, or in any way worth while, to occupy my own time or my reader's with them, unless I believed them to contain substantial and important truth. Only when a gentleman who has such a story to tell, finds people who think it nothing to wonder at, his discovery of such a species in mankind seems almost as surprising as that of mesmerism itself, and one cannot but wish to be better acquainted with his supposed readers, who have certainly approximated to the *nil admirari* more nearly than most other people. But even under the discouraging apprehension that his story might be taken as a matter of course not worth mentioning, Mr. Hands goes on to say;—

(10.) "I will now proceed to relate some of Frances's feats in clairvoyance. One day, during her recovery, Mrs. Gorman (who, by the bye, is like Ellen Dawson's mother styled a fatal *dreamer*, that is, one of those whose dreams are said always to come true) accompanied her daughter, and told me her object was to discover if possible where a certain deed was belonging to her son, I having on a former occasion mentioned to her the powers some have in the mesmeric sleep. Her son had married a woman of some property, who was of a strange

temper, and very shortly after her marriage had quarrelled with her husband's friends, and would never hold any communication with them. This woman had secreted the lease of the house, and her husband, who wanted it in order to consult his lawyer respecting some alterations, demanded the deed; but the wife would never give it up, and even told him she had lost it, and finally that she had burnt it. He being a quiet, peaceable man, put up with this; but frequently, during his wife's absence from home, would hunt in all the drawers and boxes, yet notwithstanding all his pains, he could never meet with the document, and gave it up as lost. He sometimes complained to his mother stealthily (for his wife used to threaten him with dire vengeance if he ever had any intercourse with his friends) of the disadvantages he laboured under in consequence of the loss of the deed: and this induced Mrs. Gorman to try if her daughter could discover where it was concealed. Having sent Frances to sleep, I requested her to go to her brother's residence, Paragon Mews, New Kent-road. Presently she exclaimed, 'Here is the house, but she won't let us in you know, for she never speaks to us, and would kill me if I entered.' It must be mentioned that in her sleep-waking she always mistook me for a friend named Clara. I said, 'Never mind, let us knock at the door.' Frances cried out, 'There she is, sitting down; she will see us.' I now quieted her fears, and coaxed her to pass by her sister-in-law, through the sitting-room, and in imagination we entered the bedroom. After resting a few seconds, as if in contemplating something, she suddenly exclaimed, 'I see it in that large black box under the bed; there are three boxes; it is the middle one, which is lined with blue spotted paper.' I said, 'Let us pull it out and look in it.' 'Oh,' she observed, 'how hard it is to come out: (the bed rested on it, I afterwards learnt:) there it is in that paper under the books on the left-hand side;' and added, 'how cunning; she thought no one would ever suspect it was there.' I told her to look at the lease, and she put out her hand as though to take hold of it, saying, 'I can see John Shepperd, Esq., to ———, I cannot make out the next word. Oh, now I see, M-e-s-s-rs. Thos. and Wm. Grenstone, Lease, Nov. 1834.' I asked if she could read anything inside. She replied, 'I can see, *house and stables*;' and she read some more which is immaterial. She noticed in the room a new chest of drawers and many other things, and said she wondered her brother had never mentioned them. I awoke her, and they left me. I should state that Frances had never been into the house but once, and that was shortly after her brother's marriage, and then she only entered the front room.

"I was not at all surprised, when next I saw them, to hear that all Frances had stated was correct. I have seen long paragraphs read many times by different patients, out of the room in which they were asleep. Mrs. Gorman told me she mentioned to her son that his sister in her sleep had seen where the deed was, at which he merely laughed, and said that he had looked in all the boxes many times and it was not there; but when she mentioned the chest of drawers and the other things, he began to stare and wonder, and said at all events

he would go and look again, and the next day persuaded his wife to call on a friend at a distance. When she was gone, he opened the box, and found the deed exactly in the position as related."—*Zoist*, No. XX. p. 334.

It is impossible to feel otherwise than that one is reduced to a dilemma by such a story as this. It is either true, or else it is a gross and deliberate falsehood: and if it be true, the affair assumes so serious a character, that the doings of those who profess to possess such powers ought to be looked after.

But we shall proceed to another of these stories.

Dr. Ashburner states that on the 12th Feb. 1848, Major Buckley brought to his house, "at half-past eight o'clock in the evening, two young women who had arrived at Paddington, about three hours before, from Cheltenham." He adds, that he had previously corresponded with the Major on their cases, and it had been agreed that on the evening of their arrival no one should be present but the Major and himself;—

(11.) "We assembled in my little library. I had provided myself with a dozen walnut-shells, bought at Grange's in Piccadilly, containing caraway comfits, and as I thought a motto each, and two ounces of hazle nut-shells, containing comfits and printed mottos. These were in two packets of an ounce each, and had been purchased by me about two hours before, at Lawrence's, in Oxford-street, at the corner of Marylebone-lane. One of the young women was seated at either side of the fire-place, Major Buckley placed himself at the apex of a triangle, of which they formed the basal angles. He made a few slow passes from his forehead to the pit of his stomach, on his own person. The girls said, after he had made eight or ten of these passes, 'that they were sufficient.' They saw a blue light upon him; and A. B., having taken up one of the nut-shells provided by me, placed it upon the chimney piece above her head. E. L. then did the same thing with one of the nut-shells allotted to her. I was fully aware of the objections of sceptics, that a possibility existed of changing these shells by sleight of hand; I watched the proceedings anxiously and accurately, to avoid the possibility of being deceived."—*Zoist*, No. XXI. p. 100. *April*, 1848.

By the details which follow, and which are too long to allow of their being extracted, we are informed that, with very few and trifling mistakes, the young women read the mottos enclosed in the shells. In consequence of the agreement already mentioned, no stranger was invited to this first trial; but Mr. Arnott, "who had come on professional business, and with no view of witnessing these phenomena," was in the room during a part of the time. The meeting was adjourned to the 15th of February. On that day Mr. Ashurst Majendie was present. On the next day the experiments were repeated in the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Gutch; and

"On Thursday, 24th February, Lord Adare came by appointment

at half-past three to witness the clairvoyance of these young women. Major Buckley having made the passes down his own face, the girls said they saw a blue light on his forehead and cheeks. They were nervous at the presence of Lord Adare, and it was a long time before either of them felt able to read. A. B. trembled and could not read at all. E. L. at last said she could see the last line of the motto in her nut, and she read thus,—

“ ‘ He seeks for thorns and finds his share.’ ”

I had written a for his, and when I read out before the nut was cracked, she corrected me. Lord Adare opened the shell and read,—

“ ‘ Man blindly follows grief and care;
He seeks for thorns and finds his share.’ ”

The last line was just as E. L. had seen it before the shell was opened.

“ In conversing with Dr. Elliotson on the subject of these experiments, he suggested to me that notwithstanding the conviction I had of the nutshells being identical with those I had bought myself, there might be a possibility of some jugglery. It was *possible* that each nut might be changed for one the motto of which was well known. It was not right to be content with probabilities.

“ Lord Adare presented a nut, the motto of which had been previously taken out and marked. E. L. said there was something in that nut-shell which gave her a severe head-ache. She was sure it was marked, and the very suspicion of her being guilty of fraud made her feel very ill. She began to read,—

“ ‘ Thy charms, my love can make.’ ”

but could not proceed. She went away, and both girls passed a restless night, so keenly hurt were they from having failed, and from having been thought capable of trick and deceit. The next day they came again, and Lord Adare, Major Buckley, and I were the only persons present. The first part of the motto read yesterday proved to be correct. I had procured some nuts at M. Cœuret's in Drury-lane, and had taken out the mottos, cut them carefully with scissors so that I should know them again, and had moreover written my initials on each slip of paper before I refolded and replaced it in the nut-shell. I ought to observe that I put back the sugar-plums and closed the shells so carefully with chocolate, I am certain no person could detect, the day after, that they had been opened. The number I treated in this manner prevented my remembering the lines of the mottos, so that the phenomena could not be dependent on thought-reading. E. L. laboured under a head-ache, and said she was too confused, she feared, to read accurately. At last she said, ‘ I see J. A. at one end of the motto written in ink—that's a marked nut I know; then she proceeded,—

“ ‘ Love not governed by sense or reason,
Is like a chance bird out of season.’ ”

Lord Adare broke the shell, and on examining the paper found the letters J. A. I recognised my marks. The words printed were,—

“ ‘ Love not guided still by reason,
Is the chance bird of a season.’ ”

So that the clairvoyante had been confused in her reading.

“ A. B. then tried to read a marked nut.

“ ‘ Fair maiden, hear my loving vow.’ ”

She remarked that the sugar-plums were all white, instead of being of several colours. She was quite correct. The illness of the clairvoyantes prevented our going on with the experiments.”—*Ibid.* p. 105.

Lord Adare is not a person likely to deviate from truth. He might be imposed on. But can all the particulars of this story admit of such an explanation? In the following, the names of Lord Frederick Fitzclarence and Lord Normanby are introduced.

Dr. Elliotson says, “ In the 8th and 11th numbers of *The Zoist* such examples of the clairvoyance of Alexis Didier were given, as compelled me, with all my prejudices, to be satisfied of his possessing the faculty at times.” He adds, “ I received the following account from M. Marcillet ; ”—

(12.) “ On May 17, 1847, Alexis and myself went to the apartments of Lord Frederick Fitzclarence, at the hotel Brighton, Rue Rivoli, and the trials of Alexis’s clairvoyance were begun in the presence of Lord Normanby, the English ambassador, who, like Lord Frederick, had no belief in mesmerism.

“ ‘ Can you describe my country house in England?’ said the ambassador to Alexis, who had been sent into sleep-waking. After reflecting a few minutes, Alexis replied that it was on a height. Then, having detailed its situation, and all the particulars of the grounds, he accurately described the furniture of the house, and finished by saying, that certain windows looked out upon the sea. So unexpected a description astonished the ambassador.

“ A young and handsome lady, encouraged by the lucidity of Alexis, put some questions to him. He told her her name and her rank; ‘ you are a *dame d’honneur* of Queen Victoria,’ added he; and it was true.

“ Lord Normanby took up one of Lord Frederick’s books, and, having stated the number of a page, Alexis read a sentence in it, though the book was not out of Lord Normanby’s hands. This experiment was repeated several times, and always with the same success.

“ Lord Frederick had, up to this moment, been a mere spectator; but now broke silence, took the hand of Alexis, and, with his characteristic kindness of manner, asked the following question,—

“ ‘ Can you tell me how I was employed the day before yesterday with that gentleman?’ pointing to one of the company.

“ ‘ I see you both,’ replied Alexis, ‘ going to the Rue Lazare in a

carriage : there you take the train and travel to Versailles ; you then get into another carriage, which conveys you to St. Cyr. You visit the military school, and it was the other gentleman who proposed this excursion, he having been educated there.'

" ' All this is admirable, Alexis,' exclaimed his Lordship. ' Go on, Alexis.'

" ' You return to Versailles ; I see you both enter a pastry-cook's. Your companion eats three little cakes : you take something else.'

" Lord Frederick, perfectly astonished, said, before Alexis had time to think, ' You are right ; I ate a small piece of bread.'

" ' You next take the train again and return to Paris. However, let us thoroughly understand each other. You started by the railroad on the right bank, but you returned by that on the left.'

" The latter circumstance astonished his lordship so much, that he not only congratulated us before the whole party, but offered us his high patronage on every occasion."—*Zoist*, No. XXIV. p. 417. Jan. 1849.

Dr. Elliotson immediately proceeds to say ;—

" Soon after M. Marcillet had sent me word of these wonders, a friend of mine—Mr. Bushe, son of the late Chief Justice of Ireland, and intimate with Lord Frederick, called upon me, and offered to apply to his lordship respecting the truth. His lordship immediately desired his secretary to write me word that he was at that moment too busy to write to me himself, but that, if I would procure a detailed account, he would peruse it, and, if he found it accurate, certify to its truth. I applied repeatedly to M. Marcillet, who is the most unmethodical and dilatory man in the world, and it was but lately that I procured from him the statement which I have translated. I transmitted the original to Lord Frederick by means of our common friend, and the following was his lordship's answer,—

" ' Portsmouth, Nov. 15, 1848.

" ' My dear Bushe,—I have read the statement you sent me relative to the *séance* that was held at my apartments when in Paris, in 1847, in mesmerism. It is quite correct in every particular ; indeed nothing could be much more extraordinary than the whole thing was in every respect.

" ' I hope I shall see Dr. Elliotson here, as he is a great friend of our first physician here—Dr. Engledue, whose acquaintance I have lately had the good fortune to make. Come down, my dear Bushe, and see your old friend,

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With regard to a subsequent interview between Lord Normanby and Alexis, Dr. Elliotson states that he had not had the same means of verifying M. Marcillet's account of it, but that Lord Frederick's testimony respecting M. Marcillet's accuracy, so far as he was concerned on the first occasion, removes all doubt from his mind as to his having truly reported what took place at the second.

"Last Wednesday, the 24th instant, your ambassador, Lord Normanby, desired to see us a second time, and was again astonished. 'In this box,' said he to Alexis, 'I have placed something, can you tell me what it is?' 'It is a bracelet with a portrait; the likeness is of Queen Victoria!!!' 'That is astounding: you lately described my English country house to me; I have another, can you see it?' 'Perfectly well. It is not in England. It is in a warmer climate. I will stand at the window. I see a great city situated a league off; a little river flows near your garden. The city that I see is Florence! You have lived in this city also, for I see your house also; it is in the *Place* opposite a large church. You had, likewise, a terrace. You had your portrait taken in this city.' 'Yes.' 'This portrait is placed in the saloon of your country house!' 'This is overpowering,' said the ambassador.'"—*Ibid.*—pp. 13—19.

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A story relative to the recovery of a lost brooch, which appeared in the *Belle Assemblée* for February, 1849, is given more fully in the "Zoist" for the month of April following, in a letter from Mr. Barth, a Mesmerist, of No 7, Eversholt-street, Camden-town, to Dr. Elliotson. It appears that a lady unknown to him, and who speaks of him "as a perfect stranger" whom she had never seen, applied to him, and was by him introduced to Mr. J. Hands and Ellen Dawson, who have been already mentioned, and an appointment was made for Saturday the 11th of November, 1847, the discovery that the brooch was missing having only been made at the beginning of that month. Accordingly, on that day, accompanied by a female friend and Mr. Barth, the lady attended, and she tells us that after the necessary preliminaries of putting the patient to sleep, &c., Mr. Barth

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carriage : there you take the train and travel to Versailles : you then get into another carriage, which conveys you to St. Cyr. You visit the military school, and it was the other gentleman who proposed this excursion, he having been educated there.'

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niture. I then directed her attention to the place from where the article had been taken, and she soon found out what I had lost. She first said jewellery; and when I asked her what kind, she answered, a brooch. I inquired then what it was like; to which she gave a wonderfully accurate answer: she said it looked like *amber* surrounded with white. She then said it was some little time since I had lost it, that it was very old, and had been a long time in the family. She then told me I had been out of town, which I was during the month of September. Finding her account and description so very correct in every particular, she was now told to keep her eye upon the brooch and see what became of it. She then described, in words not to be mistaken, the person who had taken it out of its accustomed place: in fact, no artist could have painted a more perfect resemblance; and it was a servant whom I never suspected. She had left my service about a month before I discovered my loss. However, Ellen was very positive in her description of the person who took it, and said the brooch was sold for a very small sum of money, nothing at all like its value. She then said she saw a shop window, that the brooch was in a queer place like a cellar with lots of other property—silver spoons and other things; but a cloud came and she could see no more. I must not omit one very remarkable circumstance in her account; she said the person who took it had the case in which it was kept with diamonds in it, at home in her clothes trunk. At first, I could not think what this was, but soon remembered that there were two diamond chains fastened to a small diamond ring, separate from the brooch, but for the purpose of attaching to it, and wearing as a locket. Having thus obtained all the information she could give me upon the subject, I inquired what I was to do to recover it, and she then gave me most distinct instructions as to what course I was to take, saying that she thought, by following her directions, I should recover it.

“I have now only to say that her prophetic vision was as correct as her account of the past had been, and that shortly after I took the steps she recommended, my brooch was in my possession. It was returned to me on Thursday, Nov. 16th. She was perfectly correct as to *who* had taken it; and my astonishment may, perhaps, be conceived, when first the case was brought to me with the diamond chains and ring exactly as she had said, and then a duplicate or pawnbroker's ticket for the brooch, which, instead of having been sold, was pawned for a mere trifle.”—*Zoist*, No. XXV. p. 96. *April*, 1849.

It is not to our purpose to follow out the details which are given of the means by which the brooch was regained; but it may be proper to add the remark which Mr. Barth has annexed to the story.

“Many persons who have been favoured by an interview with Ellen have supposed her faculty to be merely ‘thought-reading’—a faculty possessed generally by good clairvoyants, and no less wonderful than clairvoyance. In this case, much was told by Ellen which was acknowledged to be the truth by Mrs. M——, but is not detailed

in her statement, and which could not be thought-reading. Ellen saw the past and the present as relating to the case, and also foresaw the future."—*Ibid.* p. 98.—pp. 19—21.

This, we repeat it, is obviously a very dangerous power to be in the uncontrolled possession of any one.

But mesmerism has been also applied in therapeutics also, and this circumstance has called forth another of the extraordinary narratives which Dr. Maitland has selected as illustrations.

One of the most important events, however, in the history of British mesmerism, is the formation of a "Bristol Mesmeric Institution," which recently took place, and is reported in the "Zoist" for July, 1849. Lord Ducie presided; and in the course of his opening speech, his lordship, after detailing the benefit which he had received from mesmerism under his sufferings from rheumatic gout, went on to say:—

(14.) "In the highest departments or phenomena of mesmerism he for a long time was a disbeliever, and could not bring himself to believe in the power of reading with the eyes bandaged or of mental travelling. At length, however, he was convinced of the truth of those powers, and that, too, in so curious and unexpected a way, that there could have been no possibility of deception. It happened that he had to call upon a surgeon on business, and when he was there the surgeon said to him, 'You have never seen my little clairvoyant.' He replied that he never had, and should like to see her very much. He was invited to call the next day, but upon his replying that he should be obliged to leave town that evening, he said, 'Well, you can come in at once; I am obliged to go out, but I will ring the bell for her and put her to sleep, and you can ask her any questions you please.' He (Lord Ducie) accordingly went in; he had never been in the house in his life before, and the girl could have known nothing of him. The bell was rung, the clairvoyant appeared; the surgeon, without a word passing, put her to sleep, and then he put on his hat and left the room. He (Lord Ducie) had before seen something of mesmerism, and he sat by her, took her hand, and asked her if she felt able to travel. She replied, 'Yes;' and he asked her if she had ever been in Gloucestershire, to which she answered that she had not, but should very much like to go there, as she had not been in the country for six years: she was a girl of about seventeen years old. He told her that she should go with him, for he wanted her to see his farm. They travelled (mentally) by the railroad very comfortably together, and then (in imagination) got into a fly and proceeded to his house. He asked her what she saw; and she replied, 'I see an iron gate and a curious old house.' He asked her, 'How do you get to it?' She replied, 'By this gravel walk;' which was quite correct. He asked her how they went into it, and she replied, 'I see a porch, a curious old porch.' It was probably known to many that his house, which was a curious old Elizabethan building, was entered by a porch

as she had described. He asked her what she saw on the porch, and she replied, truly, that it was covered with flowers. He then said, 'Now we will turn in at our right hand; what do you see in that room?' She answered, with great accuracy, 'I see a bookcase, and a picture on each side of it.' He told her to turn her back to the bookcase, and say what she saw on the other side; and she said, 'I see something shining, like that which soldiers wear.' She also described some old muskets and warlike implements which were hanging up in the hall; and upon his asking her how they were fastened up (meaning by what means they were secured), she mistook his question, but replied, 'The muskets are fastened up in threes,' which was the case. He then asked of what substance the floors were built; and she said, 'Of black and white squares;' which was correct. He then took her to another apartment, and she very minutely described the ascent to it as being by four steps. He (Lord Ducie) told her to enter by the right door, and say what she saw there. She said, 'There is a painting on each side of the fireplace.' Upon his asking her if she saw anything particular in the fireplace, she replied, 'Yea, it is carved up to the ceiling,' which was quite correct, for it was a curious old Elizabethan fireplace. There was at Tortworth Court, a singular old chesnut tree, and he told her that he wished her to see a favorite tree, and asked her to accompany him. He tried to deceive her by saying, 'Let us walk close up to it;' but she replied, 'We cannot, for there are railings round it.' He said, 'Yes, wooden railings;' to which she answered, 'No, they are of iron,' which was the case. He asked, 'What tree is it?' and she replied that she had been so little in the country that she could not tell; but upon his asking her to describe the leaf, she said, 'It is a leaf as dark as the geranium leaf, large, long, and jagged at the edges.' He (Lord Ducie) apprehended that no one could describe more accurately than that the leaf of the Spanish chesnut."—*Zoist*, No. XXVI., p. 154. July, 1849.—pp. 21, 22.

The public have lately heard of clairvoyance in connexion with the missing expedition to the North Pole. Here is a story of a similar description.

I must add an extract from one other case, related by one of the gentlemen who took part in the formation of the Bristol Mesmeric Institute. It is given in the same number of the "*Zoist*" among the "Mesmeric cures," by Mr. William Hazard, 17, Avon Crescent, Hotwells, Bristol. After detailing the case of Ann Bateman, aged twenty-five, who was suffering from dropsy and nervous headaches, he adds:—

(15.) "She resided next door to a lady whom I was attending for ophthalmia. After mesmerising the lady, I sent for her, and put her to sleep in an easy chair. The lady, Mrs. C., was the wife of the commander of a large ship, which had recently left Bristol with emigrants for New Orleans on the 9th of Nov. 1848. Mrs. C. said, 'Do ask Ann if she can tell you where Capt. C. is now.' I excited Con-

centrativeness, Ideality, Individuality, and Locality, and then put the questions. She said, Yes she could, but he was a great way from here; and she would tell me in five minutes. This was in the evening of the 17th of Nov. At the expiration of the five minutes she spoke. She said, 'Ah! there's the ship; but oh, how dark; how she tumbles; I shall be sick, (at the same time she was in that kind of unsteady motion so usual to persons unaccustomed to the sea;) how the wind roars, and the sea so high and black; its dreadful!' 'Do you see Capt. C.?' 'Yes, there he is on a high deck, calling to the men; now there's an Irish woman at the cabin door, asking for medicine; others saying they would all be drowned; now there's Capt. C. leaning over a rail, saying, 'Go down my good women, there's no danger.' Now she said, 'There's such a noise down stairs; there's a man, he looks like a parson or a Quaker, with a great flat hat on, talking to the people; now he has put a large tin horn to his ear, and is lifting up his hand.' This and much more was said by her. I let her remain calm after dispelling the influence of the excited organs, for ten minutes. She awoke, was unconscious of having spoken, and said she had had a nice sleep.

"The test of the foregoing is as follows. Mrs. C. wrote to her husband at New Orleans by the mail packet of the following month, December, wishing to know what kind of passage he had, and particularly requesting him to state the weather and general transactions of the night of the 17th of November, without stating her reason for so doing. Mrs. C. received an answer to this letter on the 6th of February, 1849; Capt. C. observing that the mail for January had unfortunately left before he could write. In this letter, which I have seen, he says, that on the morning of the 17th of December (*sic*) to that on the 18th, it was blowing a gale of wind, but quite fair for them; they were to the westward of Madeira; that there was a very heavy sea rolling, and the ship laboured a great deal; the emigrants were very sick and frightened, and the most troublesome person was an itinerant *deaf* preacher, who was constantly exhorting them much to their annoyance; that he was on the poop deck the whole of the night; and never did the ship run such a distance as she did in the twenty-four hours of the 17th and 18th of November, 1848.

"Mrs. C. has since seen her husband at Liverpool, and has told me that everything stated by the somnambulist has been fully corroborated by him."—*Ibid.* p. 178.—pp. 22, 23.

We repeat it, such a story resolves the whole affair into a question of testimony, and nothing else. And the value of testimony is a subject which cannot be trifled with without consequences more serious than some persons seem to suspect. Dr. Maitland's observations on this part of his subject we subjoin, because he places the question fairly on this ground.

These extracts may be sufficient to explain even to those who had no previous knowledge, something of the pretensions of Mesmeric Clairvoyance. I do not use the word 'pretensions' in an invidious

sense ; and everybody acquainted with the history of the matter will see that I have not made my selections as I might have done, if my object had been simply to collect wonders which might astonish my readers. For instance, I have said nothing of clairvoyant patients who professed to have seen that which some believe that "no man hath seen or can see ;" nothing even of those who were conversant with angels, and the spirits of the departed. That belongs to a different part of the subject and another section. Even in what relates to "mental travelling," I have been moderate, and said nothing of going farther than "to Australia, China, or the other remote places in the opposite side of the globe." I have said not a word of a clairvoyante who went to the moon ;* and this, not because it appears to me much more wonderful, but because it is much more easy and agreeable to study the subject in relation to places and persons more known and accessible. For I will freely own that if the same number of lords, ladies, and gentlemen, holding the same position in lunar society that is held in this sublunary world by those whose names appear as witnesses in the foregoing extracts, had returned with the clairvoyante and pledged themselves for her correctness, I should not have known how to disbelieve them.—pp. 23, 24.

If the facts in which these persons were concerned have been exaggerated or misstated by the parties who have given them to the public, it surely is the duty of persons occupying such stations in society to say so, and to divest the truth of very dangerous misrepresentation. But if not, then it really is extremely difficult to see how one can refuse to give them credit.

But if this be a real power—is it natural or supernatural? Is it lawful or unlawful, in whole or in part? These are questions of very great gravity indeed, and, as we have stated, we think it

* Five-and-twenty-years ago, M. Robert published a French translation of the "Programme sur le Somnambulisme Magnetique," which Metzger had printed in Latin in 1787. He considered it "comme une sanglante, mais juste satire contre les mesmérisme en général, et le somnambulisme artificiel en particulier," but it required a few notes to bring it up to the state of things at the time of its translation. Therefore, when the German professor, in his simplicity, speaks with surprise of what is now termed "introvision," or the faculty professed by some clairvoyant patients of seeing their own interiors, M. Robert says, in a note—"La perspicacité des somnambules est portée aujourd'hui à un degré bien supérieur à celui dont il s'agit ici. La science infuse n'est qu'une bagatelle au prix de la clairvoyance actuelle. Les hypnobates voyagent dans la lune. 'Ils ont reconnu dit M. le baron de Cuvillers, qu'il existe dans cette planète des êtres vivans, jouissant comme nous du spectacle de la nature et de ses avantages: comme nous, ils naissent, se reproduisent et périssent; leur intelligence toutefois n'est pas supérieure à la nôtre: leur forme est aplatie, et leur démarche rampante, etc.'"—*Recherches*, p. 256. I have not the Baron's work ; but the case is also mentioned by Dupau, (*Lettres*, p. 166.) Of course he does not quote it with belief and approbation, after having just before spoken harshly of the more limited and modest pretensions of a celebrated magnetiser—"Si je ne sais pas encore, dit il, jusqu'où mes somnambules voyageurs peuvent aller, je sais du moins où ils ont été ; j'en ai déjà fait voyager dans tous les departemens de la France, et principalement dans des villes d'extrême frontière. Je suis enfin parvenu à en lancer au-delà des mers et jusqu'en Amérique ; d'autres en ont envoyé aux Indes orientales."—*Ibid*, p. 165.—p. 24.

better to recommend our readers to consult Dr. Maitland's pamphlet for themselves. We shall merely transcribe the introductory passage in which he proposes the question with the clearness for which everything he has ever published is so remarkable.

Soon after the discovery of Mesmerism it was observed that some of its phenomena bore a striking resemblance to matters of which most persons had heard something, but which were supposed (if they had ever had a real existence) to have belonged only to old times of darkness and superstition. As these new phenomena were more closely investigated, and the nature of the art which produced them was more fully developed, the idea of this resemblance gained strength; and it came to be thought by some, that the effects produced by the Magnetizer might explain a good deal of what a curious, ancient, half-incredible, half-indisputable, tradition had ascribed to the Magician. It seemed natural that these new phenomena, startling even to very particularly enlightened men, whose pride lay in scepticism and a superstitious fear of superstition, might well have appeared miraculous in benighted ages of ignorance. It was thought that if in times of darkness any man had chanced to stumble on these secrets, his contemporaries might well consider the results supernatural, though of course, (else what would become of modern philosophy?) they were then, as now and always, only the natural effects of natural causes. "We now understand," might the newly-enlightened philosopher have said, "what the ancients meant when they talked of Sibyls and Pythonesses, Oracles and Soothsayers, Magicians and Sorcerers, Witches and Wizards, with their frightful apparatus of charms, incantations, spells, and all that sort of thing, which crops out in grotesque forms all over the history of the old world—the idol of the ignorant, the stumbling-block of the wise. After all, it is possible that some of these old wonders were not mere lies, and the wonder-workers not all mere impostors—the secret is out—they only did what we are doing."

Be it so for argument—I believe it is so in fact—but then how can one help answering, "If they only did what you are doing, you are doing what they did."

To such a reply as this, I apprehend, many philosophers both of Mesmer's day and of our own, would rejoin, "Yes, to be sure; and why not? Who is lord over us?"—and then the conversation must either drop, or be turned into a discussion of the evidences of revealed religion.

But among the advocates and practitioners of Mesmerism there are many who "adopt the Bible," and are not anxious to see all religious belief swept away to make room for something contra-distinguished as a "true philosophy," and founded on man instead of God.*

* "Religion and this philosophy of spiritualism have failed to reform the world. Let us see what may now be accomplished by a true philosophy, founded on the physiology of man."—*Zoist*, No. VI. p. 178. "The creeds of Religions are the cause of intolerance, persecution, and hypocrisy, whilst science sets men free from bondage—intelligent, virtuous, and happy."—*Ibid*, p. 179.

Indeed, among the most zealous mesmerists are some members of the profession to which I have the honour to belong, or as the 'Zoist' describes them, "paid professors of religious doctrine." To my clerical brethren then, and to those who do not hold them, and their doctrine in contempt, I more particularly address what follows. I should feel a want of common ground if I undertook to dispute with philosophers; but writing for those who "adopt the Bible," I shall not hesitate to quote it, or feel ashamed if my argument should betray a belief that it may be wrong for a man to do that which "is RIGHT in his own eyes."—pp. 47—49.

That is, in fact, the practical question into which all the others must eventually resolve themselves. Suppose that people possess this power of clairvoyance, is the use of it more innocent, in many cases, than opening another man's letters; or, by any other dishonest means, obtaining possession of his secrets? And if this art or power in its different branches can be applied to medicine and surgery, can this use of it be separated from other uses? and whether it can or not, is the application a lawful one? We wish merely to state the questions that have struck our own minds, because we think them questions deserving of grave consideration.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

THE PULPIT UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

NO. III.

IN the previous papers on the state of the Pulpit under the Long Parliament, I have confined myself to the period prior to the new model of the army, and the passing of the self-denying ordinance; and in order to render the picture more complete, it will be necessary to dwell somewhat longer on the same space. The new model of the army and the self-denying ordinance effected a great change in the state of parties. From the commencement of the war, the Presbyterians had managed matters to promote their own interests; but the new model turned the balance in favour of the Independents. Until some time after the change in the construction of the army, the pulpits were usually occupied by Presbyterians, or by men who concealed their independent principles. At present, therefore, we are concerned with the Presbyterian preachers previous to the new model.

Frequent allusion has been made to Marshall; and his proceedings in the pulpit will constantly present themselves to our notice in this inquiry. It appears, that during the progress of the war, a rumour was circulated, that Marshall had recanted his opinions, and expressed his sorrow for the part which he had undertaken against his sovereign. To check the progress of this report, he made a public declaration of his adherence to the good cause, in a thanksgiving sermon in 1643. In the *dedication* to the House of Commons, he says: "You were pleased, not onely to designe to this service, a weak and untuned instrument, (though not crackt, as malice and slander hath bruted it abroad,) but also to injoyn the publishing of this song of thanksgiving, which is

full of weak and imperfect notes." Marshall had been laid aside by illness, during which the rumours respecting his repentance were circulated. His eagerness to set himself right with his party is manifest from the first sentence in the sermon. "Honourable and Beloved, were the strength of my body, and my furniture of wisdom, learning, and grace, in any degree answerable to the service of this day, I could not but exceedingly rejoyce, in being called to this work, in this place, at this time. For having been lately restored from the gates of death, what greater mercy could I wish, than to praise God in the great congregation? And having been reported over the whole kingdom, to have altered my former judgment concerning this just cause of the Parliament's defensive arms: yea, that the horror of my guilt, in adhering to this cause, had distracted me, and made me mad, can I look upon it otherwise then as a great and publike taking off this reproach, by being called to exercise my poor talent in that Assembly, which is the whole kingdom by representation, and at *this time*, to be a furtherer of your joy and thankfulness, for Almighty God's watchfull eye and powerfull hand thus wonderfully manifested against the desperate and bloody designes of those that would destroy you."*

We shall see presently, that Marshall gave sufficient evidence, that he was not backward in the cause of the Parliament. His support was cordial. His tendencies were all warlike.

The agreement between the preachers, the Parliament, and the people has been noticed before. To encourage the people to petition against the church and the clergy, the disaffected ministers addressed them from the pulpit, while the House of Commons gave them their thanks for their exertions in the good cause. "*Do not*," says Case, "*the petitions of the trembling people of God throng in upon you from all parts of the kingdome, cities, coun-*

* The Song of Moses, &c., and the Song of the Lambe. A Sermon on the Day of Thanksgiving, June 15, 1643. By Stephen Marshall. London: 1643. Pp. 1, 2. I find the following allusions to Marshall in a contemporary publication: "It was certified by a very good hand, that Master *Marshall*, that zealous Preacher for the Houses of Parliament, and great Incendiary of the people unto this rebellion, hath beene lately sicke at the House of Master *Basse*, the Bone-lace-seller: and either out of trouble of conscience, or in raving fits, hath often said, that *he was damned, and could not possibly be saved, because he was guilty of all the blood which was shed at Edgehill*: where he hath plaied his prize most notably, in animating the rebels to the battels. Which being much talked of in the towne, he was removed thence to a great Lord's house, where there should be but few to witnesse what was said that might be to the prejudice of the good cause." And again: "Whereas it was advertised the last weeke that *Marshall*, the great firebrand of this church, was distraught and mad: it was certified from *London* that *Case*, his fellow *Bontefeu*, and Chaplain to their now Lord Maior, was more mad than he: being growne to such a height of blasphemous frenzie, that at a late administration of the sacrament, he began it thus: *All you that have contributed un'to the Parliament, come and take this sacrament to your comfort*; denouncing damnation unto such as should presume to receive it, and had not contributed." *Mercurius Aulicus*. 4to. 1642. Pp. 88—92.

treys, particular congregations? And what do they call and cry for but *Reformation, Reformation: for the Lords sake* take off our burthens; the *spirituall burthens* that lye upon our consciences. *The yoke which neither we nor our fathers are able to beare.* Down with *ceremonies*, and up with *pure ordinances*, down with *formality*, and set up the *power of godlinesse*: take away the *chaffe* and give us *wheat*: remove from us *profane and scandalous ministers*, and give us pastours according to God's owne heart, that may reveal unto us the whole counsell of God."* The call for reformation in the mouths of the preachers at this period meant the pulling down of the Church of England and the setting up of Presbytery according to the Scottish model: and this call was uttered in almost all the sermons. "How then hath God honoured you, reserving to you the care of re-edifying of his church, and the repairing of the shattered Commonwealth, that succeeding ages may with honour to your names say, THIS WAS THE REFORMING PARLIAMENT? A *worke*, which God by his blessing upon your unwearied paines, hath much furthered already; whilst he by you hath removed the rubbish that might hinder the raising up of that goodly structure appointed and prescribed by the Lord in his word. Lastly, a *worke*, which God never in any age perfected bnt through many difficulties to his people. The *work* you are now called to, is a work of great concernment, it is the *purging of the Lords floore*: yet I must say it is a *worke*, with the managing whereof God hath not so honoured others, which have gone before you in your places, but hath reserved it to make you the instruments of his glory in advancing it."†

Bailie, one of the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, while he presses upon the Parliament the business of reformation, exults, in 1643, at the progress which had then been made. "We have little reason to pretend difficulties from any of these quarters; by the mercy of God, these two by-gone years, neither Prince, nor Papist, nor prelate, nor any open malignant have been able, to the least degree, to stop the wished reformation." During the two previous years they had removed the loyal and faithful clergy under the plea of malignancy. Yet after all, the work did not proceed to the satisfaction of the Scots, because the Presbytery was not set up in its glory; and, accordingly, Bailie complains: "I do verily think, if any one in the world had taken our present course, they would have found it exceeding hard even to have attained to their wished end." At this time the debates on church government had commenced in

* Case's two Sermons. London: 1642. Second Sermon. P. 24.

† Hopes Incouragement Pointed at in a Sermon before the House of Commons, at the Solemn Fast, February 28, 1643. London: 1644. P. 26.

the Assembly, which, as we shall see on another occasion, were managed by the Erastians and Independents, and encouraged by the Parliament: whereas, the Scots wished at once to erect their own discipline in every parish. Baillie, therefore, says: "If England, either in Edward or Elizabeths dayes: if Scotland, either in their first or second reformation, had suspended over all their kingdoms the exercise of any reformation, till every punctilio thereof had been scholastically debated in the face of an assembly: till every Dissenter, over and over, had made to the full, against every part of every proposition, all the contradiction his wit, his learning, his eloquence was able to furnish him: it seemeth apparent, that these tedious delays had casten them so open, as easily they had been surprised, and all their designs crushed before they had ended half their consultations, or so much as begun their practice." The Assembly's movements were too slow for the Scotsman. "If these points of government, of worship, of doctrine, which are yet before us, be handled as those that are behinde us: if every opponent must be heard upon every point, to object, to reply, to double, to triple, his exceptions. This course, I say, if constantly kept, cannot but hold us in hewing our stones more than a week of years, before we can begin to lay so much as the foundation of our building."*

Gillespie, another of the Commissioners, urges the House of Commons to a reformation, meaning a rejection of the faithful clergy, and the abolition of the ordinances of the Church of England. "Let neither antiquity, nor custome, nor conveniency, nor prudential consideration, nor show of holinesse, nor any pretext whatsoever, plead for the reservation of any of your old ceremonies. If, therefore, you would make a sure reformation, make a perfect reformation."† Slack as were the Parliament in proceeding with the business, it did not suit our preacher to turn his back upon them altogether, and return into Scotland; and, therefore, he adopts the course of flattering them, in order that they might be induced to comply with the wishes of their Scottish brethren. "Are there not great preparations and instruments fitted for the work? Hath not God called together for such a time as this, the present Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines, his *Zorobables*, and *Jehoshuas*, and *Haggai*, and *Zachariah*? Are there not also hewers of stones, and bearers of burdens? much wholesome preaching, much praying and fasting, many petitions put up both to God and man? The Covenant also going through the kingdom as the chief preparation of materials for the work? Is not the old rubbish of ceremonies daily more and more shovelled

* Baylie's Sermon. Satan the Leader in Chief to all who resist the reparation of Sion. London: 1643. *Epist. Dedic.* To Rous.

† Gillespie's Sermon, 30.

away, that there may be a clear ground? And is not the Lord by all this affliction humbling you, that there may be a deep and a sure foundation layd.”*

The English Presbyterian preachers were not behind their Scottish brethren, in urging the Parliament to complete the work. “Consider the goodly manchild of reformation is come nigh unto the birth, it will be your comfort and honour even to eternity, upon pious principles to midwife it unto a safe delivery: let the feare of God put you upon the work, and then he shall make you houses, shall multiply your children, inlarge your estates, make your names and families great from generation to generation: God is for us, who can be against us?”† “Go on and prosper, most worthy Senators, in the great worke, which you have so happily begun, till you shall have fully crowned our hopes and perfected your owne most glorious undertakings. Never had any Parliament either so glorious a prize as you have to contend for, or so many potent adversaries, oppositions, and difficulties to encounter with; but this may serve as a more than sufficient encouragement to hasten you on, that you have a good God, a noble cause, an honourable reward, and what could you wish more? See what you have done already, and let your former many and precious experiences of divine favour and assistance, animate you to waite upon God, till he shall make all your enemies of the synagogue of Sathan, to come and worship before your feete. You have sprung a myne under the walls of Babylon, unsettled the thron of the Beast. Behold how the Antichristian faction languisheth, the Pontificall chaire reeles, the mitres wither, the triple crowne shakes. Methinks I see the proud turrets and battlements of Rome falling, and Sion rising up fair as the morning.”‡

As far as the work of reformation consisted in pulling down, the Parliament were as eager as the most zealous of the ministers, though the hopes of the Presbyterians were doomed to constant disappointment with respect to the erection of Presbytery. In setting up the Scottish system, the greatest backwardness was manifest, as will hereafter be seen; but the wildest Presbyterian must have been satisfied with the work of destruction.

It was observed in a previous paper, that the ejections of the faithful clergy were managed under a false pretence. The ordinance for their sequestration called them *scandalous*, *insufficient*, and *malignant*, whereas, in reality, they were removed merely for *malignancy*, by which was intended not assisting the Parliament against the king. Not to oppose the Parliament was not suffi-

* Ibid. 36.

† Staunton's Sermon. London: 1644. *Epist. Dedic.*

‡ Hall's Sermon. Heaven Ravished. *Epist. Dedic.*

cient. It was necessary that the clergy should lend their aid, or the charge of malignancy was alleged, under which the business was soon settled. Then, when the Covenant was imposed, a test was furnished, by which all the clergy were proved.

In 1643, in order to justify the Parliament in their iniquitous course, was published the "*First Centurie of Scandalous Ministers*," one of the most shameful productions which appeared in those disastrous times. It was shameful, because it broadly asserted, that the ejected clergy were scandalous in their conduct. This was put forth in the title page.* This iniquitous production was published under the authority of Parliament. Its scandalous character may be estimated from the last clause in the title page: "*For malignancy against the Parliament.*" It was for this crime alone that the clergy were ejected; but the object of the work was to induce the belief, that they were men of immoral lives and unsound doctrine. The real crime was *malignancy*, or opposition to the Parliament. This is proved by the *Century* itself: for in the greater number of cases, after enumerating the charges, such as practising the ceremonies, and the like, it is added, and *for opposition to the Parliament*.

The *Epistle to the Reader* partakes very much of the character of the sermons of the period. It informs the reader that it was intended to satisfy him, that the Parliament had good reason "to resolve, that the present church government by archbishops, bishops, &c. is evill and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdome, a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudiciall to the state and government of this kingdome, and therefore to be taken away." The cases selected were from London and the adjacent places, according to the Epistle: "And in this Booke, thou shalt have an essay of the gall and worme-wood of the Episcopall Government, taken out of London the metropolis, and of the counties adjacent, that when thou seest what vermine crawles upon and devoures the principall and vitall parts, thou maist reflect with a mournfull heart upon the more miserable condition of Wales, and the North, the more remote parts of this kingdome." Then the reader is told, "Thou maist by perusall of this Booke clearly see what manner of persons those cleargie-men be, that favour the present course of his majestie against his Parliament and people, and dislike and maligne the ways of the Parliament, they will appeare unto thee

* The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests, made and admitted into Benefices by the Prelates, in whose hands the Ordination of Ministers and Government of the Church hath been; or, a Narration of the Causes for which the Parliament hath ordered the Sequestration of the Benefices of severall Ministers complained of before them, for vitiousnesse of life, errors in doctrine, contrary to the Articles of our religion, and for practising and pressing superstitious innovations against law. and for malignancy against the Parliament. London: 1643.

to be such as cannot endure the purity, power, and strictnesse of the true religion, that hate reformation." This was a vile slander put forth for the purpose of justifying the Parliament in their unjust courses. As it could not be denied, that many of the clergy were eminent for their attainments, the *Epistle* says: "And let not the learning of some few of these men (for which if they had any grace to use it well, they were considerable) move thee to thinke they be hardly dealt with, for learning in a man unsanctified is but a pearle in a swine's snout." The mark of an *unsanctified* state was simply opposition to the Parliament.*

It is evident from the charges enumerated in this book, that the sequestrators were very hard pressed to make out their case against the clergy whom they resolved to displace. Some of the alleged crimes we might regard as virtues. Thus some of them neglected the "monthly fast, setting their men to plow." This was a common charge. The crime of one was, affirming "That the Earle of Strafford was no traitor, and that he was put to death wrongfully by the Parliament," a thing which every one now admits. "*Great malignity to the Parliament*" is the common charge. It should be mentioned that the *Century* embraced a very wide field, for it included, besides London, the counties of Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Sussex, Kent, Hertford, Surrey, and Bucks. In almost every one of the cases alleged in the

* Vicars, as usual, utters his abuse of the clergy, and his praise of the parliament. "Then those most prudent senators, for the better purifying of the churches channels and conduit pipes of the Gospel of Grace, and to cause them to issue more wholesome and pure streams for God's people to drink of: discovered and discountenanced, too, a stinking heap of atheisticall and Romane-rubbish, a rotten rabble of scandalous priests and spurious bastard sons of *Belial*." He adds, after mentioning the setting up of Lecturers: "whereby the Gospel begins to thrive and flourish again, and *Sion's* young converts to be graciously growing up among us." Alluding to the bishops, and their discountenance of lectures, he says: "but our good God gave these curst cows (or rather wild buls of *Bashan*) short horns, and though they had gone on in a great measure, and done much mischief therein, yet they could not do the hurt aymed at." The mercy is then recorded, that the "fear of stinking snuffs of ignorance" was removed. This was a favourite phrase with the chronicler. In the margin he has: "Our Candlesticks almost lost, and stinking-snuffs setting up." God in the Mount, 38, 39. In reviewing the proceedings of the Parliament, Vicars says: "Thus, O even thus, hath our gracious God *directly* dealt with us; thus hath our *English-Israel's* Shepherd of his *late* poor despised flock, kept a careful watch over us, who had been else made the prelates perpetuall-asses to bear all their *romish* and slavish burthens." Ibid. 48. This man could exult in the excesses committed by the Parliament, as though he and they were doing God service. "And here methinks, Good Reader, both thou and I have most just cause to make a little pause, again to admire our open handed God in all these so fair, so full, and so free mercies, so copiously showed down upon us, both in the admirable scouring of those *romish* and malignant caterpillars out of *Lancashire*, the almost incredible preservation of the Lord's choice hidden ones in *Croyland*, in amputating and pruning (as it were) the superfluous rank and rotten branches of God's vine in the ministry, cutting off, I say, and casting out those scandalous priests of *Baal*, and giving thee instead of them, *Pastours after his own heart*, able and willing to feed you with knowledge." Ibid. 330, 331.

Century, as well as in Vicars's "Inlargement of a scandalous Bill," it is specifically charged, either that the individual expressed great malignancy to the Parliament, refused to observe the fast days, or used his influence to prevent the people from entering into the war against their sovereign. These were the real charges against the clergy, and they are actually specified: but to complete the iniquity of the Parliament, various crimes, of which the sufferers were not guilty, are alleged.

Thus, the work of reformation was pushed forward by the Parliament, who were supported by the ministers in the pulpit, and by such false publications as the *Century* from the press. A continuation of this infamous work was promised; but certainly nothing further was ever published. Fuller's remarks are so curious on this point, that they could not be omitted in this account of the *Century*. "Then came forth a *Book called the First Century*, containing the names of an *hundred Divines* sequestered for their faults, with a promise of a *second*, which to my knowledge never came forth. Whether because the *author* of the former was sensible that the subject was generally odious, or because the death of *Mr. White, Licenser* thereof, prevented any addition, or whether because dissuaded from the *designe*, suspecting a *retaliation* from *Oxford*. Sure I have been informed, that when some solicited his *majesty* for leave to set forth a *Book* of the vicious Lives of some *Parliament ministers*, his *majesty* blasted the *designe*, partly because *recrimination* is no *purgation*, partly least the *publick enemy* of the *Protestant Religion* should make an advantage thereof."*

Fuller says: "Some of their offences were so foul, it is a shame to report them. Let Baal therefore plead for itself, nothing can be said in their *excuse*, if (what was the main matter) their crimes were sufficiently proved. The witnesses against them were seldome deposed on oath, but their bare complaints believed. Many of the complainers were *factionous people* (those most *accusing* their sermons who least *heard* them,) and who since have deserted the church as hating the profession of the ministry. Many were charged with delivering *false doctrines*, whose *positions* were *found* at the least disputable. Some were meerly outed for their affection to the king's cause: and what was *malignity* at *London*, was loyalty at *Oxford*."† He said, however, that many scandalous

* Fuller, xi. 208.

† Ibid. 207. The parishioners, in some cases, were afraid to treat their ministers with their ordinary kindness. Mr. Ingoldby, the Rector of *Watton, Herts*, was deprived, because he read the *Homily* against rebellion. *Mercurius Aulicus*, 228. It is curious to observe the ingenuity of the Parliamentary writers in converting incidents into mercies or judgments to suit their own purposes. Lord Brooke was a thorough firebrand, and at last was slain at Litchfield. But Vicars says of him some time before: "One thing of note I may not here omit, for the glory of God

ministers were "deservedly punished." This was written in 1649, or rather published: and the date bears strongly on the defence of himself, which the author subsequently put forth. Heylin attacked Fuller somewhat sharply, in consequence of the above

and encouragement of the Parliament souldiers, in this skirmish, namely, a bullet came furiously whistling over the Lord *Brooke's* head, but mist him, and did him no hurt at all, which shewes the wonderfull Providence of the Lord over them that fight in a good cause." Against this in the margin is the following note: "A mighty Providence of God to the Lord *Brooke*." *God in the Mount*, 142. In speaking of his death, this same writer says: "His loyaltie to his king and fidelitie to his countrie deserves indelibly to remain deeply engraven in letters of gold, in high erected pillars of marble." *Ibid.* 272. It was not strange, therefore, that his death should have been regarded as a judgment by the opposite party. It was reported, that, on the morning of his death, he prayed, "that if the cause he were in were not right and just, he might be presently cut off." It was also said that he expressed his disapproval of the *Litany* on account of the Prayer for Deliverance from *Sudden Death*, and that he had expressed a wish that he might see the day when one stone of St. Paul's church should not be left upon another. He was observing the action from a window, when a ball pierced through his eye, and he instantly died. "The bullet pierced his eye, and my Lord instantly died." Whitelock, 69. Mercurius Aulicus, 133, 134. It was not surprising that the King's friends should regard his death as a judgment, when the Parliamentary ministers pretended to see a judgment in every disaster which befell his Majesty.

A few examples of the mercies and judgments recorded by Vicars may be given in this note as an illustration of the awful principles of the times. On the Ordinance for setting aside the Liturgy and Discipline of the Church, he thus exults: "Now, then, tell me, whether the Lord appeared not in a *Mount of Mercie*, in this so inexpectible an act of long desired reformation? In these two so extremely deified *Diana's* of our English *Ephesus*." *God in the Mount*, 80. The contributions to the war are thus mentioned: "The people set open the sluices and flood-gates of their affections to the cause, and came gushing in with their contributions, like so many swift rivulets, running with a most fluent source and rapid torrent down a mighty precipice, to pay their tribute to the main ocean. I say the people, like so many numerous and swift swarmes of busie bees in a *mid-May* and hot *June*, flocking and flying to-and-fro to carry honey (or rather money) to that hive or trustie treasure." *Ibid.* 93. His mercies were very singular. At the siege of Chichester, "it pleased the Lord most graciously so to dispose, that not one drop of rain fell." *Ibid.* 239. On another occasion, he writes: "The Lord of Hosts seemed to fight for us, for it pleased the Lord in the midst of the fight, to send among them a very violent and vehement showre of haile, which the wind also blew into the faces of the King's Cavaliers and greatly molested them, and was very advantageous to our men being in their backs." *Ibid.* 310. "A boy, having shot away all his bullets, charged his musquet with a pebble stone, and killed a commander therewith." *Ibid.* 400. Pennington's appointment as Lord Mayor was regarded as a providential interposition, and Vicars sees the same in the choice of Wollaston. "And that also which sweetens this mercie is, that his honourable choice also, as his pious *Predecessours*, was a happie and holy fruit and *return of Prayer*, it being the very next day after our monethly day of humiliation, when the Lord had been in particular sought unto for this blessing." *God's Arke* overtopping the World's Waves, 34. Among various circumstances during an engagement, Vicars mentions the following, "wherein the Lord's hand is much to be acknowledged. One of their great canons brake with the first shot. Secondly, the mighty execution which our cannon did upon the enemies, whereas their cannon did no execution at all, having (as it should seem) no commission from heaven to touch any of those that fought the Lord's battail. A Barrell of Powder was blown up, which burned or wounded 15 of their men, whereof 12 dyed." *Ibid.* 66. In another battle: "just as both armies were joyning battail, it pleased the Lord that a sudden and mighty great storm, and terrible claps of thunder were heard, as if heaven had resolved to second the assault." *Ibid.* 279.

passage, as a traducer of his brethren, and as taking his account from *the Century*. It is admitted by Fuller, that bare reports were received: consequently, the proof, as Heylin remarks, was insufficient. In reply to Heylin, Fuller offers the following apology: "Proceed I now to what I have written concerning the *sequestered* clergy; wherein I will freely unbosome my mind. I appeal to the searcher of hearts, if I did not desire to do them all just favour, as I hope to find favour from him, when I most need it. But as mariners, when they have wind and tide against them, cannot make their desired port in a straight line, and therefore are faine to fetch a compass; semnably, I desiring to *gratifie my brethren*, and *not destroy my selfe*, was faine to go about that in any measure I might with safety do it. And there was no *compassing* of it without *compaceing* it: no *reaching the end* without *going out of the way*. First, therefore, I did acknowledge what *indeed* could not be concealed, and what *in truth* must be confessed—viz., that some of the ejected clergy were guilty of foul offences. Nor was it a wonder, if amongst *ten thousand* and more, some were guilty of *scandalous enormities*. This being laid down and *yielded* to the *violence* of the *times*: I *wrought my selfe* by degrees, (as much as I durst,) to insert what followeth in vindication of many others, rigorously cast out for following in their affections, their preceding *judgments* and *consciencs*, and no scandall could justly be charged upon them." After quoting the passage from his Church History, he adds: "This being written by me, some *ten* (in the *paroxysm* of the business) and printed some four years since, was as much as then I durst say for my *brethren*, without running myself into apparent danger."*

* The Appeal of Injured Innocence: unto the Religious, & Learned, & ingenious Reader. In a controversie betwixt the Animadvertor Dr. Peter Heylin, & the Author, Thomas Fuller. London: 1659. Part III, 57. To send to, or receive intelligence from, the king was declared to be *malignancy*. Any one would have been proceeded against as a *malignant*. "A word which they have made of more dangerous nature than *rebel* or *traitour*."—*Mercurius Aulicus*, 334. That it was dangerous to publish the truth is evident from Fuller. The author of "*Persecutio Undecima*" says: "The fury of these times have forced the concealing of some persons and circumstances for theirs and the author's security." P. 5. He says also, as a reason for his attempt: "Considering the multitude of scandalous pamphlets, parliament speeches, centuries, declarations, published all and faced with authority of Parliament, title enough to charme the world, especially posterity, into a belief of such authentike records, should no particular counterworke of truth be left to oppose such slanders; for as yet there is none, and probably, if either an act of oblivion should happen, or time waste away the present clergy (who by reason of the fury of this age dare not write their owne sufferings, nor by reason of their being so scattered can bring them to a general collection) never any can come forth: whereby the Puritan lies and shamefull slanders of the clergy would pass for current truths." P. 4. This author tells us, that "*Two shillings nine pence* was a common nickname for any divine, as he walked through the streets." P. 11. This alluded to the tithes which the people now refused to pay. It is well known that many persons returned from New England: and it is singular that most of them became what the Presbyterians termed sectaries, and therefore were as trouble-

We may readily admit, with Fuller, that in so large a body, there were some immoral characters. It would have been strange indeed had it been otherwise. But then the majority were guilty only of malignancy: and, as we have remarked in a preceding paper, the men who were immoral in their lives, would scarcely have hesitated to submit to the Parliament, a course which would have preserved their livings. The fact that some few were immoral is no justification of the Parliament in their ejection of others, whose only crime was *malignancy*. Nor does it wipe off the foul blot upon the Parliament, of charging all with the crimes of a few, calling them in their ordinances *scandalous*, while they were merely liable to the charge of adhering to his majesty's cause.

But what an appalling picture does Fuller's defence of himself give us of the character of those iniquitous times. By his own confession, he was obliged to admit the guilt of some, in order that he might defend the rest. He acknowledges that there would have been danger to himself had he said more in their favour.

The *Century* generally is spoken of as White's: but all that is certain is, that he was chairman of the committee of the House of Commons concerning printing. As such he was the licenser of the book. White's death took place in 1644. His funeral is thus noticed by Whitelock. "The members of the House attended the burial of Mr. *John White* of the *Middle Temple*, a member of the House of Commons, a Puritan from his youth to his death, an honest, learned, and faithful servant to the publick, but somewhat severe at the committee for plundered ministers."* Echard says that "he died distracted, crying out, how many clergymen, their wives and children he had undone."†

It is worthy of remark that some clergymen in London were accused before the House of Commons of scandalous conduct, whose names are not given in *the Century*, a circumstance which proves that the charges could not be sustained. The author of the *Century*, therefore, took care to select such persons as were not so well known, that so the public might be deprived of the means of forming their opinion of their guilt or innocence. We need not wonder at the sequestrations, for the accusers of the clergy were those, who were anxious to cheat them of their dues: their judges, moreover, were interested parties,

some to them as they had formerly been to the bishops. "And now New England so vomited up her factious spirits, that merchants in London began to complaine that all commodities in New England were fallen to halfe their former price." Ibid. 21.

* Whitelock, 128.

† Echard's History, ii. 513. *Persecutio Undecimata*. P. 18. The author says: "I need not pray the Lord rebuke him, for God hath long since cut him off, raving and condemning himselfe at his dying houre." P. 26.

wishing to obtain their livings for themselves or their friends. "And to encourage this trade of parson-hunting, as the factious sectaries called it, a pretended order of the House of Commons was printed, and dispersed all over England, which when complained of, though disclaimed by the House within doors, yet was it never countermanded: no penalty inflicted upon the printer, publishers, or spreaders of this counterfeit order, nay; they were not so much as once questioned for it. By the encouragement of this order, and the countenance this petitioning and articling against the clergy found from the committee for religion, there were above 2000 petitions exhibited in a short time, in which they were charged with the most horrid crimes of adultery, prophaneness, swearing, drunkenness, and indeed what not! Every accusation was not only received but credited, insomuch that few or none of the loyal clergy escaped the lash, *honesty and learning being then*, as Mr. Selden said, *sins enough in a clergyman*. And whenever the reader shall hereafter meet with any of these votes against the clergy, he is to look upon them rather as marks of honesty, and honourable scars of their wounded reputation, than brands of ignominy, or real crimes, for all their sufferings proceeded only from their being guilty of loyalty to their sovereign Lord and King, and obedience to their superiors and the laws of the church."* Nalson remarks: "The manner was to lay all manner of crimes in the petition and Articles, and if any of the least, or which they called so, such as bowing at the name of Jesus, preaching against sacrilege, or for conformity, &c., were proved, the charge was supposed sufficiently made good, and they were treated accordingly, as if they had been the most notorious criminals, and those crimes most notoriously proved."†

The bishops of that day were men of great eminence and most blameless lives. The author of *Persecutio Undecima* says, that some of the party said to him, that "They never could have taken a worse time against the bishops, whose personal honest lives, learning, and piety, was so eminent, that indeed it made clamours against them the more violent, that so they might remove them by tumults." The author engages, should "God send times for justice," to make it appear, "whether scandalous accusers, and scandalous judges have not made a scandalous clergy, and not found them such."‡ It was a common custom for a very few discontented, and not unfrequently disreputable persons, to present a petition against their minister as a scandalous clergyman: and the document was received by the unscrupulous Commons as the

* Nalson, ii. 235. *Persecutio Undecima*. 20. The order called upon "all active men to accuse ministers." Ibid. 19.

† Nalson, 238.

‡ *Persecutio Undecima*. 4, 5.

deed of the whole parish. Such petitions were received with favour, and the petitioners were thanked for their zeal. At first the Puritan party obtained a large committee for religion, which, as petitions against the clergy multiplied, was divided into several, under their respective chairmen, White, Corbett, and Harlow. Petitions were actually drawn up, and sent to particular parishes, to which many names were subscribed from the fear of being accused for malignancy, the promoters, in case of hesitation, sometimes saying, "Let your hands leave us to prove the charge."* Yet the charges never were proved. The attempt at proof was not even made, for the witnesses were not examined on oath. A crime was specified by White, which would have subjected the offender to the punishment of death. It is argued: "Either the party was found not guilty, why then sequestered? or guilty, why then not punished by death according to law?" The argument is unanswerable; and White, or the author of the *Century*, stands convicted as a slanderer. Another clergyman was charged for saying that "*The bishops when they tooke away the masse tooke away all religion.*" The sermon was produced, being an assize sermon at York, fourteen years before, when it was proved that he said, "That men must not thinke that the bishops tooke away all religion when they tooke away the masse."†

Yet after all, the work of reformation, even on the showing of the ministers themselves, did not proceed very prosperously: for, from the descriptions of morals in some of the sermons, it is apparent, that the times of prelacy were better than those of Presbytery. Some of the sermons present a most fearful picture of the state of the people, even though Episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer, to which so much evil was ascribed in the beginning and during the progress of the war, were laid aside, and the preachers enjoyed the fullest liberty to pursue their own courses. A few passages will set this matter in a clear light.

Some of the clergy were punished for not observing the fast days appointed by the Parliament: but even those who attended the churches on those occasions were not, according to the testimony of the preachers, sincere in their devotions. "We call this a day of humiliation, God grant it may prove so in his eye: but the truth is, I feare our days of humiliation are not reckoned by God to be such. And if we ourselves may judge by the consideration how men carry themselves immediately *before*, and immediately *after*, we have little ground to beleieve there is any great *humiliation*. When women dare come hither with their *bare breasts*, and *spotted faces*, and *garish apparell*, is not this as it

* Ibid. 23, 24.

† Ibid. 26, 27, 28.

were to outface God? and to tell him they meane nothing lesse then to be humbled in heart before him? While people sitting here, before the publike services begin, and in the spaces between, shew pleasantnesse in their looks, and their words savour of nothing but worldly matters: and as soone as they are gone hence, whatever they have heard or made shew of in *publike* their language *at home*, and all their behaviour, even *the same night*, and much more, *next morning*, have no tincture of any such thing as affliction of spirit. What can we beleieve, but that they doe not so much as *afflict themselves for a day*. For with them it is but a few hours, and not a whole day, and when they are over, then they are as jolly againe, and hold their heads as high as they did before, and all their pretended humiliation is gone and forgotten, and not a shaddow of it remaining." It would seem, moreover, that the extempore prayers of the ministers, in accordance with the Directory, had no greater effect upon the congregation than the traduced liturgy, nor indeed so great, since the people bore a part in the latter, and therefore must have been, to a certain extent, occupied. This same preacher complains of want of attention to "*the prayers*." "Men's very countenances declare it, and their demeanour to any one that doth but cast his eye upon them: some are plainly gazing up and downe: and others put themselves into such a *posture*, as if they be not *extraordinarily zealous*, must needs dispose them to fall asleep: so sitting and leaning at their ease, that, *if they would invite sleep*, they could not doe otherwise."*

This is no improvement upon the former times, even on the showing of the same men. Their description of morals under the sway of the bishops is perhaps less severe than under Presbytery. This preacher also complains of the apparel, and fashions of the day. "That *apparell*, those *fashions*, and those garbs of behaviour, that would have been accounted abomination 7 or 10 years agoe, are now taken up without scruple, by those that will goe for religious people: and if *pride* did *testifie* to *men and womens faces* in former times: it doth much more now when so many solemne dayes of humiliation kept by them, publikely and privately, hath wrought no amendment, but while many complaine *of their beeing poorer*, every one may see them *as proud as ever*, if not rather *more*."†

When Episcopacy was set aside, the Presbyterian system was merely tolerated; consequently there was no actual discipline in the church. This was a subject of loud complaint with many of the preachers, as we shall notice more particularly presently: but

* Palmer's Glasse of God's Providence, &c. London: 1644. 24, 25.

† Ibid. 32.

some of them perceived how the want of discipline encouraged all sorts of disorders. “Formerly, even in the ill times, a conscionable minister in some places could doe somewhat toward the bringing his people to knowledge *who now wholly cast off the yoke* (because there is no government ecclesiasticall nor civill, that they think will at all meddle with them how refractory soever they be) and grow more brutish every day then other. And now above all former times, whoredome and adultery doe fearfully abound and grow impudent: even incest is to be found in divers places, and no punishment to be found for it. What should I speak of *oathes*, cursings and *blasphemies*? which are notoriously known to be most rife among all sorts, old and young, *even children not excepted*, that with their first *language* have learned this language of Hell and never forget it all their lives long.”*

It is clear from this sermon, that the gains of office influenced many in favour of the Parliament. So much patronage was created by the various committees, that the House of Commons had numbers of offices to bestow. Thus the preacher, in complaining of the state of the times, says: “If they can but get into *an office*, have any thing to doe in *sequestrations*, what is the improvement that is made of it by too many but to *fill their own purses*, with extortion, oppression, delaying and perverting justice?” He complains, too, that the faithful minister was “sure to find this measure at their hands, his *taxations* shall be heavier then any other, store of souldiers billeted and quartered in *his house*: and withall *his tithes* and dues withheld and *denyed*, with pretence one while that they are *Jewish*, another while that they are *Popish*.”† These very ministers, who had excited the people to war, began to complain of bearing their share in the expenses.

Sometimes the party boasted of the religious character of the Parliamentary armies, as if they were different from the soldiers in the service of his majesty. But occasionally the truth peeps forth in the sermons of the preachers. Thus in this sermon, from which we have quoted, we read: “It is a fearful thing, that among those who professe to maintaine the common cause, there should be such *quarrells* and dissensions: that they that fight for the liberties of the nation should commit *so many outrages*, and practice such rapine and spoile, as it is most certaine many of them doe: and it is said, *there is little difference between their plunderings and the enemies*: that among those who pretend to

* Ibid. 35. In one sermon abominable incest is mentioned: “I speake what I know, not only acted once or twice, but continued in: and there is no course for redresse, none to punish or put them to shame.” Pickering’s Sermon. P. 26.

† Ibid. 34, 35.

have taken armes to defend religion and the gospell, there should be *a loud noyse of their swearing*, and drunkennesse and prophane-nesse, of whoredome, and of doing injury to our own friends, and especially to those that are greatest friends and best affected to the gospell and religion. If these things be so, (as there is nothing more certaine then that they are too common in our armies) &c., we cannot wonder that our armies prosper no better.”* Now if the troops pillaged the friends of the Parliament, they certainly would not spare their enemies. It is, however, probable, that the soldiers, who like other armies fought for their pay, pillaged all alike. But the passage proves that the assertions respecting the moral character of the army were groundless pretences.

The Puritans were accustomed to say that piety did not flourish under the bishops: that preaching was not encouraged: and in short, the country was described as being in a state of heathenism. But what was the state of the country under the domination of the Long Parliament, when every one could preach, if he could get a congregation, and when no restraints of any kind were imposed? Let us attend to our preacher’s description. “I thinke there was *never much religion in families* in this kingdome, (though perhaps not more in other places) but I am verily persuaded that of many years *there was never lesse than now*. In that little observation that I have been able to make of late, I cannot see that which I expected in divers places: but *lesse care* even of family-devotions, and *scarce any care at all* of particular instruction or inspection.”† It is evident from these complaints that the times were not changed for the better, and that the morals of the people were not improved by the removal of Episcopacy.

Similar complaints are scattered through many of the sermons; and as these addresses were heard by the two Houses of Parliament, and then printed under their sanction, there can be no room for doubting the faithfulness of the picture.

The women are frequently attacked on account of their dress. In an enumeration of sins, one preacher says: “Fourthly, the hatefull sinne of pride, especially of women, some among us (as if they durst out-dare heaven itself) doe come into the presense of an angry God in the dayes of humiliation with naked brests and such vaine attire as doe openly discover that lightnesse and wantonnesse which is shamefull and unsufferable.”‡ “We are as

* Ibid. 37.

† Ibid. 45.

‡ England’s Impenitencie under Smiting, causing anger to continue, and the destroying hand of God to be stretched forth still. In a Sermon, &c., at a Public Fast, Sept. 25, 1644. By Nicolas Proffet. London: 1645. P. 47. A singular circumstance is mentioned by this preacher, in his dedication, which gives us an

weary of our fasts as of our warres," says another; "our solemne dayes are wantonized with curled, bare and spotted pride to this day."* In another sermon we read, "I seldome come in a *fast* into any *congregation* where it is discernible by the face and garbe of the assembly that they are in a dutie of fasting and mourning. Our *monethly fasts* are degenerated into most lothsome *formalities*, into lesse than a *formality*, lesse then all outside, then an appearance of fasting and mourning."† Calamy, whom we shall have frequent occasions to notice, adds his testimony to the profligacy of the times, though they were called times of reformation. "Though there be much *talke of reformation*, yet there was never lesse *practise of reformation*. *The worship of God is purer, but the worshippers are as impure as ever*. And though our *idolatry* be lesse, yet *adulteries* and *fornications* were never more, I cannot say *punished*, but I must rather say, *never more committed and never lesse punished*. Doe not men boast of their adulteries and yet escape unpunished? It is a mercy of God, that *scandalous ministers are thrust out of their livings*. But, *is there no law to punish a scandalous gentleman, and a lord also if he grow scandalous?* Shall the *Cheapside crosse* be taken downe (wherein you have done well) and shall your *Cheap-side iniquities*, your *Cheapside adulteries* yet remaine?" This is a fearful picture: but it must have been a true one, for these statements were not contradicted, but published by authority of Parliament. Calamy, moreover, proves, that the exactions and oppressions were quite as great as in the previous times, of which such complaints were uttered. "It is a mercy that we are freed from the *tyranny and crueltye of the High Commission and Star Chamber*. But I am sure there is as *much complaint*: I doe not say *as just complaint*, but as *much complaint of oppression and injustice in the Parliament committed in the counties*, as ever there was of the Star Chamber or High Commission." He then adds, "We live in the *sadest* dayes that ever England saw, and yet what abundance of pride is there in apparell? What *lustfull fashions*, even in these *bloody dayes*. There is much fasting but little weeping. Never more murmur-

insight into the manners of the times. Usually, and especially in country places, the hour-glass stood at the side of the preacher: nor was it the custom to finish until the sand had run out. But in St. Margaret's Church, in which the Commons' assembled on fast and thanksgiving days, it would seem, that the glass was superseded by a clock. The sermon was very long, and the clock had stopped. It would, he says, have been published sooner, "but being much mistaken in the time of preaching it, by reason of the silence of the clock, I was constrained, when I did perceive I had exceeded much the bounds allotted, to passe over many things, and dis-rank others, which caused the more labour to make them right."

* The Posture of David's Spirit when he was in a doubtfull condition. In a Sermon before the House of Commons, Oct. 22, 1644. By Richard Vines. London: 1644. P. 14.

† Newcomen's Sermon on the Right use of Disasters, &c. London: 1644. P. 11.

ing, and never lesse reforming, then in *these dayes*, even in *these dayes of reformation*."*

Before this period, Burgess, whose influence was little, if any, less than Calamy's, speaks more plainly still on the state of morals. "The land is guilty of much *uncleannesse and adultery*: and now more than ever, since the poor imperfect authority of ecclesiasticall judges was taken away because nothing is set up in the room thereof for the exemplary punishing of that sin. For what law is there that takes hold of an adulterer, unlesse he happen to get any of those whom he defiles with child? And then, if he give but security to discharge the parish of his bastards, you cannot touch him in the least for want of laws to meet with that sin."† These extracts are taken from the sermons of men, who, prior to the meeting of the Long Parliament, were continually crying out that the system of church government adopted in the English church encouraged profaneness and immorality. The passages are selected from sermons, which were preached within the space of four years from the assembling of what was termed *the reforming Parliament, the blessed Parliament, the holy Parliament!* And what were the fruits of the *reformation*? On the showing of the chief ministers, matters were become far worse under the rule of the Parliament, which, it was said, was to make all things perfect.

Calamy, as the extracts from his sermon prove, was as severe as any one in his description of the grievous state into which the country had fallen; and yet in the very same production he could descend to vulgar abuse of the Church of England. It will be observed that the sermon was preached on Christmas Day. The *holy and reforming Parliament* chose to appoint a fast to be held on the day, which ever since the Apostolic age had been regarded as a joyful festival. After giving the above description of the immoralities of the people, he exults in the fact that he was preaching a fast sermon on Christmas Day. The whole passage has been given in a former number, but we may again quote the following profane exultation. "This yeare God by a *Providence* hath buried this *Feast* in a *Fast*, and I hope it will never rise again."‡

Calamy's sermon was preached before the Lords. Two others

* An Indictment against England because of her Self-murdering Divisions, &c. A Sermon at the Fast, December 25, 1644.

† Burgess's Sermon. The Necessity of Washing the Heart. Before the House of Commons, March 30, 1642. P. 43. He complains, in the same sermon, of the neglect of the monthly fast. "Is there any care taken to see how these fasts are performed? Which of you have made inquiry in the several countries and places for which you serve? Should you do it, you would receive a sad return from many places. The very first *Fast* of all, on Nov. 17, anno 1640, was never kept at all in divers countries: and can you think the Monethly Fast be better celebrated." Ibid. 33.

‡ Calamy's Sermon. P. 41.

were preached in St. Margaret's church to the Commons, on the same day. One of the preachers in his *epistle* or dedication, mentions his dread at appearing before such an assembly; and he adds, "I found that my lot was cast upon that very day, which the providence of heaven had designed to fall on Christmas Day, (as it is named yet.)" The subject of his sermon was moderation, which he contrives to apply to the day. "I hasten to make mention of that which I know every one observes, that the providence of heaven is here become a moderator, appointing the highest festivitie of all the yeere to meet with our monthly fast and be subdued by it." He adds: "Though this day of Christ's birth be thus overcome by our monethly fast, yet our Saviour's nativitie hath, and shall have its commemoration, not onely in the day solemnized for his resurrection, in which is involved all the complement and consummation of Christ's doing, and suffering, and exaltation: but further, the Lord's Day is thought to be the very determinate day of the weeke when Christ was borne." Like Calamy, he calls for humiliation on account of the day. "This day and those next it, have been heretofore the onely merry season of the yeare, and the devill hath been served better on these twelve dayes then in all the twelve moneths before: and our master Christ hath been most unchristianly by many been dishonoured, even in those dayes said to be devoted to his glory. Great cause, therefore, had your ordinance to command *this day to be kept with more solemn humiliation, because it may call to remembrance our sinnes and the sinnes of our forefathers, who have turned this feast, pretending the memory of Christ, into an extreme forgetfulness of him.*" Then he exhorts: "Goe hence and bewaile and consider God's providence hath made this day, this very day, the head of all that jocundity, a day of humiliation." Still the preacher had some misgivings on the subject, for in allusion to the charities of Christmas, he says: "Let the neighbourhood and charity of those times at least in some time of the yeere be continued: sure I am, that some who had withered hands all the yeere beside, did at that season stretch them out to the poore."*

I should wish to devote a separate paper to the schisms, heresies, and disputes of the various parties who had cast off the Church of England; but a few passages may be given from the sermons, in the present article, on the evident declensions in religious practice since the bishops had ceased to rule. In the year 1644, when the Presbyterians occupied most of the pulpits, and were a considerable majority in Parliament, Calamy says: "I could heartily wish

* *Moderation Justified.* In a Sermon at the late Fast, December 25, 1644. By Thomas Thorowgood. Pp. 16, 18, 25, 26. In the other sermon there is no allusion to the day.

that one of the sermons preached before you every fasting day, might be a *sermon of repentance*. It was once said, *inter altercandum veritas amittitur*. The people of the citie of *London* have almost *disputed away their repentance*. I have read of one that by long studying of schoole-divinitie was so besotted that he quite forgot the *Lords Prayer*. And I feare that in our dayes, through the *heat of disputation* about matters of *discipline, faith and repentance* is much forgotten, both by minister and people.”* We read further: “They begin to have itching eares to hearken after new and *unknowne truths*, which for the most part doe prove to be *old errours*. And that which is yet *more sad*, many godly people that were wont in their *private meetings* to discourse about *repentance*: now all their discourse is of this *opinion or that opinion*, insomuch that unlesse God be very mercifull to us we are come to that passe, that we shall *quickly dispute away all our repentance and all our faith*; and we shall *quickly dispute ourselves out of our godlinesse and out of our religion*.” Yet Calamy was one of the first to reject Episcopacy. He was forward to pull down, but he soon saw how difficult it was to set up a new system, the creation of their own fancies. “Are there not some that preach against humiliation? And that tell us that *humiliation is but a back-doore to heaven*; and a *backedoor to Christ*? Are there not some that teach that *God is never displeased with his people, though they fall into adultery, or any other sinne*? And that an *unbelieving and impenitent sinner is as actually pardoned in God’s sight as he is if he believes and repents*? And doe not some of these now begin to *grieve that they have grieved so much for their sins*.”†

To such men as Calamy were to be attributed all the evils of which he and others complained. They rejected the Apostolical ordinances in the church, in order to set up their new inventions, and the result was, as the preachers have testified, a scene of immorality, profaneness, and error, such as had never been witnessed in England. This is evident from their own statements. None of the writers on the opposite side have drawn a more appalling picture than that, which is presented to our view in the sermons of the Presbyterian ministers—the very men who evinced such eagerness to reject Episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer.

While the war was advancing, the language of the pulpit varied according to the circumstances in which the Parliamentary armies were placed. At one time it was mournful; at another, exulting; but generally, on account of the misapplication of scripture, pro-

* Sermon. England’s Antidote against the Plague of Civil Warre. Oct. 22, 1644. By Edmund Calamy. *Epist. Dedic.*

† Ibid. 19.

fane. Calling upon the Parliament and Assembly of Divines at the funeral of Pym, Marshall says: "Would God have his people *thus to mourne*, when usefull men decay and faile, how sadly then doth this *reprove our general stupidity*? The Lord hath made many great and lamentable breaches amongst us, he hath broken all our carnall confidences: our Parliament is weakened, our armies wasted, our treasure is exhausted, our enemies increased, and of those few able hearts, heads and hands, who abode faithfull to this great cause, it might stabbe us to the very heart to thinke how many of them the Lord hath even snatcht away in the midst of their work and our greatest need. That excellent spirited lord, the Lord *Brooke*; that rare man, Master *John Hampden*; the Lord deprives us of these excellent men, and we (it may be for a moment) bewaile their losse in some passionate expression, saying, *There is a brave man lost! I am sorry such a man is dead*: and then every one goeth on againe in his owne way: as I have seen a hen (pardon an homely similitude) go clocking and scraping in the midst of her chickens: then comes the kite, and snatcheth away first one, then another, then a third, till all are gone; and the hen bristles and flutters a little when any is snatched away, but returns instantly to her scraping and picking, as if she had lost nothing: even so doe wee, presently forgetting our great losses, but no man sitting alone by himselfe to enquire, *what God hath done*?"*

We have heard Calamy's sad complaints of immorality and errors. But none of the preachers adopted a more exulting tone than he did on other occasions. "We are heare met this day to keepe a *day of thanksgiving*, to keepe a heaven upon earth, to doe that for a day, which is the work of Angels and Archangels to all eternity. We have had many days of *Hosannahs*, and now we are to keepe one day of *Hallelujahs*." "God hath given us deliverances of all sorts, and of all sizes, to oblige us to his service. We have had temporall and spirituall deliverances, old and new deliverances. These two last yeares have been made up all of deliverances."†

* The Churches Lamentation for the Good Man his Losse; at the Funerall of that excellent man, John Pym, Esquire. By Stephen Marshall. London: 1644. Pp. 19, 20. Another preacher alludes to Lord Brooke, and Hampden. "It is *sad* to thinke how some renowned worthies (L. Brooke, Mr. Hamden, &c.,) who travelled with your honours in this worke of reformation, have layed down their lives in the quarrell." Staunton's Sermon, to the Lords, October 30, 1644. P. 27. "Peerlesse Lords, incomparable Knights and Patriots, much of our brave gentry and true-hearted yeomanry have sacrificed their dearest lives in this unhappy quarrell, lives too precions to be cast away so vilely upon the scumme of the land, men baser than the earth." Tesdale's Sermon. 1644. P. 14.

† The Nobleman's Patterne of true and reall Thankfulnesse. In a Sermon before the House of Lords at their late Solemn Day of Thanksgiving, June 15, 1643. By Edmund Calamy. London: 1643. Pp. 1, 13. The following description of a thanksgiving day is from Vicars: "I may not passe over the happy remembrance of that most sweet and *solemn Day of Thanksgiving* to the Lord

It was sometimes felt by the preachers, that they were obnoxious to the charge of fomenting discord in the land. "I know many charge the *preachers* as the *kindlers* and *fomentors* of this *unnaturall warre*." Then, in an address to heaven, the preacher says, "*We have not desired this woeful day, O Lord, thou knowest, if our desire was to have obtained the establishment of religion in purity and peace without blood. Quod si non aliter. But if the sins of England be such, and the engagements of our adversaries to their superstitious wayes be such, that there is no other way to have popery cast out, the Church reformed, the Gospell assured to us, then this, hac mercede placent. The will of the Lord be done. Goe you on*

our all-good-giving and forgiving God, which was rarely and religiously celebrated for that late and most admirable, yea even *miraculous Victory* near the city of *York*. The Lords and Commons joyned together at *Westminster* in the cheerful solemnization of this day, and every parish in and about London assembling together, both forenoon and afternoon, to hear sermons preached in their churches, and prayers and praises proclaimed to our so great and good God, the *wonder-working God* of this our *Israel*, and in a speciall manner this was performed by the *Right Honourable, prudent, and pious Lord Mayor*, together with the most worthy *Aldermen and Sheriffs*, in their gownes, at *Paul's Church*, where after the morning sermon, a volley of small shot was triumphantly discharged, and two ensignes or colours were flourished and displayed in the top of *Pauls-steeple*, which gave notice to the several forts in the fields, and thereupon the ordnance went off round about the city: and after the afternoones sermon, great outward joy and thanksgiving was expressed, both in liberal sums of money collected in the churches to refresh the loynes of the poore: and afterwards in ringing of bells, and making bonfires in the streets: yea and the neighbours and parishioners of divers parishes supped together in extraordinary solemn manner, especially in the parish of *Christ Church*, where I myselve was an unworthy part and present eye-witnesse of the same: all or the greatest part both men and women, yea all well-affected persons of fashion and ability assembled in the *Great Hall of Christs Hospitall*, who being all very gravely and cheerfully met together, and supper made ready, their reverend, pious, and painful Pastor *Mr. Jenkins* (who indeed was the mover of this so solemn meeting, an act worthy a godly divine indeed) he, I say, began a *Psalme of David*, which all the company sang together, whiles the dishes were brought in: then a blessing on the creatures craved and supper ended, the said Reverend Pastor, as he piously began so he religiously concluded with another *Psalme*. And here I desire the Godly reader to take notice of one remarkable passage of *God's Providence*, which happily preceded this solemn meeting, viz., that upon the *Wednesday*, the very immediate day before, it pleased the Lord so to order and dispose it: that the most worthy and most deservedly ever to be honoured religious and zealous *Nehemiah* of our dayes, *Sir Robert Harlow*, came and caused a mighty great and most blasphemous *Crucifix*, which had continued there in marvellous fair and fresh oyl colours undefaced for the space of above 100 or six score yeares, upon all the length and breadth of the wall at the upper end of that great *Hall*. This abominable and most blasphemous *Crucifix*, this most pious and noble knight now caused, I say, to be presently at his comming pulled down and broken I daresay into 1000 pieces, (I myselve being an eye witnesse and assistant in this businesse, it being all most gorgeously painted on boards, neatly and closely joyned together. And thus, I say, was that fair roome made far more fair, and cleanly swept of that most filthy and Popish dirty corner, that night, against the next dayes solemn meeting as aforesaid: and all the wood and boards so pull'd down and broken was reserved for this *Thursday-night*, the *Thanksgiving Evening*, and by the children of the *Hospitall* a great bonfire was made of the same. All this solemn celebration justly serving (besides the outward expression of Christian Joy and Triumph) for the shame and vexation of our audacious adversaries the *Parliaments* enemies, and all their malicious and malignant atheisticall adherents." God's Arke, &c. Pp. 288, 289, 290.

undauntedly in that blessed worke of *reformation*. Thinke you heare Christ speaking to you as *Cæsar* did to his *Ferryman* in a storme, *Perge contra Tempestatem forti animo, Cæsarem fers et fortunam Cæsaris*. Beare up courageously against the storme, you carry *Cæsar* and *Cæsar's* fortune. Thinke you heare Christ so saying unto you. Remember you have not onely the *sighes* and *teares* of *Gods people* for you, but Christ *embarked with you*, who is able to *rebuke the storms* and *command a calm*. You are a Parliament of prayers and tears, if any." This same preacher says: "The *resolution* you have put on for uniting with the Church of *Scotland*, is one of the *blessedst things* for the utter *subversion* of popery, that hath bin since the first *reformation*."* In another sermon we read, "I do not more believe that the sun is in the heaven, or that I am speaking to this congregation, then I do believe that all the calamities which are fallen upon this land shall turn to the benefit of God's people, that Antichrist shall concur to his own subversion, then that scarlet whore shall fall, and it is most probable that her ruine is neare at hand."†

Various arts were adopted by the preachers to keep up the martial flame. Sometimes the people were encouraged: at other times they were almost threatened. "A valiant captain, when the field is fought, and the victory is got, bids bring in that cravant, that milke-sop, who did runne away: hisse him, turne him out of doores, as the shame of his cuntry. When Christ shall come and call, and say to some white-livered men, you were ashamed to appeare for the strict observation of the Lords Day, and you would not bee seene to favour the reformation, which by England's Parliament, at such a time was endeavoured, and you would not endeavour to have the sanctuary swept from all pollutions, but you would rather *Issachar* like, lye under burdens, then struggle for deliverance. You were afraid what might be the issue, if the times should turn, and the tyde run another way. And hereupon you sneakingly left me, and my cause and glory in the open fields. Beloved, this will be an heavy hearing to the cowardly apostate at the last day."‡ This was somewhat threatening in its aspect; but the preacher was expert at other methods. "The promise of good successe. Beloved, Christians maintaining the cause and minding the glory of God, are as sure of victory as if now they were singing the triumph."§ Again: "I am credibly informed,"

* Newcomen's Craft and Cruelty of the Churches Adversaries, Nov. 5, 1642. London: 1643. Pp. 42, 43, 45.

† God's Providence: A Sermon at the Fast, Dec. 28, 1642. By Ed. Corbett. London. P. 13.

‡ Good Courage Discovered and Encouraged. A Sermon before the Commanders of the Militarie forces of the Citie of London. By Simeon Ash. London: 1642. Pp. 23, 24.

§ Ibid. 81.

says he; in an exhortation to *improve their experiences*, "that yourselves had two notable experiences of God's providence for your preservation. 1. There were muskets broken in the field, and yet neither the musketers nor any neare them received the least harme, although the throng of people was very great. 2. Gods hand turned aside graciously and strangely a kindled match which was cast towards a basket full of gunpowder, which stood in the field for that dayes service. The remembrance of such like providences should encourage our adventures for the Lord."* In this passage, the preacher alludes to a day on which the troops had assembled for their exercise. It shows how the ministers descended to the most minute particulars in the pulpit, in order to flatter or terrify their audience.

All incidents and events were introduced into the sermons either in the way of encouragement or warning. "Who would have thought that the troubles in the *North*, should have procured a pacification between the two nations of *England* and *Scotland*, and give a light to the whole island to looke to its security. And who would thinke, that God is at this time bringing about the peace and security of *England*, though all the agents and instruments of it should be blighted, contemned, and despised."† Sometimes the most triumphant note is sounded. "*Satan, Prelates, Papists, Malignants*, shall bee under-workemen and kitchen-servants to him who *hath his fire in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem*, to purifie and refine the vessells of mercy in the *Lords House*."‡ In an enumeration of the evils arising from the divisions, which were become very common even before the Liturgy was set aside by an ordinance, we meet with the following most singular complaint. "*Hereby God is necessitated to prolong our warres*: for all the bloud-thirstie cavaliers are but as so many shepherds dogs sent out by God to gather his sheep together. Gods people are now as sheepe, scattered one from the other to the reproach of religion, and dishonour of God: and God hath sent the enemy as his dog to call them all together, and till this be fully accomplished, these dogs will not be taken off."§

It has been seen, that there was great unanimity between all the parties opposed to the king and the church in the work of

* Ibid. 34, 35.

† *Confiding England under Conflicts, Triumphant in the Middest of her Terrors*: or assured comforts that her present miseries will end in unspeakable lasting mercies. First preached at *Bengoo* and *Hitchin*, in *Hartfordshire*, and now published for the common comfort of the nation. By John Bewick. London: 1644. P. 7. As usual, this preacher, in his dedication to the Earl of Essex, puts forth a false pretence, asserting, that the army was raised in "*defence of his Majesty's person*," when it is well known, that they were fighting against the sovereign, who was as likely to be slain as any other man. By such means did the ministers either delude themselves or others.

‡ Rutherford's Sermon. London: 1644. P. 9.

§ Calamy's Sermon, December 25, 1644. P. 16.

pulling down; but when they came to discuss the question of setting up an ecclesiastical establishment, the utmost confusion prevailed. To gain the Scots, the Parliament readily removed Episcopacy. They had no love to the Liturgy. But they were afraid of Presbytery; and, consequently, they proceeded very slowly in the business. They did not object to the forms of worship; but they were resolved not to establish the discipline. By degrees they gave their sanction to the *Directory*, the *Confession*, and the *Catechisms*: and yet the authority to enforce compliance was never yielded by the Parliament. We find, therefore, in the sermons of this period, constant complaints on this subject, and exhortations to get up the Presbyterian discipline. The Westminster Assembly were permitted to debate matters, but not to enforce obedience in anything, the power being retained by the Parliament. But to keep the Assembly and the Scots in good temper, they were occasionally gratified with an apparent concession, such as the allowance of the *Directory* or *Confession*. In the Assembly, the Erastians and Independents occupied the time in long speeches: so that very little business was transacted during all the period of their sitting: and as soon as the Independents gained the ascendancy, the divines at Westminster were the contempt of the nation.

To furnish a picture of the times with respect to this matter, we now give a selection of passages from the sermons of the period on the questions of discipline and reformation.

Some of the preachers did not hesitate to attack the reformation in the time of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, though generally these sovereigns were spoken of with great favour and admiration. "God seems to me to proceed by the same steps with us, that he did with the people of the Jews, and hath made 3 visible and memorable onsets upon the reformation. The first by that famous Prince, the miracle and glory of his people and age, Edward the 6. Soon after the work was revived againe by his deare sister Q. Elizabeth, in whose hands the Lord caused the worke to prosper to some further perfection, yet not unto that beauty and glory we hope our God intends to raise it to: therefore this 3^d time hath God raised up instruments for the advancing of this worke, even yourselves."* Another openly declares "When there was a reformation both in King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth's* time, though they reformed much, yet they wrought not a thorow reformation. Too much of *Rome* was retained both in religion and the government of the church: and the land hath not been purged of it to this day."† Such, doubtless, was the opinion of all the Presbyterians, especially of the preachers, who addressed the Houses of

* Newcomen's Sermon, November 5, 1642. London: 1643. *Epist. Dedic.*

† God's Warning to England. By the Voyce of his Rod. A Sermon, &c. Oct. 30, 1644. By Henry Scudder. London: 1644. P. 19.

Parliament on the fast days. Accordingly, they are flattered with the title of *Reformers*, and assured, that the Lord's work was to be accomplished by their instrumentality. Alluding to Psalm xxiv. 9, 10, one of the ministers says: "So let me addresse the like desire to you, that are the heads of our tribes, and have the keyes of the kingdome hanging at the doores of your honourable Senate House. O, let all the gates and doores of the kingdome, and of all the countie, cities, parishes in it, be set wide open, *that the King of Glory may come in.* The eyes of many thousands in the land, and a great part of Christendome too, are now upon you: you are in the hearts of all the saints in the churches, especially those at home, who are ready to live and dye with you, and what is their expectation and desire other than this, that Christ may raigne as an all-commanding king, over his owne house: that doctrine, worship, government, may be all exact, according to the patterne in the mount. Helpe on this much desired work."^{*} "Let then a bloody crew fight on, and fill up their measure, the Lord hath said the word to you as to Cyrus. He is my shepherd, &c."[†]

In the summons of the Presbyterians, the government of Christ meant the Presbyterian discipline. For this the ministers were constantly struggling, in the Assembly by their votes, with the House of Commons by petitions, and in the pulpit by exhortations. "This poore church," says one, "hath had her autumn, her declining under many pollutions, and her winter of humiliation: Blessed bee the good hand of God, wee see some hopes of a spring of pure reformation, which will usher in a summer of deliverance. Your Lordships have had the honour to bee our Joshua's, to be our leaders in several steps of the reformation, and I hope you have taken since such bunches of grapes from the holy land, as will quicken your desires after a more full separation for all impurity."[‡] This individual says to the Lords, "You have many *praying dayes*, yet if they be not *cleansing and scouring dayes*, your prayers will still miscarry." In reference to the reformation, he says: "On former dayes it was accounted a great matter that a commission was granted towards the cleansing of England: following Parliaments in Queen Elizabeth's time, cleansed some of the *cisterns*, but still left much mud in the *fountaine*. God hath reserved you to have an honourable share in this service."[§] "Antichrists end is neere: *Babylon* is (and that shortly) to be destroyed, therefore faint not: you have given her a deadly

^{*} Hall's Heaven Ravished. London: 1644. P. 64.

[†] Gower's Things Now-a-Doing. 1644. *Epist. Dedic.*

[‡] The Right Separation Incouraged. A Sermon to the House of Lords, Nov. 27, 1644. By Thomas Hill. London: 1645. *Epist. Dedic.*

[§] *Ibid.* 32.

wound, follow on your stroke : let the wound never be healed. The Beast roares and struggles : she recollects spirits, but it is but as a dying man, which we call a lightening before death : then now is the time to extend yourselves to make a full end of the whore.”*

Encouragements were frequently mingled with reproofs for lukewarmness. Some of the encouragements, too, were very singular. “ Let it be considered, that the great God who of small acorns brings up huge oakes, and promotes a day of small things to very great perfection, whereby he sets out to the view of all the splendour of his omnipotent agency, hath carried on things thus in this great motion : who would ever have thought the throwing of a stool in the church, out of indignation, by a godly woman, a zealot, at the first broaching of the *English Masse* at *Edenborough* : I say who would have thought that the throwing of that stool should have so mightily shaken the Pope’s chair. This I take to be a very great and good omen.”†

This allusion to the tumults in Scotland perhaps marks as strongly as anything could do the degraded state of the pulpit at this period. The same preacher then notices the progress of the same work in England : but in doing so, he unwittingly exposes the dishonesty of his party, in their rejection of Episcopacy, after their engagements to defend it, and to reject only what they termed its exorbitances. “ How small a portion of this goodly reformation, which, by God’s blessing, is like to ensue, would have quieted our spirits. The sight of a few clusters of these grapes from *Canaan* would have overjoyed us. If but the three costly ceremonies had been taken off, (costly I call them, because they cost the church the losse of the fruitfull labours of so many precious men, and them of their livelihoods.) If these, I say, and the clogging subscriptions had been removed, I am persuaded the Doves would have kept at home, and not taken so great a flight as to the discoveries of *Columbus*, no nor to *Holland*. Let us not then be so ungratefull as to undervalue those precious truths we agree in, by growing impatient, and sundering in affection, like children of a divers family, because we cannot consent in opinions presented under the notion of a new light : which *eo nomine* may very well be suspected, as unknown to former ages.” “ I dare say, you thought at first onely to restrain the exorbitancy of the bishops, and reforme some faults of the Service Book, and God has discovered innumerable abominations to you, and hath led you in paths not intended by you.” In allusion to existing

* A Firebrand Pluckt out of the Burning. A Sermon, Nov. 27, 1644. By Benjamin Pickering. London: 1645. P. 20.

† Gemitus Columbe : the Mournful Note of the Dove. A Sermon, December 25, 1644. P. 28.

difficulties, he says to them : "The Lord holds out strong probabilities that you should outlive these storms." Immediately after, however, he proceeds to rebuke them, and in doing this, he confirms the charge of employing Papists in their armies. "Let no Papists lurk in your armies. I have heard it, with the rising of my spirit and indignation, objected by the malignants. I took it for a scandalous suggestion : yet the same hath been brought about by those that are cordially affected to the cause, and fear God."* On some occasions, the members of the two Houses are reminded that they must expect opposition. "Be not dismayed (honourable Senators), notwithstanding the many oppositions in the way of this your begun reformation, and think not to be quiet, as long as the popish adversary can work."† This was said on a *fifth* of November, on which day the two Houses always assembled in the Abbey and St. Margaret's Church. Another preacher on this day remarks, that the same enemies are at work. "Nor are they without their pioneers, too, still at worke, and now busier then ever, in digging vaults, such as may lead from Oxford, Rome, Hell, to Westminster."‡ The preacher previously quoted, alluding to their victories, says : "You have many *fifths* of *November* in this one day : and every time you have a victory, it is a deliverance from a gunpowder plot : before it was secret, and now it is open."§

Exhortations to set up the discipline and to appoint ministers, are very numerous. In this work, as has been remarked, the Parliament was very slack, never intending to set up the power of Presbytery, but merely to allow its form of worship. Consequently, with the exhortations to set Christ on his throne, we find complaints of the confusions which existed after Episcopacy was set aside. "If you would retain the *truth*, let the discipline we must have be known as soon as may be, (you cannot imagine what confusion we have in our countrey congregations in this intervall of discipline.) There is no discipline so ill as no discipline : all our eyes are upon you for a reformation, but there are a sort of reformers, that would be first themselves reform'd : such as break into churches, teare the books, and *overturn* the wrong *tables*."|| The Parliament took special care to keep the Assembly employed with debating the questions of government and discipline ; and sometimes a complaint breaks forth in the sermons. But the two

* Ibid. 29, 30.

† Rome's Crueltie and Apostacie. A Sermon on the Fifth of November, 1644. To the Commons. By Anthony Burgess. London: 1645. *Epist. Dedic.*

‡ David's Reserve and Rescue. In a Sermon on the Fifth of November, 1644. By Charles Hall. London: 1645. *Epist. Dedic.*

§ Burgess's Sermon. P. 21.

|| A Payre of Compasses for Church and State. A Sermon. November the last, 1642. By Charles Hall. London: 1642. P. 42.

Houses pursued their own course, regardless of the murmurs of the ministers. "You have ministers, the country wants them: hither come the godly and faithfull of the land, that have suffered the loss of all. God tries now what hast you will make (Right Honourable) to settle the businesse of ordination, and releve those churches that for the present are as sheep without a shepherd."* Presbytery was pleaded for as the government instituted by Christ. "Be not shie," says a preacher, addressing the Commons, "*of Jus Divinum* when you have *Verbum Divinum* for it."† The Presbyterians pleaded the *jus Divinum* for their system. Of this the preachers had no doubt. In this language they constantly addressed the two Houses to quicken them in their progress. "*Call upon the Assembly to hasten their worke to which you have summoned them*: bee pleased to command the sight of that government which you desire to have settled. If I mistake not, you may find most of the principalls agreed upon, as for the fillings up, let them (if time supply us) be debated at leisure; and that no more rubbs may lie in the way."‡ To such an exhortation the Parliament would not attend: for their object was to delay the work. But they gave smooth words to the preachers, and ordered their sermons to be printed.

Though the Covenant pledged them to root out Episcopacy, it did not bind them to Presbytery. The Presbyterians, indeed, so interpreted it; but the Independents read it differently. Accordingly some of the ministers complained frequently of the sin of covenant breaking. "Though we have ingaged ourselves by Covenant, yet is that Covenant made by many but as it were a *fast and loose knot*, or a mere *shibboleth* of distinction." The same individuals complain of some who were "startled at the name of *Jus Divinum*, as Herod was when he heard of one that should be borne King of the Jews."§ Another minister alluding to the slow progress of the work in the Assembly, through the tardiness of the House of Commons, thus addresses them. "Since by the blessing of God they are thus farre advanced, that they have found in the word of God a pattern for Presbyterial government; and have found also from the word that ordination is an act belonging to such a Presbytery, I beseech you improve that *whereunto we have already attained*: till other acts of a Presbytery be agreed on afterwards. Yourselves know better than I doe that much people is perishing, because there is no vision. Give me leave, therefore, to quicken you to this part of the work, that with all diligence, and without delay, some Presbyteries be associated

* Gower's Sermon. P. 13.

† Hill's Season for Self-Reflection. P. 34.

‡ Sedgwick's Sermon. P. 30.

§ Vines's Posture of David's Spirit. P. 15.

and erected." By so doing, he tells them, "you shall greatly strengthen the hearts and hands of your brethren of Scotland, joyned in Covenant and in arms with you."*

Sometimes it was intimated, that they had prayed and fought for the system, which the Presbyterians wished to erect. "We have expected, desired, magnified, blessed, fasted, and prayed for a Parliament; and we know how much time, substance, parts, spirits, bloud, our worthies have expended for the public good: and now they have framed the best lawes humane under heaven. Would it not be a sad thing if this wonderfull power when it comes to execution, should be put into paralyticall hands, either quite benumbed, or so shaking that they can do nothing evenly or steddily."† Amidst the complaints of the Parliament, the army and the Assembly were praised as having acted vigorously. "As for the armies, I may justly say they have been generally faithfull. For the Assembly, their labours, travellings, watchings: their zeal to the cause of God and work of reformation, is not unknown to considering men."‡ In some cases the members were reminded of their obligations to the ministers. "Consider what helpes God hath graciously provided for your encouragement. You have the prayers of many faithfull ministers. More sermons have been preacht unto your eares, and printed for your eyes, then for any one Parliament, yea, then for all the Parliaments that have been before you. There are some daily consulting by your authority, what advice to give you in matters of religion."§

It was perfectly true, that no Parliament had ever listened to so many sermons: for England had never previously witnessed such hypocrisy among the ministers and the people. In these times, the most iniquitous proceedings were attempted to be sanctified by sermons and prayers. But still, it was customary to administer the unction of flattery, in order that the Parliament might be cajoled into doing those things, to the execution of which they could not be frightened. We, therefore, meet with such passages as the following. "Goe on in pious and honourable undertakings: the hearts, the tongues, the pennes of all good men blesse you: how can it then be, but the God of heaven, who hath set you apart, as chosen instruments of so eminent, so uni-

* Gillespie's Sermon. 41, 42.

† Hickes's Glory and Beauty of God's Portion. P. 34.

‡ Hardwick's Difficulty of Sion's Deliverance and Reformation. P. 18. Hill distinctly says: "By the good hand of God upon us we are under his owne Ordinance. an Assembly of Ministers is called to discover the Scripture way." *Epist. Dedic.* This was rather incautious, since the Presbyterians usually pretended that the way was evident to all, so that the labours of the Assembly were not needed to discover it.

§ Seaman's Solomon's Choice. P. 40.

versall good to his churches, should in due time crown our endeavours with successe: and infinitely recompence your labours in a better world ?”* “I cannot but blesse God, who hath made you remember your fault in this day of your visitation, and hath put you upon the sending of able, learned, conscientious ministers into the North. Those lights in the North, I doubt not, will boad you much good. I know you would spread the heavenly fire to the West also, and how are you streightened till it burn?”† “As you desire to contribute towards *Englands* welfare, quicken yourselves and one another to diligence in building the *Lords Temple*. The more you desire to see your own decayed houses and estates repaired and settled, bee the more zealous in re-building *Gods House*. It may bee, the wise God will not suffer you to enjoy your *Palaces*, till you have finished the work of reformation, that he may enjoy his *Temple*.”‡

The ministers did not fail to point out to the Parliament the advantages, which were likely to accrue to the king's cause, from the confusions, to which the removal of one form of church government without setting up another, had given rise. Thus Calamy says: “*Hereby the good cause we fight for is exceedingly disparaged*. For doe we not heare the enemie boasting and saying, these are the men that cry downe *Prelacy*: you see they can agree in nothing but in *anarchie* and *confusion*. Are there not many that begin to grow weary of these warres, and cold in the prosecution of the Parliaments most just cause, even for this very reason that because they know not amongst so many religions (as they call them) for what religion they fight.”§ “Let not the sons of Belial say. there is no law now: let them know that the kingly power resides in this High Court of Parliament. Let your terrour be on all the wicked. If the wicked were took away, God would leave off melting. Certainly it will be acceptable to God, if you could, as you have begun, set up a faithfull ministry. Be zealous for Christ's cause: delay not to establish his government and discipline with vigour. Let your wisdome find out a way so, that for circumstantiall differences there be no rent made by those who are one body. Your religious approbation of the Directory is no small refreshing to the spirits of all the godly.”|| “Is it not more prodigiously strange to see brethren, under the names of *Independents* and *Presbyterians*, not onely persecuted by others, but even condemning and doing severe execution upon one another? They who have sweetly agreed in the destructive part of reforma-

* Hill's Sermon. P. 34, 35.

† Hardwick's Sermon. *Epist. Dedic.*

‡ Langley's Gemitus Columbae. P. 16.

§ Calamy's Indictment against England. December 25, 1644. P. 14.

|| Pickering's Firebrand Pluckt out of the Burning. *Epist. Dedic.*

tion for the pulling downe *Popish* superstitions and *prelaticall* usurpations: they who have joyned like brethren in one *practicall Directory*: they who have taken divers steppes towards an happy accord in the *doctrinal part*, in one *Confession of Faith*, and forme of *Catechism*: why should not they also be brought to shake hands in lesser things, harmoniously concurring in matters of *church government*."

It was this very subject of church government which the Parliament did not regard as among the *lesser things*. As it involved the power of censure and discipline, the Parliament were resolved not to entrust it to the ministers. The same preacher gives an amusing account of the contentions between the parties, which abounded after the setting aside of Episcopacy. "Come into some companies, you shall heare people talke themselves and one another into a passion against *Independents*: others will draw as ugly a picture of *Presbyterians*."*

At the same time the preacher does not fail to tell the Lords, to whom the sermon was addressed, that the opportunity of preventing these differences was vouchsafed to the Parliament. "Never had any generation of *nobles in England* a more rich price put into their hands. Some of your ancestors had thirsty desires for the purging of England; but they wanted opportunity. The set time for God to favour this *Sion* was not come. His good hand hath cast you into that juncture of things, lets you see such a concurrence of providences, enemies as well as friends helping forward the work, ministers preaching, the people petitioning for purity; O where are *your hearts*, where are *your proportionable affections to welcome such a season*? God forbid that this should lye at your doore, that such and such *nobles in England* had a great price put into their *hands*, but they wanted *hearts* to improve it."†

"We have undertaken in the Nationall Covenant," says another, "the establishment of *uniformitie*, and how that can stand with this *uniformitie* indeed, *Nulliformitie*, I understand not. Divine Providence hath shut it out of our campe by our Covenant."‡ "You have lately heard what horrible blasphemies have been belched out against heaven, in some corner sermons: you know what intrusions are made into the ministry, and what confusion is threatened by divisions and diversities of opinions: lay these things to heart, settle worship, settle government, speedily, now that you are called upon." In a marginal note the last clause is explained: "Directory carried up to the House of Peeres."

* Hill's Right Separation Incouraged. P. 30.

† Ibid. 31.

‡ Thorowgood's Moderation Justified. P. 12.

The Presbyterian ministers encouraged the Parliament to remove Episcopacy; to reject the Liturgy; and to eject the loyal clergy: but they wished the property of the church to be bestowed upon themselves. On the other hand, a large party in the country advocated a different disposal of the church's property: and with good reason, since the Presbyterians had no better claim to its possession than others. Among the subjects of complaint, therefore, in the sermons, we find that of the want of proper maintenance. "There be a second sort of people to be reprov'd, who count that their chiefest gaine, which is filched from God and his people and cause: among these reckon those that detain unjustly the ministers dues. Many there be that make it their businesse to keep back whatever they can from Christ. How many are there that have builded themselves upon the ruines of the church, and raised up their families upon that cost that others have bestowed on the ministry and saints." After remarking that their gains will not prosper, the preacher says: "There goes a privy curse, and there is a secret hidden worme at the root, that will eat out all such mens increase. It is a design, that carries much of Hell in it, to make a poore, and so by that means you shall be sure to have a base, illiterate, flattering clergy." In a note he adds: "I am sorry that we are fallen into those times, in which men, under a pretence of Antichristianism, so detain church dues, though these were before ever the head or hornes of the beast did appeare so as to be taken notice of." *

It was strange that the preacher should have forgotten that the Episcopal clergy had been deprived of their livings for no crime, and by an unjust power: and that he and others helped on the work of destruction. As the property had been taken from the lawful holders, it was no wonder that the people should regard their own right to it to be as good as that of any other party. It is curious, too, to find this man defending the payments to the clergy on the ground that they existed before Popery. But as he and his brethren had denounced so many things as popish, it was not singular that the people should go a step further and denounce a settled ministry, and the appropriation of church property to their support as popish also. Such was the inconsistency of these men.

The same strain was frequently adopted. "Give me leave to reminde you of the harpies of this age, who spying a great alteration likely to be made in the revenues of the church, have their mouthes open, and their fingers itch for a share. Sacriledge hath ever proved a fatall offence, you will not be so much as in purpose

* The Gainfull Cost. A Sermon before the Lords, 27 November. By Henry Wilkinson. London: 1644. Pp. 20, 21.

be defiled with it. You would not have ministers meddle with secularities, povertie will make them more secular, and if preachers be poore, then there will be poore preaching too at the last: Oh that every lampe in the kingdome had its proportionable oyle, that is your endeavour, and as you have no thought yourselves to entangle your own patrimonies with the churches possessions, I wish you would declare to the world you would not suffer others to doe it." He alludes also to the neglected state of the fabric of the churches. "Much dispute there was of late about adherent and inherent holinesse of churches, and it was accounted a sinne to be covered in them, and it is now a punishment in some not to be covered, a punishment by the winde and weather, from the roofe, and windows: so easily men fall from one extreme to another."*

Among the sins censured by the ministers, as we have seen, was that of excess in dress, especially in the women. But it appears that the ministers themselves were also obnoxious to the same charge. The following extract presents such a singular picture of the times, that it will be perused with considerable interest. "I never heard nor saw the like in all my life, untill within these very few dayes: insomuch as when I came up to *London* (upon your summons unto this present publike employment) and was shewed such and such divines of note, I had much adoe to believe it, and still it lieth as lead at my heart, to consider what ruffianly haire, what cavalerian garbe of cloths, with answerable diet we are fallen upon, even in these sad times, as easie and lax herein, as rigid and strict in what is both of smaller evidence and consequence." He adds: "Shall we, because we refuse to have holy vestments pinned on us by canon, confute this no way, but by all loose, new, costly attire, and fashions, cavallere-like, that nothing of our outside may have any colour, or shew of gravity and modesty? Certainly it was not so within these few yeares, when the poore fugitives posted to *New England* in another cut of haire and clothing. Whether doe the divines of other reformed churches, who owne no holy vestments, take this Christian liberty (if not rather unchristian licentiousnesse) to themselves? How shall we weane others from that teat, which we so banker after ourselves?"† It will be remembered that Dr. Owen, when vice-chancellor of Oxford, under Cromwell, was very smart and particular in his dress—so much so indeed, that our preacher, had he seen him, must have been shocked at the sight.

The following passage is from one of the Fast sermons preached

* Thorowgood's Sermon. Pp. 15, 16.

† A Sermon preached (before God and from him) to the Honourable House of Commons, at a Publike Fast, *Novemb. 27*, in the yeare. *GoD Is oUr ref Vge, oVr strength: a heLpe In troVbLes, Verle aboVnDant We fInDe.* By George Gippes. London. Pp. 9, 10.

on Christmas Day. The preacher, in enforcing humiliation, evinced more than ordinary presumption. "Every blow and disappointment hath put the godly upon new scrutinies and examinations of their wayes, and to crouch low, and cry out, Lord, put any yoke upon us, so it be thine, not Babylonish, not Spanish, not cavalierish. We owe our Covenant to the low and shattered state God was pleased to cast us in for our sins, and we make the more fruitfull reviews of it."* "If thou canst do nothing else in behalfe of poore *England*, yet put thy finger in thine eye and complain to thy father, tell him how ill it fares with the poore brethren and sisters in *gasping Ireland*, in *unsettled Scotland*, in *bleeding England*."†

The *fifth* of November was always observed by the Long Parliament as a day of thanksgiving, the members attending St. Margaret's church, as on a monthly fast day, to listen to sermons from preachers of their own appointment. As might be expected, these sermons are occupied with constant allusions to the circumstances in which the country was at that time placed: and they contain not a few profane exultations. In one of these sermons addressed to the Lords, they are called "The Assembly of our Gods," and the preacher says, "You are the men with whom God will plead the kingdome's cause."‡ The tone of the sermon is exulting. Victories are specified as encouragements to expect others. "Manifold deliverances, with many glorious victories have been given in. My memory is not a sufficient register to give you an account of particulars, they are so many: I will not therefore tell you of *Edgehill*, *Newbury*, *York*, &c. God hath given us in a bill of later providences for the church in several parts of the Kingdom, by reducing several garrisons. God hath honoured this one day (consecrated principally to the memory of *England's* deliverance from the *Powder Plot*) with such a confluence of mercies, as might justly require the separation of many dayes unto thanksgiving. We had need to look that neither God be loser in his praise, by giving in so much at once, nor we surfeit in being lifted by the abundance of mercy." In the margin is the following note: "Monmouth, Newcastle, Tinmouth, Liverpoole, taken in, about this time." He goes on to say that the victories were brought about "by a speciall hand of God. They have not usually been given till the creatures help and strength hath been

* Langley's *Gemitus Columbæ*. P. 22.

† Hill's *Right Separation*. P. 28.

‡ Immanuel: or the Church Triumphant. God with us. A Sermon before the Lords. At their Publique Thanksgiving, November 5th, 1644. By John Strickland. London: *Epist. Dedic.* These flattering titles appear to have been common. The author of *Persecutio Undecima* cites Calamy and Temple as using the same adulatory strain: "calling it *the Parliament of their Prayers*, and a frequent pulpit title for the House of Commons was, *the House of Gods*, and *the House of Mortal Gods*." Pp. 16, 64.

brought to a nonplus, at least we have seen the creature failing before God hath turned the day for us: your Wisdomes observed how it was with us in the beginning of the day at *Edgehill*, at *York*, to say no more. How clearly hath Gods hand been put forth in our victories, when we were even upon the brink of an overthrow. They have been given to us in a way above humane probabilities: whereby it hath appeared that victory was given us by him to whom nothing is difficult. Yea, so much have we seen of God's going out with us alwayes into the field, that the enemy was never yet knowne to prevaile against us, but by our either treachery or negligence."*

When the sermon was published the two Houses were keeping a *Fast*: and in his epistle the preacher alludes to the circumstance. "The matter which was suited to a day of praises before your *Lordships*, may be very usefull (if not necessary) at all times: even now when you are putting on your mourning garments, and when the whole kingdome seems to be in a more sad posture then it was Nov. 5th. Our praising God for his being *with us* in a thanksgiving day, may effectually admonish and prepare us to mourn after *Gods presense*, in a day of humiliation with more affectionatenesse."

The *seventeenth* of November was a great day at the commencement of the Long Parliament, in commemoration of the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Some curious matters are to be found in a sermon on that occasion, before the Lord Mayor at St. Paul's. In the *epistle* the preacher says: "Therein England first received such a blessing as never ought to slip out of the heart of an English man." He says, moreover, that she restored "true religion, and a free passage to the Gospel."† Yet sometimes it was said that the Reformation was imperfect. The preacher appears to have been enraptured with the day. In the *epistle* he says: "In my younger yeares I have been called to perform publike scholasticall duties on a seventeenth of November, and methought I never performed any more cheerfully."

The following incident is curious, and worth recording in these pages. "There was not many yeares since a commendable custome begun by a merchant in this citie, of celebrating the foure birth dayes of our foure reformers and preservers of the true Protestant religion here in England. The solemnization of those dayes was performed in duties of piety, as prayer, praises and preaching Gods word."‡ He does not mention the four

* Ibid. 16, 17, 18, 19.

† Mercie's Memoriall. In a Sermon in Paul's Church, November 17, 1644, in memoriall of the great deliverance which England had from Antichristian bondage by Queen Elizabeth attaining the Crowne. By William Gouge. London: 1645. P. 3.

‡ Ibid. 18.

reformers : but evidently Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth were of the number.

Foxe's Martyrs was held in great reverence at this time, though probably not in such esteem as in the reign of Elizabeth. Gouge tells us that he lived twenty-eight years in her reign. He says : " All the dayes of Queen Elizabeth was this monument of martyrs in high account. All churches by authority were injoyned to have it, so as all that would might reade it. There was scarce a family of note that had it not. It was usuall to spend the long winter evenings in reading it. By the constancy of martyrs therein set out, people were much encouraged to stand to that faith which was sealed by their blood."*

A very few extracts must wind up the present article, which is already extended to a considerable length. In the following a double strain is adopted. " Sometimes he hath given us *physicke* : we have had a great deale of strong physick : he hath not only given us strong potions, but he hath likewise let us *blood*, and he hath *opened* many *veines* : we have lost *noble blood* and precious blood, a great deale of blood of the gentry ; and a great deale of precious *city* blood too, and a great deale of blood in the country. Yea, and as God has given us potions, and strong physick, and let us blood : so he hath given us *cordials*, we have had good successe, witnesse our solemn *dayes of thanksgiving* : God hath visibly owned his cause in time of need ; and though wee bee not *ripe* for *mercy*, God will not suffer us to be *ruined*, he giveth such and such *victories*, that shall at least be preservations of us."†

Sometimes the tone is presumptuous, or almost blasphemous. " Doe ye not thinke these things worthy the annals of Christ's reigne ? Will it not be an honourable record for future ages, to enter these things as acted *Regnante Christo, Christo duce et Auspice Christo*. Will not your late victorie memorized this day become the historie of Christs raigne ?"‡ " *A day of victory is worth a day of thanksgiving at any time*. Let it not repent you that you have praised God for this victory, though you should have no more : and which is more, though you should meet newes at the church doore, that any of, or all our armies have received an overthrow, yet you have no reason to repent of the praises of this day."§ Replying to an objection against rejoicing at the shedding of blood, the preacher says : " We are not giving thanks, because

* Ibid. 22.

† Hill's Good Old Way, God's Way, to Soul-Refreshing Rest Discovered. In a Sermon to the Lord Mayor, &c., at their Anniversary Meeting on Wednesday in Easter Week, April 24th, 1644, being the day of the Monthly Publike Fast. London: 1644. P. 52.

‡ Caryl's Sermon on the 13 of April, 1644, being a Day appointed for Solemn Thanksgiving for the late successes, and victories attained by our armies in Yorkshire and Pembrokeshire. P. 35.

§ Ibid. 40.

men are ruined, but because Christ raignes : Joy (in such a duty as this) below the throne of Christ, is too low for the spirit of an elder. And if Christ will set up his throne upon millions of carcasses of the slaine, it well becomes an elder, all the elders, to rejoyce and give thankes.”*

Various notices have been given, in other papers, of the disgraceful outrages committed by the rabble and the soldiers. The following instances are mentioned, by an enemy indeed, yet they are not worse than others given by the depredators themselves, and there is no reason for questioning the accuracy of the statement. “Newes also came this day, that upon Sunday last the souldiers who have the guard of *Lambeth House* (of late converted into a prison) at the instigation of Doctor *Layton*, the head jayler, and his zealous wife, brake into the church in time of divine service ; where they tore the Common Prayer Booke, pulled the surplice off the ministers backe, *Layton* scoffing the good people at their prayers, saying, make *an end of your pottage* : the *red-coates* following him up to the Communion Table with their tobacco-pipes in their mouths.”† “It was advertised from *London*, that upon Thursday last a party of horse was sent out of the citie, who in their returne marched the streets in great pompe : first, 4 in buffe-coates, next 4 in surplices with the Book of *Common Prayer* in their hands, singing in derision thereof, and tearing it leafe by leafe, and putting every leafe to their —, with great scorn and laughter.”‡

The same author informs us that the faction in Parliament received information concerning religion from the leading ministers. He says further : “I have heard their auditors say, that by the Sundayes sermons, or a lecture, they could learne, not only what was done the week before, but also what was to be done in Parliament the weeke following, besides the information which their pulpits gave the people for comming in tumults to the House for justice.”§ Though the sermons, which were published, were generally preached before the two Houses, yet they furnish abundant evidence of the character of the parochial ministrations of the men, who could publicly encourage the people to war. It is certain that the pulpit was the vehicle for the circulation of news ; and that it was degraded by the ministers to stir up the people to war and rebellion. The men, who could so address the two Houses, would of necessity descend to more minute matters in their own pulpits in their respective parishes. Degraded indeed must have been the state of the pulpit at this period, when the ministers of peace, for the purpose of urging the people to war, could calumniate their brethren, and give circulation to the vilest slanders even from that sacred place.

THOMAS LATHBURY.

* Ibid. 46.

† *Mercurius Aulicus*. P. 98.

‡ Ibid. P. 312.

§ Ibid. 57.

BURNET'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

(Continued from p. 550.)

Baker's notes on Burnet's Collection of Records, vol. ii.

P. 3. [line 3. Jane Seymour died a few days after her sons birth.] And therefore not the next day after y^e Birth of her Son : as the Bp dates it in the Body of y^e History, p. 1.

P. 118. [line penult. put in use.] put in ure.

P. 129. [Collect. Bk. 1. No. 23.] This Order was sent by ArchBp. Cranmer to Edmund Bp. of London Febr. 24, an. 1547. To be communicated by him to the Suffragans [viz. Bps.] of the Province of Canterbury. In pursuance of wth order from the ArchBp the s^d Edmund Bp. of London did transmit the s^d order to Thomas Bp. of Ely [& I suppose to the other Suffragans of the Province] Febr. 24, an. 1547, in this Form, nos Edmundus Ep^{us} antedictus, Literis prædictis pro nostro officio obtemperare uti decet summopere cupientes, vestræ Rev^{as} Fraternitati, ex parte dicti Illustr. Dnⁱ nostri Regis, ac Præfatorum Clariss. Dominorum de privatis suis consiliis, quam Rev^{at} Patris Dnⁱ Cant. Archiepⁱ, Tenore presentium committimus et mandamus, quatenus attentis et per vos diligenter consideratis Literarum hujusmodi tenoribus, eas in omnibus et per omnia, juxta vim formam et effectum earundem cum omni qua poteritis celeritate accommoda, in et per totam Dioc. vestram Elien. debite et effectualiter exequi faciatis et procuretis. Dat. in Ædibus London. Febr. 25, an. 1547 &c. v. Registr. Goodrich. fol. 185.*

P. 130. [last line of N^o 23. well] hartely well. [Ibid. From Somerset House.] From Place.†

P. 133. [Ex MS. D^r Stillingfleet.] Ex MS. Comit^{is} Sarisburien.

P. 134. [Margin. Meneven.] W. Meneven. MS. [and so again, p. 136 & 140.]

P. 136. [line 2. domine.] domino. [Margin. D^r Tyler.] John Tayler.

P. 137. [line 7 from foot. bid.] is bid.

P. 138. [line 5 from foot, & p. 139, line 4. Mark 19.] Mark 14.

P. 139. [line 21. appointed is struck out.]

P. 140. [line 12 from foot. further.] such further.

P. 141. [line 12. caveant.] MS. careant. [*Burnet in Vol. III. has printed Baker's correction caveat, so making not only false sense but false concord.*]

P. 144. [line 4. priest should be.] Priest or other should be.

P. 145. [line 23. that the forgiveness.] that is, forgiveness.

P. 157. [N^o 30.] See a copy of this in the Defence of Priests Marriage, p. 352, 353, agreeing with the original.‡

* Baker's MSS. xxx. p. 160, 161.

† In Baker's MSS. l. l. p. 161, this word is underscored; which seems generally to denote either that Baker suspected the word so marked, or that it was not easily to be read.

‡ A copy from the original is given in Baker's MSS. xxxi. p. 5.

P. 202. [N° 51.] See Pryn's Copy of this Patent w^{ch} differs in some words from this. Canterbury's Doome, p. 394, 395, found in Bp Laud's study. See a more authentic copy in Jo. a Lasco's Booke, entituled, *Forma ac ratio tota Ecclesiastici Ministerii, in peregrinorum, potissimum vero Germanorum, Ecclesiâ, instituta Londini in Angliâ—per Regem Edvardum 6, an. 1550.*

P. 208. [N° 54. Letter from D^r Smith to ABp. Cranmer.] Parker. [MSS. C. C. C. C.] *Inter epistolas virorum Illustrum.* Fol. 110. [line 6. your Collection against my Book *de Cœlibatu Sacerdotum.*] Smith's Booke *de Cœlibatu Sacerdotum* was not wrote or printed till an. 1550. So this Letter is misplac'd & misapply'd; being wrote to ArchBp. Parker, as is shown in the notes to the History in this volume, fol. 162. Smith's Booke was printed at Louvain [an. 1550] where he was Professor, having left England, v. Wood's Athen. fol. 110, 111. He left England an. 1548, or 1549. From thence he went for Louvain. An. 1550 probably he was at Louvain. v. Wood, Hist. Univers. Oxon. ad an. 1548, 1549. From thence to Paris, & so to Scotland, at S^t Andrews there. He was at Paris the latter end of the year 1550, & the begining [sic] of 1551, where he professt Divinity: his Booke *de Cœlibatu* being printed again at Paris that year an. 1550, with this Title, *Defensio Sacri Episcoporum et Sacerdotum Cœlibatus &c. per Ricardum Smythæum Anglum, olim diu Oxoniæ in Angliâ, nunc vero Lutetiæ Parisiorum Theologiam profitendem. Lutetiæ [sic] Parisiorum an. 1550.* The Epistle to the Reader is dated Parisiis Jan 12. 1551. In that edition, in the margin of his Booke, he reflects bitterly upon Hooper, Poinet, Cox, &c.; & could have no thoughts then of returning. Nor could he have any such thoughts when the same Booke was printed at Louvain w^{ch} must have been the latter end of 1549, & the begining [sic] of 1550. For the Booke was publisht there Mense Februario an. 1550. [Oxonii 28.] Not. the Epistle here printed is dated Oxford. From Paris he went to St. Andrews in Scotland, whence he writ two or three Letters to Cranmer. It does not appear he return'd to Oxford till Q. Mary's Reign, v. Petr. Martyr *De votis et Cœlibatu*, where there is a large account of Smith, his changes & removes. See the account that is given of Smith in ArchBp Parker's Life in Antiq. Brit. Fol. ult. Rich. Smith in *sacerdotum conjugia libro scripto typisque divulgato acerrime debacchatus est, quem librum, permultosque alios errores Pontificios, Mathæi suasu resipiscens detestatus est,—eumque librum a se temere exercendi atque ostentandi ingenii sui causa compositum affirmavit;* v. Antiq. Brit., w^{ch} Book was wrote & printed by ArchBp. Parker's order, & under his direction, if not by himself.

P. 239. [Book II. N° I.] There is a Copy of this Proclamation amongst y^e MS. Letters of y^e Martyrs in Coll. Eman. Cant. See a Copy of it in Italian in Giul. Rosso, p. 9, 10, who was in England in Queen Mary's Reign.

P. 241. [line 15 from foot. *whose Soul God pardon.*] Desunt in MS^o Coll. Eman.—& is wanting in the Italian Copy.

P. 249. [N° 8.] This is in English, MS.C.C.C., either in Cranmer's own hand or very like it.

P. 311. [line 25 from foot. clamorous.] l. slanderous.

P. 312. [line 18. preach.] l. receive.

P. 332. [Book III. N° 2.] An Original of this Letter is pasted into the Antiq. Brit. in the Life of Matthæus, w^{ch} Booke had formerly belong'd to Jo. Parker, ArchBp. Parker's son, now to the Lord Sunderland, the same that was in M^r Wharton's hands.* [line 16. Count *de Soreus*.] This word is blindly wrote in the Original. I presume either Count of Shrewsbury is meant, or the Count de Feria, then Ambassador from Spain, & very active in our affairs, especially the Match. [line 21. hereafter—confirmed.] Heresie—*condemed*. [sic] [line 31. publish *thut*.] publish yt.

P. 345. [N° 5.] This Declaration is printed: a Copy whereof is amongst the MSS. C. C. C., viz., a printed Copy.

P. 353. [N° 8. An Original.] To the Ryghte worshipfull & my vearye Frynde M^r Doctor Parcar geve theise in haste. [Originall.] [At the foot of Parker's answer.] This is only a Copy, whether in his own hand, I cannot say.

P. 354. [Before Cecil's Letter.] To the Right worshipfull & my Loving Friend M^r Doctor Parkar. [Before Bacon's.] To the righte worshipfull & my vearye Frynde M^r Doctor Parker.

P. 356. [line 2. Mastership.] *Worship* MS. But Mastership is meant. [line 21. reprising.] reposing, MS. [At the end.] To the Right worshipfull & my singuler good M^r & Frinde M^r Bacon at Burgeyney House. [MS.]

Ibid. [A long Letter of Parker's.] [This long letter is now wanting in the Collection. *Baker has drawn his pen through these words, adding*] not wanting. [noted] in y^e MS. Responsio prefatis Literis, being the proper hand-writing of D. Parker.

P. 357. [line 17. to them.] to, than.

P. 360. [foot of page.] This Letter is copied out in ArchBp. Parker's own hand, in a small volume in 8^{vo}, & as such is an original, but is not the original Letter that was sent.

P. 361. [An Original.] To the right worshipfull & my verey Frynde M^r Doctor Parker geve this. [MS.]

P. 362. [D^r Parker's Letter.] D. Parker's own hand-writing to Q. Elizabeth, in excuse of his unmeteness to that place. [MS.]

Ibid. [line 10 from foot. to approach to your Honour.] to approach to *your hye estate, reverently on my knees beseeching* your Honor &c. [line 9 from foot. a Man of so much Wit.] *a man of much more wyt*. [line 5 from foot. subjects beside. Many.] subjects. Beside many.

P. 363. [line 14. seem.] *sene*. [line 15. to attend thereon; referring.] to attend thereon *to my uttermost power*, referring &c. MS.

P. 366. [line 4. the Original Record of Parker's Consecration.] I suppose this is improperly styl'd a Record. The Original Record is lodg'd elsewhere, being the same that is copy'd out & printed by Bp. Bramhall.

Ibid. [N° 10. Order for Translation of the Bible.] Totum corpus

* In Baker's MSS. xxxi. 315—320, is an account of this book, and at p. 332 an account of the former owner, Jo. Parker.

Biblicorum in 6 partes dispescebatur. Complexa est pars prima Pentateuchum, Libros Josuæ, Judicum, Ruth, 2 Samuel, 2 Regum, 2 Paralipom.. Secunda, Libros Esræ, Nehem., Hester, Job, Psalm., Proverb., Eccles., Cantic. Cantic.. Tertia, Prophetas Majores et Minores. Quarta, Apocrypha. Quinta, Evangelia et Acta. Sexta, Epistolas Pauli, et Catholicas, una cum Apocalypsi.

Post peractam translationem, primarii viri selecti, qui Londini convenerunt, integram versionem relegerunt, et limarunt. Postremo R^{ev}. Episcopus Wintoniensis Bilsonus, una cum D^re Smytho, viro primario, et ab initio in toto hoc opere occupatissimo, integrum opus relegerunt, et argumenta libris præfixerunt.—Ex Diario rerum gestarum in Synodo Dordracena, a D. Sam. Ward contexto, qui et ipse occupatissimus erat in hoc tam sancto opere. v. MSS. Sam. Ward in Coll. Sidn.—v. Acta Synodi Dordrech. p. 21, sess. 7.

P. 367. [M^r *Burge*] Binge. [M^r Smith.] who is said to have drawn y^e Preface, & he with Bp. Bilson. Winton. integrum opus &c. [as before.] [D^r Berne] Perin. [M^r Haviner.] Harmer.

P. 386. [line 3. Burnet does not find that one head of a College was turned out.] Gardiner was then turn'd out of his Mastership of Trinity Hall. v. Stryp. Mem. p. 401. And accordingly Haddon & Mowse are styled only Masters De Facto, in the College Books at Trinity Hall. See also Fuller's Histor. of the University of Cambridge, p. 126, an. 1547. Rowland Swinburn Master of Clare Hall was turn'd out by the King's visitors. See an account of the Visitation MS. Col. Corp. Chr. The same R. Swinburn was restor'd by Q. Mary, & dy'd Master under her Reign. Day Provost of King's may be say'd to have been ejected, for tho' he gave a resignation, somewhat of compulsion was at the bottome.

P. 387. [No. 15.] This particular is best answer'd by Cranmer, in his Booke against Gardiner & Smith, p. 452, 453.

Ibid. [Peter Martyr argued against the Corporal Presence four years before Parl. meddled with it.] Pet. Martyr set out for England from Germany in Novemb. an. 1547, v. Sleidan. an. 1547. v. Melch. Adam. vit. Pet. Martyris, p. 40.

P. 388. [line 16. setting up the King's Arms in Churches.] Of the seting [sic] up the King's Arms & Sentences in Churches, see the Answer to Sander's Monarchy.

P. 391. [line ult. They were not deposed from their Degree, but deprived of their Bishopricks.] This observation might have been spared. For Sanders meant the same thing.

P. 392. [line 19. Suffolk resigned his pretensions to the Crown in favour of his daughter.] The Duke of Suffolk had no Pretensions to resign. His wife had pretensions w^{ch} she might resign; he had none.

Ibid. [line 13 from foot. Latimer never accused the Admiral of Treason.] Stow, p. 596, says Latimer's Sermon was preach'd 29 Mar., after the Admiral was beheaded.

P. 396. [line 18. "Ridley & Harley were never married, nor Coverdale for ought I can find; so exact is our Author in delivering the

History of that Time."] Ant. Harmer shows that Harley was marry'd; He might have added Coverdale, who was likewise marry'd. For w^{ch} see Fox, vol. 3, p. 182, where there is an account of M. Coverdal's Wife & her Kindred. Eight of K. Edward's Bps were marry'd as appears from the Bp of Lincoln's & Norwich's verses in Fox, vol. 3, p. 102, 103. Coverdale must be taken in to make up the number. v. Jo. Parkhurst, Epigram. Juv. p. 56, 165, 166. *Nolunt octo, pios qui jure colunt hymenæos.*

P. 398. [No. 55.] See p. 252 of this volum. [a Visitation over England by Mary's authority.] The Queen's Letter, & the Articles sent by her authority for a visitation, were to secure the Bps against the danger of such Laws as were yet in force; as appear[s] from the letter. Collect. Lib. 2. num. 10. For that she did not act by the power of Supreme Head, as K. H. & Ed. had done, is plain from the 2^d & 3^d Articles, where the Bps are forbid to use this Clause, *Regia auctoritate fulcitus*; or to exact any Oath touching the Primacy &c.

P. 399. [No. 59. Wiat denied on the scaffold that Eliz. was engaged with him.] So Thuanus ad. an. 1554. Godwin Annal. an. 1554.

P. 400. [No. 64. Cranmer and some hundreds of the false Teachers were burnt.] *Non solum ille, sed aliquot Pseudoprophetarum centuriæ sunt sublatæ. ib.*

Ibid. [No. 65. Germans.] Understand Low Germans, otherwise it is a mistake.

P. 401. [No. 69. Edward was buried according to the Rites of the English Liturgy.] Had our Author had sure grounds for Cranmer's doing that office, he could scarce have forborn mentioning it here.

P. 402. [No. 78. Commendone not sent to England by the Pope, but by the Legate from Brussels.] This was done upon Cardinal Pole's sending to the Legate, after he had conferr'd with the Pope, w^{ch} will amount to an order. And that Cardinal sent at the same time a letter to the Queen. v. Pallavicin. Hist. Conc. Trid. L. 13, cap. 7. Thuanus ad an. 1553 says Commendone was sent by the Pope.

Ibid. [No. 74. Sanders had said that Thomas, Clerk of the Council, had conspired to kill the Queen. Burnet "finds nothing of this on Record."] Holingshed, who gives the best account of this matter says, p. 1010, 1017, that W. Thomas was condemned for conspiring to kill the Queen. And he cites Record.—See an account of this W. Thomas in Foulis's Hist. of Rom. Treasons, p. 318, & of his Books.—W. Thomas's case may be seen in Dyer, Fol. 99, who being Lord Chief Justice, his authority amounts almost to a Record. *En L'arraigement de William Thomas de treason p compassat. et imaginat. Mort. Reginæ.*

Ibid. [No. 76. Sanders grossly mistaken, when he said the Pope approved the confirming holders of Church lands in their possessions.] That the Pope did approve, v. Dr Johnston's Assurance of Church Land Sect. 9, where it is largely [*sic*] prov'd.

P. 404. [No. 80. Eliz. writing to Jane Seymour subscribed

Daughter.] I suppose the Bp means that letter printed in his first volume, p. 209. But in that Letter the Bp. is mistaken; for it was writ to Q. Katharin, then marry'd to the Lord Admiral Seymor. And besides, it is very certain, that at the time here spoke of, viz. under the next Queen, Jane, the Lady Eliz. was by King Hen. 8 in Parliament declar'd Illegitimate. v. Stat. 28 Hen. 8th, cap. 7. So that there is no such ground here for so heavy a charge. And Stat. i. Hen. 8. 35 orders that if the King & Prince Edward should deceased without Heirs lawfully begotten—then the Crown should be to the Lady Mary—and afterwards to the Lady Elizabeth,—w^{ch} seems to imply they were not lawfully begotten; otherwise it had been unequal to have prefer'd [*sic*] his Issue male or female by his last Queen Katharine Parr to them. And in the King's will, quoted by this Author, they are no otherwise Daughters. For he there prefers [*sic*] his children (if he should have any) by his last Qu. Kath. Par to them. And so it must needs be understood. For that Statute was the Ground of his will.

P. 405. [line 18 from foot. Sanders himself is said to have written part of Eliz. reign.] The beginning [*sic*] of this Reign belongs to Sanders. For he writ three Books, & brought them down to his own time; for tho' Rishton has made some additions, yet they are chiefly in the 4 or 5 last years, after Sander's death. The main of the third Booke belongs to Sanders. See the Preface & Approbation.

P. 406. [Sanders's indecency.] Tho. Bozius has outdone Sanders. His character of Q. Eliz. is so extraordinary, that I will put it down. Elizabetha Angliæ Regina, quæ nullum unquam sibi virum voluit adjungere, quo liberius scortari cum quolibet per summam licentiam posset, nonnullosque e suis amasios vario prætextu, ut patrata a se facinora tegetet, occidi jussit.—Ter enixa passim prædicatur ex illicito coitu, ac propterea fuit in Comitibus Angliæ publicis decretum, ut illi defunctæ in regno possent succedere ex hujusmodi concubitu nati: Vult tamen haberi virgo. v. Bozium de Signis Ecclesiæ L. 12, p. 935, 1060.

Ibid. [line 15 from foot. Henry II. of France did not order the Q. of Scotland to assume the Title of Q. of England.] And yet the Bp tells us, p. 375 of this vol., that the Cardinal of Lorrain prevail'd with the French King to order his Daughter-in-Law to assume that Title, & to put the Arms of England on all her Furniture. [*ibid.* it was not done presently after Q. Mary's death.] Thuanus says presently after Q. Mary's death, & afterwards speaks of Philip's designs. His words are, nam apud nos Regina Scotorum se statim pro Hærede gessit, ac titulos et insignia Regum Angliæ in supellectile et omni instrumento domestico apponenda curavit. Lib. 20 ad fin.

Baker's notes on Fulman's Corrections.

P. 411. [line 2. Wolsey not Almoner to Hen. 7.] Stow, p. 499, says he was made Dean of Lincoln & afterwards Almoner by Hen. 7th; and so likewise Cavendish, who is best Authority in this matter.

See Life of Card. Wolsey, Ch. 2, p. 7. With both agrees Godwin De Præsul. p. 74 vit. Wols. He was Almoner & Councillor an. 1509, Nov. 8, but is not then styled Dean of Lincoln. an. 1510, Jan. 30, he is styled Dean of Lincoln & Chaplain to the King. Rymer ad an.

Ibid. [line 11 from foot. Lady Mary was styled Princess of Wales.] Lud. Vives dedicates his Satellitia to her as Princess of Wales. See Lud. Vives opera Tom. 2, p. 94.—Of the Princes of Wales of y^e English Blood see Dr Powell's Continuation of the History of Wales, p. 390, 392, &c.

Ibid. [line 4 from foot. Defender of the Faith.] L^d Coke Institut. par. 4, p. 344, says Pope Leo granted this Title to Hen. 8 et Posteris suis. But this must be a mistake. For there is nothing to that purpose in the authorities he cites, either in Speed's Copy or Cherubinus's, w^{ch} imply the contrary. And Leo himself dyed presently after this Title was granted. M^r Fulman should have quoted his authority. For these Authors say nothing of this second Bull. See likewise Heylin Hist. Ref. p. 20, contradicting M^r F.'s account. The Stat. 35 Hen. 8 chap. 3 does likewise imply the contrary. For there could be no need of annexing this Title to the Crown by Act of Parl., had it been granted to y^e K. & Successors by the Pope already.—Qui Titulus [viz. Fidei Defensor] a Leone decimo decretus, per auream Bullam Clementis 7.* (quam aliquando vidimus) postea tandem delatus est Henrico 8, quod is Regio calamo partes Romanæ Ecclesiæ strenue defendisset contra Lutherum. v. Spelman Glossar. voce *Advocatus*, p. 20, & Bulla, p. 90. I suppose this was M^r Fulman's authority (w^{ch} he ought to have cited) but nothing is sayd here of Successors.—This Bull is since printed by Rymer Acta pub. Tom. 14, p. 13, 14, dat. 3^{to} non. Martii an. 1523, only sayd, Titulum illum et cognomen Fidei defensoris—per Prædecessorem nostrum delatum—confirmamus, tibi que perpetuum et proprium deputamus.

P. 412. [line 2. seals little used in England before the Conquest.] v. Annal. Burton, p. 1.

Ibid. [line 8. L. Piercy in Wolsey's Family for education, not for service.] contra v. Wolsey's Life, chap. 9, p. 25, where the E. of Northumberland styles the Cardinal his son's master, & his son, servant. v. Speed, p. 769.

Ibid. [line 15. How far the Cardinal's foundation at Ipswich was completed is not known: he certainly did not complete that at Oxford.] v. Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 782. v. Herbert Lif. H. 8, p. 156, 157, 173. v. Fox, vol. 2, p. 303. v. Rymer Acta pub. Tom. 14, p. 240, 1, 2, 257.—One Will. Goulding Fel. of King's is nam'd in Hatcher's MS. catalogue, as Scholemaster of the Cardinal's Schole at Ipswich, w^{ch} implys it to be finish'd; for it was to be a Seminary to Christ's Church Oxon.

Ibid. [line 20. Campegius's son was born in wedlock.] Laurentius [Campegius] tres ex verâ uxore filios suscepit. v. Ciacon. Tom. 2,

* An. Dom. 1523, 3 Non. Mar. *Baker's marginal note.*

p. 1593. See Card. Camp. Life wrote by Car. Sigonius.—But Cardinal Wolsey had two children, and no wife. v. Article 38 against him by y^e Lords.

Ibid. [line 13 from foot. Lord Herbert says, the King gave him only the use of Richmond.] P. 175, 275. Contra v. Life, chap. 18, p. 89. v. Stow, p. 551, 552. Fox says he gave him only the use of Richmond, vol. 2, p. 244, & so Stow, p. 525 ; & so Hall, Fol. 143, 144.

Ibid. [line penult. Burnet says Wood's authorities are no better than Sanders.] Bry. Twyn. is an Author of better authority, who gives as hard an account of this matter as Wood has done. v. Twyn. Apol. Lib. 3, p. 332, 333.

P. 413. [line 3. Calvin's Epistle seems not to belong to this case ; he was then but 21.] Calvin's Institut. was first publisht an. 1536, when he was a noted Divine. Seneca de Clementiâ was publisht by him an. 1532.

Ibid. [line 17 from foot. Selden.] Sleidan.

Ibid. [line 9 from foot. De verâ differentiâ &c by Fox, 1534.] *publish'd an. 1538. *I have seen no edition sooner, nor does that edition imply that there had been any former edition.** w^{ch} edition I have since seen. This Book might be digested by Fox, but it was writ by *the Learning & Collection of some, who were Bps of greatest authority in Q. Mary's time.* So says the Author of the Defence of Priests' Marriage, p. 176. Bale, p. 711, attributes to Fox a Booke under this Title, Utrusque Potestatis Differentia. And so does Pits. Holingshed speaks doubtfully, vol. 2, p. 1169. Laur. Humphredus in his Interpretatio Linguarum &c. says Edw. Fox edidit hunc Librum, p. 560.

Ibid. [line penult. De potestate Xtianorum Regum &c.] This my L^d Herbert, p. 357, thinks to be the same with that first mention'd, writ by Edw. Fox, & so I suppose it was. For M^r Fulman had not seen it, otherwise he had mention'd the year, as he has done in the Rest ; probably he had borrow'd the Title from the Historian (Beutherus) quoted by L^d Herbert, p. 357. And Beuther says it was publish'd the same year with the first mention'd, viz. an. 1534, with this Title, De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis contra Pontificis Tyrannidem et horribilem impietatem. v. Commentar. p. 48. But Beuther was a German, & writ in that Language, & knew little of our affairs. The Latin is a Translation. Beuther follows Sleidan, & I suppose might mean the Booke of Prayers spoke of by Sleidan, an. 1554, p. 321, in Hen. 8 time, in w^{ch} he says was this Petition, Ab Episcopi Romani seditione, conspiratione, Tyrannide—almost the same with Edw. 6 Liturgy, w^{ch} Booke of Prayers I have, printed Jun. 16, an. 1544.

P. 415. [line 7. Bprick of Chester.] All this is groundd upon a mistake.

Ibid. [line 6 from foot. Askew, perhaps Ascough.] Her name is *Askewe* in Joh. Bale's Account of her examination &c publisht at Marpurg the same year, an. 1546.

* The words in italics are struck out in the original.

P. 416. [line 2. Butts died Nov. 17, 1545.] That Dr Butts's name was Raufe, as appears from Weaver, p. 525. This was Dr William Butts. See Fox, p. 645, vol. 3. See Ant. Harmer, p. 60, not. *ibid.*

Ibid. [line 9. The year of More's birth uncertain.] The year of Sr Tho. More's birth is certain enough from Erasmus's Epistle Ulrico Hutteno Dat. 10 Calend. Aug. an. 1519, when Sr Tho. was a little above 40 years of age. Stapleton says, when Sr T. More dy'd, annos 52 non expleverat. *De tribus Thomis*, cap. 7, p. 1013. And, cap. 20, p. 1052, that he was seven years older than the King; & cap. 4, p. 998, Passus est An. Dñi 1535, et ætatis suæ anno 52.

Ibid. [line 12. Thuanus calls Peyto, William.] Lib. 20 ad fin. His name was William. So Ciaconius ad an. 1557. Pallavicin. Hist. Con. Trid. L. 14, cap. 2. Petramellar, p. 80 &c; Becatellus vit. Pol. p. 74.—v. Camden in Warwickshire, & Dugdale, p. 880, who says his (baptismal) name was Peter, from Papers of y^e Family. Onuphrius says he was created Cardinal by that name.

Baker's Notes on Burnet, Vol. III.

Preface, p. ij. [line 1. Wharton's 3 capital errors in one line.] Capitalis error hic designatus occurrit Angl. Sacr. vol. i, p. 772, lin. 20.

P. v. [line 3. The Ordination book printed by Rich. Grafton, in March 1548.] v. Bibliothec. Coll. Jo. Cant. Class Tt. 4. 44. Con-venit.—The same is in My Lord Harley's Library, being one of the Books he had from me. It is strange Mr Collier should never have seen it, & more strange, he should be so positive, if he had not seen it.

Ibid. [Margin D. P. G.] Dr Peter Gunning, as I suppose, who had his nostrums in Philosophy, & some in Divinity.

P. x. [line 7 from foot. The "Learned and Worthy Person" who sent Burnet the corrections in his 4th Appendix, "gave him a much greater power over them than he thought fit to assume."] This is very true, & much to the Author's honor, that he scorn'd to make use of y^e power that was given him, tho' he might have suppress't these Papers, in part or in whole. One thing more particularly was desir'd, that nothing might be printed that might give offence to the Church or Religion; for indeed they are wrote with too much freedome. One particular, concerning Bp Gardiner, [see note on vol. ii. p. 320,] I desir'd might be suppress't, as rather too ludicrous for History, & too plainly pointing out the person that sent it, w^{ch} yet stands as I sent it.

P. xiv. [Errata.] These are only a few of the Errata, the Book is very incorrectly printed, & full of mistakes; in my share of the Book, not a few.

Introduction p. ij. [line 15. One much practised in the Cotton Library is said to have censured Burnet for not correcting his Records by the Originals.] Dr Thomas Smith, I presume, is here meant, who had compar'd most of our Author's Copies with the Originals in the

Cottonian Library, & has left his observations upon them now in Mr Hearn's hands. See Leland's Collectanea vol. i. Præf. pag. 24, 25.*

P. iv & v. [Remarks on the first Paper of Le Grand's third Tome.] Here indeed Mr Le Grand charges the Bp. rashly. Paice's Letter is wrote in English (dated 1527), & should not have been cited in Latin, as if that had been the original; & Le Grand either mistakes for want of understanding English, or his Interpreter deceiv'd him. The words are these. *Maister Wakfelde* desyeryd to knowe of me, whether your Grace wolde be contente to here the trouthe in y^s matter, whether it were ayenste you or for you. I made hym this Answeare, that your grace intendyd nothyng, but that was convenient to the person of a noble & a vertuous Prince, & that he shulde do unto your grace ryght acceptable servyce, if he wolde studye for to shewe unto you the s^d trouthe in this matter. He aunsweryd—knowlege hadde of your graces mynde therin, he wolde undoubtydly shewe unto your Hyghnes suche thynges, as no man within *your Realme can atteyne unto, or shewe the lyke, & as well for you, as agaynst you.* See Kotser Codicis R. Wakfeldi, ad calcem Codicis. Le Grand indeed seems to mistake the Latin.

P. vij. [line 13. A worthy person in one of the Universities sent Burnet collations of Ten Pages of the Anglia Sacra.] It was not sent by me, nor do I surely know who sent it. It is not hard to guess.

P. x. [line 12 from foot. Sussex proposed that Heretics should be proceeded against by martial law.] See a Proclamation dat. Jun. 6, 1558, in Nowel's Answer to Dorman. p. 48.

P. xv. [line 18 from foot. Le Vassor has published Instructions sent by Orleans to the German Princes.] P. 23, 25, &c.

P. 21. [Wolsey.] There was a Memorial, as it was called, highly injurious to the Cardinal, printed in the year 1706, under the borrowed name of Cecill Lord Burleigh. It sufficiently appears from the Phraseology & modern terms of the Memorial it was not written by the Lord Burghleigh, & from the Title & design of it, that it was published under a fictitious Reference to the administration of Card. Wolsey, with a design of reflecting on two Ministers of State, who at that time had the chief direction of Affairs. Life of Wolsey, pag. 531, 533. Neither that Lord, nor any Minister at Court durst have offer'd such a Memorial to Queen Eliz.

P. 29. [line 15. The earliest edition of More's Utopia known to Burnet was that of Basil 1518.] I have the Book, printed curâ M. Petri Ægidii Antverpiensis et arte Theodorici Martini Alustensis Typographi almæ Lovaniensium Academiæ nunc primum accuratissime editus; but without Date. It is in 4to. Peter Giles's Letter is dated MDXVI. Cal. Novembris. [line 27. Burnet translated it into English.] Translated into English & printed Lond. 1684. The Translator not nam'd, but the pages answer, as well as y^e style.

* A future editor of Burnet will, it is to be hoped, think himself bound to inquire after this book, for some of the original Cotton MSS. from which Burnet transcribed have since been wholly or partially destroyed.

P. 36. [line 7. Paice's Letter to the King not dated.] Paice's Letter is dated the yere of our Lorde MCCCCXXVII, & so is R. Wakfeld's the same year, viz. 1527. See R. Wakfeldi Kotser Codicis ad calcem Codicis, printed by Tho. Berthelet Regius Impressor, the Date of the Impression not mentioned, but it must have been after y^e Marriage, as appears from another of R. Wakfelde to Tho. Bulleyn Earle of Wiltshire, in w^{ch} Letter his Daughter Ann is styled Queen: so that M^r Wood must have been under a mistake, who says it was publisht in 1528. A full account of this matter I sent up to the Bp of Sarum, upon his first publishing his Introduction 8^{vo}. How far he was guided by my account I cannot say, I observe he has alter'd his Introduction at this particular.

P. 37. [Margin. Coll. Numb. 14.] 15.

P. 51. [line 16 from foot. Joyce.] Joye.

P. 63. [line 23. The "Worthy Person" who sent Burnet the Letter of D^r Buckmaster &c (Book ii. Collect. N^o 16) told him there was no account of the matter there narrated in the University Registers.] I sayd, *nothing that I could ever meet with*, & I verily believe there is nothing.—D^r Buckmaster elected Vicechan. Oct. 17, 1529. Ex Regro Acad.

Ibid. [line 5 from foot. Seventeen Masters of Arts.] 17 Batchelors of Divinity or Masters of Arts.

P. 64. [line 23. D^r Butts had 20 Nobles, & the Proctor 5 Marks; scarce enough to bear their Charges.] 20 Nobles then was equall to a hundred Nobles at this day, or rather to 120.

[Latimer's Portrait, facing p. 77.] It is not like his Picture in Holland's Heræolog. p. 152-3.

P. 81. [line 11. April 2, 1533, Cranmer being present two Questions were proposed and put to the vote.] The Act or Instrument drawn (Cranmer then present) is dated Apr. 5, 1533, but the Questions were determined sooner in the Convocation begun Nov. 5, 1529, & continued by Prorogations. I have the names of all that appear'd in person or by Proxy, & no ArchBp's name appearing, I presume this passd during the vacancy of the ArchBp^{ric}: Rymer has omitted the names, w^{ch} are of use in giving light to this matter. v. vol. MS. 5^{um} p. 278 &c. The Determination must be plac'd before Bp. West's death, for Nichūs Elien. appears by Proxy.

P. 97. [line 16. Sechendorf (*sic*) gives an account of a negotiation of Paget's &c.] L. 3, § 16. Additio (a). In Literis Regiis d. 24. Jan. 1531. [sed stylo nostro 1532] datis, *D. Thomas Craymer, Consiliarius Regis, et ad Cæsarem Orator, vocatus &c.*

P. 110. [Margin. Barnes sent to them.] an. 1535.

P. 111. [Margin. Melancthon's going to France prevented.] See Francis King of France his Letter to Melancthon in Melancth. Life by Camerarius p. 414, 415. edit. Hagæ-Comit. 1655.

Ibid. [line 20 from foot. Heath, on whom Melancthon set a high value.] Seck. L. 3. § 39 Additio. unus (ait,) Nicolaus Hethus Archidiaconus humanitate et literis excellit inter Hospites nostros. Cæteri—nostræ Philosophiæ et dulcedinis incapaces, ideo conversationem eorum

fugio, quantum possum. Ibid. Inter quos Nicolai Heti et eruditio et humanitas ab ipso (Phil. Melancth.) laudabatur. See Melancthon's Life by Camerarius pag. 156, & more of the Treaty with the Germans, p. 140, 174, &c.

P. 121. [line 24. At this time Pace gave Henry an account of a conversation.] This I suspect to be a Mistake; Ric. Pace died an. 1632 [*sic. by mistake for 1532*], & I know of no other Pace employ'd in Embassies.—Pate, I suppose, it should be; wth is an easy mistake, & perhaps of the Press.

P. 145. [Execution of the Abbot of Glastonbury.] The best account of this matter may be had from *An original Letter to Cromwell* giving account of y^e triall, Jury, Sentence, & Execution of Whiting Abbot of Glaston. &c. dat. from Welles 16 Novemb. And from an orig. Letter of Richard Pollard giving account of the Execution of the Abbot of Glaston. dat. 16 Novemb. Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra E. iv. F. 99, 133.

P. 149. [line 7. When Crome was President of a College in Cambridge.] Caius College in Cambr., then Gonvill Hall.

P. 166. [line 23. The Elector of Saxony said that Henry was an Impious man &c.] Elector Saxo ab Anglo vehementer abhorrebat; vocat eum in Rescripto &c. *virum impium, cum quo nihil commercii habere vellet* &c; v. Seckendorf Hist. Luther. Lib. 3, § 34, p. 614.

P. 171. [line 26. wildly.] widly. [line 16 from foot. Seckendorf says Luther believed that the King's Book was written by Lee.] Seckendorf Lib. i. § cxiv. p. 187.—Here the Bp. very fairly gives up the Book, & robs the King of that false honor, it had procur'd him. Strange it is to me, that any wise man could believe the King to be the Author. [line penult. it will be seen in (Baker's) remarks on a former Volume, that More in a Letter says he was a Sorter of that Book.] not in a Letter, but in his Life by Roper his son-in-law.

P. 175. [line 21 from foot. An Original in Luther's own Hand could not have been easily read, if Bucer had not writ out a Copy of it.] Bucer writes as bad a hand as Luther; so I presume it was copied out by ArchBp Parker's order.—Adeo enim male pingebat Bucerus, ut quæ scriberet, a Typographis, imo ab ipsomet Sæpe Bucero, difficillime legerentur. M. Adamus in vitâ Musculi p. 374. Musculus vero ea legebat expeditissime, & pingebat elegantissime.—In confirmation hereof we have enough of Bucer's hand. MS. Col. C.C.*

P. 197. [line 18 from foot. Ridley's Letter to Cheek, when forbidden to bestow a prebend on Grindal.] See Letters of the Martyrs publisht by Coverdale, p. 683, 684, & MSS, Coll. Emañ.

P. 199. [line 13. Hooper had lived at Zurick.] Hooper was with Bullinger at Zurick an. 1547. See Life of Bullinger in M. Adams, pag. 487.

* See, too, Grindal's Letter to Conrad Hubert. Zurich Letters, 2nd series. "Im enim scriptum est (a writing of Bucer's) ut divinatore potius opus sit quam lectore." Letter viii. p. 11. Dr. Cardwell's strange misapprehension of these words (Hist. of Conferences, p. 12, line 7,) has, I understand, been already pointed out.

P. 210. [Margin. Articles of 1552 not passed in Convocation.] See this Author's Reflections on a Book entituled, The Rights, Powers &c, of an English Convocation, p. 27, 28 &c.—The truth is, that the Records of Convocation, during this King's whole Reign, & the first years of Queen Mary, are very imperfect & defective; most of them lost, & amongst others those of this present year &c :— See Dr Heylin's Animadversions on Dr Fuller's Ch. Hist. p. 123.

P. 211. [line 1. a Sermon of Brooks &c.] was there not one pernicious, pernicious, pestilent Catechisme among other things set forth of late, with a Commandment, to be read in all Grammar Schools throughout the whole Realm, and that also set furth, as allowed by the Clergy, in Synod. Lond. whereas the Convocation, without all doubt (for the Lower House at least) was never made privy thereunto. See a Sermon made at Paul's Cross, the 12th day of Novembr. an. 1553, by James Brokis D.D., & Master of Bailye College in Oxforth. Fol. 29.

Ibid. [line 11 from foot. Cranmer drew the Articles.] See Cranmer's Life by M^r Strype Append. num. lxvi.

P. 213. [line 8. A Mandate sent to Bp. of Norwich, & doubtless to the Rest, though they are not on Record.] See the like Mandat to Ridley Bp. of London, printed from his Regr in M^r Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. 2. Lib. 2. Cap. 22. And twenty Letters to several parts of England, with the Articles to be observed &c; w^{ch} Articles were gathered with great study, & by the advice of y^e greatest learned men of the Bps &c; dated in May, 1533. Ib. p. 521.

P. 214. [line 27. Catechism supposed to be drawn by Poinet.] It was undoubtedly drawn by Poinet, as appears very plainly from Jo. Bale, where the first words are recited. A. Nowell was not then considerable enough to answer the large character that is given of the Author by Ridley & others.

P. 221. [line 29. Coverdale a Foreigner.] Coverdale was an Englishman, born in Yorkshire, & educated in the House of Augustin Fryers in Cambridge.

P. 224. [line 15. Wyat often employed in Embassies.] This, I doubt, was S^r Tho. Wyat Senior, Father of the present S^r Tho. Wyat, who by his age could hardly be employ'd in Embassies. His Father was in several. See p. 112, 131.—I find one S^r Tho. Wyat Ambassador to the Emperor an. 1530, w^{ch} was too early for the Son.

Ibid. [line 8 from foot. Wyat never accused Elizabeth.] From a Letter of the Lady Eliz. to Queen Mary, (w^{ch} I copied from the Original in the Paper Office, since printed in M^r Hearn's Preface to Camden's Elizabeth) it seems to appear, that Wyat had accused the Lady Eliz. v. Pref. p. 78. And so from Fox Acts & Mon. p. 1001, first edition.

P. 239. [line 18. Coverdale was a Dane.] In the Queen's Letter to the King of Denmark [Fox, vol. 3, p. 183] Coverdale is say'd to be, *natus subditus noster*. So he was, having been born in Yorkshire, & educated in the House of the Augustine Friars at Cambridge, where Dr Barnes was Prior. But, I believe, he might have been

naturaliz'd in Denmark (as his Brother in Law Machabeus seems to have been) & in that sense may be sayd to have been a Dane.— Coverdale was yet in England 8 of May 1554, as appears by his subscription in Fox, pag. 1003, of the first edition. [*Burnet says he had a Passport, Febr. 19.*]*

P. 244. [Margin. Pole's Letter to Cranmer.] v. *Le Grand Histoire du Divorce de Hen. VIII. &c.* Tom. i. p. 289 &c. I have that Letter in Latin, w^{ch} by the Cover (containing a Confirmation from Cardinal Pole [Aucte Aplica] of S^r Tho. Tresham to be Prior of the Order of S^t John Jerusalem &c.) seems to have been the Cardinal's own Copy, being likewise interlin'd & corrected in a different hand; probably the Cardinal's. That first Draught or Instrument upon the Parchment Cover is dated Kl. Decembris A.D. 1557, Pole being then Cardinall *Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin*. The Letter is without Date, but seems to have been wrote soon after the Disputation at Oxford, there referr'd to. It is printed (from a wandring Copy found at Rome) Cremonæ A.D. 1584. 8^{vo}. My Copy (given to the College) is a MS. There is another Letter under the same Cover [dat. ex Aula Regia apud S. Jacobum VI. Idus Octobr. MDLV.] wrote with greater acrimony of stile, after the Cardinal had been made acquainted with the manner of Cranmer's Protestation, at taking his Oath to the Pope.

P. 246. [line 25. Pope's Bull reversing all alienations of Church lands.] See Strype's *Ecclēs. Memorials* vol. 3, cap. 26, p. 210. It was not thought convenient yet to take any notice of it, any further than by y^e Queen's example, who in y^e next Month restored what was in her hands to the Church.

P. 248. [line 23. Brooks Subdelegate to *Card. Puteo*, the Pope's Delegate.] Quære. Jacobo tituli Sanctæ Mariæ in Via, Presbytero Cardinali, de puteo nuncupato &c. See the Commission in Fox, p. 1490 of the first edition.

Ibid. [line penult. Pilkington affirmed that Gardiner rotted above ground.] Quendam enim sanctorum Christi insignem Carnificem vivum putruisse, neque adhuc mortuum tam ingratum, ut fertur, toto corpore fœtorem exhalasse, nemo ut ad eum amicorum sine nausea posset accedere.—[In Margine.] Is fuit Stephanus Gardinerus Episcopus Winton. v. *Buceri Scripta Angl.* p. 942. Alium† correp-tum furore, complures quoque alios—misere periisse. Ibid.

P. 249. [Cranmer's martyrdom.] It has been doubted & enquir'd, by what Law the ArchBp was put to death: Somewhat is said here in a Pamphlet upon the life & death of Bp. Bonner, printed by John Alde an. 1569. this note is added in the Margin. *Tho. Cranmer ArchBp of Cant., whom by y^e Cannons they could not put to death, till the Pope araying his Image at Room, condemned it, burnt it, & then was he burned at Oxford.* He was no relaps'd Heretick; after he had made his Recantation, (& procured the Queen's pardon for Treason) he

* See a record of this passport in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 181, where read 1554 for 1544.

† Brooks (ni fallor) Glocestrencis hic designatur, aut White Winton. *Baker's note.*

himself seem'd secure of life. It seems resolv'd he should dye, & all arts were us'd, that it might be with shame, by drawing him gradually to further and further lengths, by six different Recantations, till at last they had brought him to the utmost pitch of Popery.

P. 261. [line 8 from foot. Strype convinced Burnet that Pole was more severe than he had supposed.] This will hardly consist with the account given of the Cardinal by *M^r Strype* in his *Eccl^{es}. Memorials*. vol. 3, chap. 51, p. 392 &c.—*Quanquam invitus faceret Polus Cardinalis*—ut in eos, quorum salutem tanto studio quæreret, durius animadvertere cogeretur; quippe qui cogitabat, quod etiam sæpius dicere auditus est, se ac cæteros Episcopos, non solum Judices adversus prave de Religione sentientes, sed Patres Judices esse constitutos. Vide *Thuani Hist. Lib. xvii. an. 1556, pag. 577. Edit. Lond.*

P. 264. [line 20 from foot. Watson Bp. of Lincoln held the Deanery of Durham in Commendam.] He did not hold it long, for Tho. Robertson S. T. P. was presented to the Deanery of Durham an. Reg. P. et M. 4 & 6^{to} [*sic*] tunc vacan. per resignationem Thomæ Epi Lincoln.

[Jewell's Portrait, facing p. 272.] This is not like his Picture or Print in Holland's *Herwolog*, p. 168, but very like one I have seen of him in colours.

[Bacon's Portrait, facing p. 275.] The Picture in Holland's *Herwolog*. p. 60, seems to be more like S^r Nic. Bacon, for he was a fat Man, as describ'd by Camden. *Vir præpinguis*, &c.

P. 276. [line 1, &c. Jewel expresses an ill opinion of one who had been Bishop; it must have been either Barlo, Scory, or Coverdale.] It could hardly be Coverdale by his Principles, who yet stood fair in y^e opinion of all good Men. Of the other two, especially Barlo, Jewel might have reason to have no good opinion.—And yet neither could it be Barlow, unless he chang'd his opinion when he was last in Germany, under Qu. Mary. See pag. 201 of this vol.—Coverdale was not in Denmark, but at Geneva, during his exile under Q. Mary, & could not bring such [*Lutheran*] Principles from thence. See *Troubles of Frankfort*, p. 188, &c. Nor does he answe're the Character here given him of *veterator*, *Aulicus*, &c. Nor Scory, the other part, of *nunc exul*, being then return'd. So, if any of the three, Barlow must be meant, who was *Aulicus*, & ruin'd or much wasted two Bpricks; St. D., & B. & W. in y^r Buildings or Revenues, and the latter in favor of the Protector, the D. of Somersett.

P. 294. [line 2. the design for May to be ABp of York not fixed Oct. 16, 1560.] The design for May was certainly fixed, being not only nominated but elected ArchBp of York, but died before consecration, & was buried Aug. 12 y^e year. The design now on foot was for Young, the other being dead.

P. 307. [line 18 from foot. Letters between our Bps & Bullinger &c. 1564.] See Bullinger's Life by Melch. Adams.

P. 327. [line 19 from foot. Mary of Scotland had provided that, unless James renounced heresy, the throne should devolve on Philip of Spain.] In the account of her death & burial, in Gunton's History

of the Church of Petr. p. 74, the Queen declares—*She had done nothing prejudicial to his Kingdome of Scotland*—w^{ch} seems to imply, that she had done something prejudicial to his Succession in England.—Some Confirmation of this [*Burnet's account*] see in a Letter from a Statesman, (probably Lord Burghley) sent to Scotland, printed in M^r Strype's Annals, vol. 3^d, Lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 379, 381.—See a Copy of her Will made at the Mannor of Sheffielde in England, 1577, w^{ch} seems to confirm this Account, in my MSS Collections, vol. 36, p. 301-2.

Baker's Notes on Burnet's Collection of Records, vol. iii.

Book I. p. 13. [No. 10. a passage left out of the later editions of the Utopia.] I have consulted six or seaven different editions of the Utopia, & have not yet met with any, where this Passage is wanting.—It is wanting in y^e Copy of the Utopia printed in S^r Tho. More's Latin works Lovanii 1566, Fol. And yet stands in that copy censur'd in y^e Index expurg. Madriti 1667, Fol. pag. 941.

P. 18. [No. 15, line 1. Domina.] Divina. [line 8. consumasse—dominas—per humanas] consummasse—Divinas—humanas. [line 9. trangrediebat.] transgrediebatur. [line 11. dilictos] dilectos. [line 13. lacere.] latere. [P. 19. Baker has underscored in line 19 rati habemus, in line 25, efficaria, where rati habebimus and efficacia should be read. But there is scarcely a line in the whole which does not contain a gross blunder.] [line 27. nullacemus.] nullatenus. [line 32. infurum.] in futurum. [line 35. pro.] prout. [line 36. quæ.] que. [line 38. July.] Julii.

P. 21.* [line 5. alioque.] alioqui, [line 8. impetrata.] impetrat a. [line 18. scrutabitur.] scrutabimur.

P. 22. [Baker has enclosed in Crotchets the last 4 lines, adding.] The words enclos'd in Crotchets make a distinct Paragraph, viz. from *Dominica 2 to Post Vesperas*.

P. 23. [Buckmaster's Letter to Edmonds. line 1. My Duty remembered.] D^r Edmonds was Master of Peter House, of w^{ch} College D^r Buckmaster was then Fellow, & so ow'd him duty as M^r of his College. D^r Buckmaster was afterwards Fellow of King's Hall.

P. 24. [line 15. M^r Secretary & M^r Provost.] Gardiner & Fox.

P. 26. [Book II. No. 17. Letter 3.] This letter confirms the account I sent from Cambridge.

P. 39. [line 13 from foot. Holynes.] Highness.

P. 73. [Book II. No. 32.] See Weever's Funeral Mon. Pref. Discourse, p. 83, 84, &c.

P. 97. [Book III. No. 42.] See Weever's Funeral Mon. Pref. Discourse, p. 89, 90.

P. 125. [Book III. No. 52 ad fin.] Cotton Cleopatra E. vi. Ibid. a large Original Letter or Answer of Reginald Pole to the Bp. of

* All the Papers in No. 16 of the Collection may be seen more at length in Dr. Lamb's Documents from MSS. C. C. C. C.

Durham upon his forgoing Letter—near Padua. 1 Aug. F. 343. MS. K.*

P. 150. [No. 62.] vide Edictum Regium Latine versum, apud Stapleton de tribus Thomis, et conferatur; videtur enim ea tantum continere, quæ spectant ad Tho. Becket.

P. 152. [No. 63.] See Weever's Funerall Mon. Pref. Discourse, p. 86, 7.

P. 158. [No. 65. line 11. 20 Students in the Tongues.] xl. Students in y^e tongues. MS. K. [line 17. 20 Children in Grammar.] xl. Children in Grammer. MS. K. Quære. [line 5 from foot. A college in Cambridge.] Gonvill-Hall.

P. 161. [No. 67.] Ric. Pollard's Letter, giving an account of the execution of the Abbot, & two Monks of Glastenbury. Bibl. Cotton. E. IV. 133. J. Russell's Original Letter, giving an account of y^e execution of the Abbot & 2 Monks of Glastenbury, for robbing y^e Church there. Ibid. n. 99. Richard Pollard's Orig. Letter to L^d Cromwell, that M^r Moyle & he had surveyed the Lands of Glastenbury Abbey, & were come to do y^e like at Reading. Catalogue of MSS by M^r Casley, pag. 129.

P. 164. [No. 69.] The opinions of several Bishops about the Articles of the Church in the time of King H. viii. In M^r Casley's Catalogue of MSS. p. 129.

P. 205. [Book IV. No. 9.] [Mistakes of the Press corrected.] [Title. Sands.] Doctori Sands. [P. 206, line 8. Bachallores.] Bachalaurei. [line 12. patiantus.] patiantur. [line 15. judicio.] judiciis. [ad fin. MSS. C.C.C.C.] Miscellan. p. fol. 492. This was sent up from me, by D^r Benet, T.B.

P. 234. [Book V. N^o. 30. Pole's Letter to Philip II.] He was Philip the II^d soon after, upon the Resignation of his Father. an. 1556.

P. 266. [Book VI. N^o 46. line 20. de obitu Conradi Pellicani.] Obiit *Conradus Pellicanus*, anno quinquagesimo sexto ipso die Resurrectionis Domini &c. v. Melch. Adami vitas Germanorum Theologorum pag. 299. This will pretty near fix the Date of this Letter.

P. 267. [N^o 47. line 14 from foot. Terio] *Ferio*.—sane ipsum Philippum de nuptiis Elizabethæ serio cogitasse, ob eamque causam *Feriæ Comitem* ad eam legasse, apud nos creditum fuit. Thuani Hist. sui temporis pag. 703. Edit. Buckley.

P. 270. [line 5. N^o 48. Pikerimum Anglum.] This, I presume, was S^r Will. Pickering, who died Londini in *Ædibus Pickeringiis* *Ætat.* 58, anno gratiæ 1574, sayd in his epitaph to be—Corporis animique bonis insigniter ornatus,—R. Eliz. summis officiis devotissimus,—and left executors S^r Tho. Henneage, & Jo. Astley Esq^r &c courtiers. Stow's Surv. p. 179.—Nec defuerunt domi, qui quod amantes solent, de ejus conjugio vana sibi somnia finxerunt, sc. Guil. Pickeringus Ordinis Equestris, cui nonnulla generis claritas, mediocres opes, sed ex bonarum artium studiis, vitæ elegantia, et Legatione Gallica

atque Germanica honor aliquis &c. v. Camden Eliz. ad an. 1560.—
Ad Gulielmum Piccherinum Anglum.

Te pene in Cœlum virtus erexerat, et jam
Vertice tangebās fulgida signa Poli;
Invida conatus fregit Fortuna secundos,
Tu tamen, invicta ut Palma, resurgis humo.
Hæc cæptis inimica tuis tibi semper obesse
Conata est, tandem sed tibi victa cadet.

vide Petri Bizari Opuscula Venetiis MDLXV. 8^{vo}.

P. 366. [N^o 94.] See some account of this Will in Winwood's Memor. vol. i. p. 13, vol. 2, p. 230.

P. 369. [N^o 95 ad fin. Signatures to the Bond of Association.] as named in M^r Anderson's Collections relating to Mary Queen of Scotland, vol. 2^d, pag. 233, 234. In all 216, as numbred by M^r Anderson.

P. 381. [N^o 97. ad fin.] Class 13, 5, 19. Bibl. pub. Cant., being the only Copy I have seen 4^{to}. But it is reprinted in Hollingshed's Chron. vol. 2^d. pag. 1414, 1415, &c; where it might have been referr'd to, & needed not to have been reprinted here.—It was drawn up by the head & Pen of the Lord Burghley, as said by M^r Strype, Annals an. 1585, pag. 352.

Baker's Notes on Burnet's Appendix to Vol. III.

P. 389. [N^o. II. line 11. Harpsfield's Treatise concerning Marriage.] See a large extract of Nic. Harpesfield's Book in the Appendix to Peter Langtoft's Chron. by M^r Hearne p. 639, 640, 1, 2, 3, &c.

P. 391. [note R. Sir H. Grimston &c.] This had been said before by M^r Wood, in his account of M^r Ob. Walker. See Athen. Oxon. vol. 2^d, edit 2^d, col. 933. This was nearer the time, & the thing more fresh in memory. Of S^r H. Grimston See Bp. Burnet's History of his own time, vol. I. pag. 380, 381, & vol. 2^d.

P. 395. [N^o III. line 22 from foot. Cranmer opposed the Six Articles to the last.] Quære. See Collect. n. 66, p. 159 of this vol.—*My Lord of Cant. & all theis Bishopes have given their opinion, & came in to us—save Salisburie, who yet contynueth a lewed Fole.* He show'd himself a *lewed Fole*, for being presst he recanted, & died a profest Papist, & Suffragan of Ely, as appears by his will.

P. 414. [at the end of Baker's notes. Sir T. More &c.] This Mistake I did indeed mention to the Bp (long after the rest were sent up) intending he should alter it, as he thought fit, & under his own name: that he mentions it as mine, is more then I desir'd, but shows his Ldp's readiness to do right to all men, even in the most minute particulars, & his willingness to confess & Correct his own Mistakes, w^{ch} is more then some Men are willing to do.

P. 415. [N^o. 5. Barlow probably wrote no such book as is mentioned in Burnet vol. ii. p. 276-7.] Barlow certainly wrote such a Book; I have it, as reprinted in Q. Mary's Reign (probably by his enemies.) His *petit neveu* had it extant in his Library, probably of the first edition. Of w^{ch} see P. Courayer vol. 4, Preuves, p. 154.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S INJUNCTIONS AND ARTICLES OF
ENQUIRY.

IN the volume of tracts belonging to Mr. Goode, from which he had the kindness to allow me to transcribe the copy printed in the Magazine for October, 1848, of the Injunctions of Bishop Parkhurst and the Orders of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1561, there is a copy of the Injunctions and Articles issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, which in several instances I found to differ from the copy reprinted by Dr. Cardwell. This led to a comparison of his text with other copies, and the result of the collation has induced me to think, that it might not be considered undesirable to reprint the Injunctions and Articles, with the various readings which I have noticed in the different copies which have fallen into my hands. I could have wished to have extended my collation to the copies in the public libraries: but want of leisure has prevented me from doing so, and I can only hope that the collation, such as it is, may not be considered wholly useless.

J. C. CROSTHWAITE.

The text of the following copy of the Injunctions and Articles of Queen Elizabeth is reprinted from a copy in a volume of tracts which belonged to Mr. Baker, formerly fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and with this I have collated six copies.

The first, which in the foot-notes is called J. 1, is printed by Jugge. The title is "in a flourished compartment, with the Queen's arms at top, his device and rebus at bottom; viz., the pelican in the middle, and an angel holding the letter R, in one corner, a nightingale on a bushe, with JVGGE on a label over it, in the other corner."* The title itself is as follows:—

I n i u n c t i o n s
geuen by the Queenes
Maiestie.

Anno Domini. 1559.

The fyrste peere of the raigne
of our soueraigne Lady
Queene Elizabeth,

¶ Cum priuilegio Regiæ
Maiestatis.

* Herbert's Ames. Vol. II. p. 724.

This copy, which is in my own possession, has not the Articles of inquiry annexed.

The copy, which is called in the foot-notes of this collation J. 2, is printed by Jugge and Cawood. The title is in a compartment of pieces, which are precisely similar to those in the title page of Mr. Baker's copy, with this exception, that the position of three of the pieces is altered: the bottom piece also is reversed, which makes the motto read OMNIA DESUPER, instead of DESUPER OMNIA. The initials, R. I. are in the Roman character instead of the italic. These matters are mentioned merely as points which may be useful in collating different editions. The title is in this form.

I n j u n c t i o n s

given by the Queenes

Majestie.

Anno Domini. 1559.

The fyrst yere of the raigne of

our Soueraigne Lady

Queene Elizabeth.

beth.

¶ *Cum priuilegio Regie
Maiestatis*

For the use of this copy I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Lathbury. It has the Articles of Inquiry annexed.

The copy collated as J. 3, is that belonging to Mr. Goode. The title agrees so nearly with that of Mr. Baker's copy, that it requires some examination to discover that, although set up in the same sorts of type, the letters are not the same. In the border, also, two of the pieces, though occupying the same place at the top and right hand, are each reversed in their position. Altogether, this copy agrees much more nearly with Mr. Baker's than any other I have seen, although in the setting up of the type, still more frequently in the spelling, and, in some instances, (as will appear,) in the text, the differences are sufficient to prove, that they are not the same editions. This copy has the Articles of Inquiry annexed.

The copies of Barker's editions here collated are represented in the foot-notes by the abbreviations B. 1, B. 2, B. 3. B. 1, a copy in my own possession, has not the Articles annexed to it. The title is "in a compartment with the Queen's arms at top,

Faith and Humility on the sides, the tiger's head at bottom, and the ensigns of the 4 Evangelists in the corners."* The title is printed in this manner.

Injunctions giuen by the
Queenes Maiestie.

Anno domini. 1559.

The first peere of the raigne
of our soueraigne La-
die Queene Eli-
zabeth.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ
Maiestatis.

B. 2 (in my own possession) and B. 3 (which Mr. Lathbury has had the kindness to lend me) have the Articles. These two copies agree in such very minute particulars, in every instance that I can discover, that it would seem as if they must be the same edition. However, this being a point one does not like to assume hastily, they are separately collated. The title (in a similar compartment to that of B. 1 already described) is in this form.

Injunctions giuen
by the Queenes
Maiestie.

Anno Dom. 1559.

The First peere of the
Raigne of our Soue-
raign Lady Queene
Elizabeth.

 Cum priuilegio Regiæ
Maiestatis.

Those notes which are marked with the letter C. denote the reading given by Dr. Cardwell. The readings marked *Edw. vi.* refer to the Injunctions and Articles of Edward the Sixth.

* Herbert's *Ames*. Vol. II. p. 1060.

The title of Mr. Baker's copy, in a flourished compartment of pieces, is as follows :—

Injunctions
G E V E N B Y T H E
Quenes Maiestie.

Anno Domini. MD.LIX.
The fyrst yeare of the raigne of our
Soueraigne Lady Quene
Elizabeth.

Cum privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

On the back of the title the document commences with the following preface :—

¶ Injūctions geuen by the Quenes maiestie, aswell to the Clergye as to the Laitie of this Realme.¹

This heading is differently arranged in the different copies collated. In J. 1 it is in this form.

¶ Injunctions geuen by the Queenes Maiestie, as wel to the Cleargie, as to the Laitie of this Realme.

In J. 2 it is set up thus.

¶ INIVNCTIONS GEVEN BY THE
 Quenes Maiestie, aswell to the
 Cleargie, as to the Laitie of
 this Realme.

¹ Dr. Cardwell does not give this heading distinct from the title. The only title he gives is "Injunctions given by the queen's majesty, concerning both the clergy and laity of this realm, published Anno Domini MDLIX. being the first year of the reign of our sovereign lady queen Elizabeth."

In J. 3, the form more nearly resembling that of Mr. Baker's is as follows.

**¶ Injunctions giuen by the Queenes
Maiestie, as well to the Cleargye as
to the laitie of this
Realme.**

In B. 1 it is thus arranged.

**Injunctions giuen
by the Queenes Maiestie, as well to
the Cleargie, as to the Latie of
this Realme.**

And in B. 2 and 3.

**Iniunctions giuen by
the Queenes Maiestie, aswell
to the Clergie, as to the Laitie
of this Realme**

In these three copies of Barker's, this Preface is printed in Roman type. The setting up of the type, and the indenting at the conclusion, differ in all the different editions.

The preface is as follows :—

The Quenes mooste royall Maiestie, by thadnyse¹ of her mooste honorable counsayle, intendynge thaduauncement² of the true honour of almyghtye God, the suppressyon of superstition, through all her hyghnesse Realme³ and dominions, and to plant true religion, to thextirpacion⁴ of all hypocrysye, enormities, and abuses (as to her duetie apperteineth) doth minister vnto her louynge subiectes, these godly Iniunctions hereafter folowynge.

¹ sic J. 3. the aduise, J. 1, B. 2, 3. the adnyse, J. 2. the aduice, B. 1.

² sic J. 3. the auancement, J. 1. the aduauncement, J. 2. the aduancement, B. 1, the aduancemēt, B. 2, 3.

³ hyghnesse Realmes, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. hyghnesse Realme, J. 2, 3. highness's Realms, C. all hys Realmes, Edw. VI.

⁴ sic J. 3. the extirpation, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. the extirpacion, J. 2.

All which Iniunctions, her hyghnesse wylleth and commaundeth her sayde louyng⁵ subiectes obediently to receaue, and truly to obserue and kepe, euery man in theyr offyces, degrees, and states, as they wyl auoyde her hyghnesse⁶ displeasure, and the paynes of the same hereafter expressed.

[There is no more on this page. The Injunctions begin on the next page A. ff.]

*Iniunctions.*⁷

*Vsurped and forraigne aucthoritie.*⁸ The fyrst is, that al Deanes, Archdeacons, Parsones, Vicars, and all other Ecclesiasticall persons, shall faithfully kepe & obserue, and as farre as in them may lye, shall cause to be obserued and kepte of other, all and singular lawes and statutes made for the restoryng to⁹ the Crowne the auncyente iurisdiction ouer the state Ecclesiastycall, and abolyshinge of all forraigne power repugnaunt to the same. And furthermore all Ecclesiastical persons, hauinge cure of soule,¹⁰ shall to thuttermost¹¹ of theyr wytte, knowledge, and learnyng, purely, sincerely,¹² and without anye coloure or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, foure times euery yere at the least, in their Sermons and other collations, that all vsurped and forrayne power, hauynge no establyshement nor ground by the lawe of God, is for moste iuste causes, taken awaye and abolyshed. And¹³ that therfore no maner of obedyence or¹⁴ subiectyon within her highnesse Realmes and dominions is due vnto any such forrayne power. And that the Quenes power wythin her Realmes and dominions, is the highest power vnder God, to whom all men within the same Realmes, and dominions, by God's lawes, owe most loyalty & obedience, afore and aboue al other powers and potentates in earth.

2. Images. Besydes this, to thentente¹⁵ that all superstityon and hypocrysye, crepte into dyuers mens hartes, may vanyshe away, they shall not sette forth or extoll the

⁵ her sayd louyng, J. 3. her louing, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. her louyng, J. 2; C. his saied louing, *Edw.* VI.

⁶ highness's, C.

⁷ the word Injunctions is omitted by Dr. Cardwell.

⁸ Usurped, B. 1. All the marginal titles are wanting in Dr. Cardwell's reprint.

⁹ sic J. 1, 2, 3. of the Crowne, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁰ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. souls, C. soule, *Edw.* VI.

¹¹ sic J. 3. the vttermost, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

¹² sic J. 1, 2, 3. purely and sincerely, B. 1, 2, 3; C. purely, sincerely, *Edw.* VI.

¹³ sic J. 3. abolyshshed: and, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. abolished: And, J. 2.

¹⁴ sic J. 2, 3. obedience and subiection, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3; C. or, *Edw.* VI.

¹⁵ thintente, J. 2, 3. the intent, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

dignitie of any Images, Reliques, or miracles, but declaryng the abuse of the same, they shall teache that all goodnesse, health and grace, ought to be both asked and loked for onely of God, as of the very aucthour and geuer of the same, and of none other.

3. Item that thei the persons¹⁶ aboue rehearsed, shal
A sermon euery moneth. preach in theyr Churches, and euery other cure they haue, one Sermon euerye moneth of the yere at the least, wherein they shall purelye and sincerely declare the worde of God: and in the same exhort their hearers to the *workes of Fayth.* workes of Fayth, as mercie and charitie, specially¹⁷ prescribed & commaunded in scripture, and that workes¹⁸ deuysed by mans phantasies besides scripture: As¹⁹ wandryng of Pylgrymages, setting vp of Candels, praying vpon bedes, or such like supersticion,²⁰ haue not onely no promyse of rewarde in²¹ scripture for doying of them: but contrarywise great threatninges and maledictiōs of God, for that they be thynges tendyng to Idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences, God almighty doth most deteste and abhorre, for that the same diminishe most hys honour and glory.

4. Item that they the personnes²² aboue rehearsed shall
Quarter Sermon or Homely. preache in theyr owne persons once in euery quarter of the yere at the least one Sermon, beyng lycenced specially therunto, as is specified hereafter, or els shal reade some Homely prescrybed to be vsed by the Quenes auctoritie euery Son-day at the leaste, vnlesse some other preacher sufficiently licensed, as hereafter chañce to come to the paryshe for the same purpose of preachyng.

5. Item that enery holy day through the yere when
The Pater noster Credo²³ & ten Commaundementes. they haue no Sermon, they shall immediatly after the Gospell, openly and playnely recite to theyr parishioners in the Pulpitte, the Pater noster, the Crede, and the ten commaundementes in Englyshe, to thintent²⁴ the people may learne the same by hearte, exhortyng all parentes and householders, to teach theyr children and seruauntes the same, as they ar bouñd by the lawe of God, and conscience to do.

6. Also that they shall prouyde within three monethes
The Byble & Paraphrasis. next after this visitacion, at the charges of the paryshe, one boke of the whole Byble of the largest volume in Englyshe. And within one. xii. monethes next after the said visitacion the Paraphrases of Erasmus also in Englyshe vpon the Gospelles,²⁵

¹⁶ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1. Parsons, B. 2, 3; C.

¹⁷ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1; C; *Edw. VI.* especially, B. 2, 3.

¹⁸ sic J. 2, 3; *Edw. VI.* that the workes, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

¹⁹ sic J. 3. (as, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C. The marks of parenthesis are wanting in *Edw. VI.*

²⁰ sic J. 3. superstition) J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

²¹ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3; *Edw. VI.* of scripture, C.

²² persons, J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1. Parsons, B. 2, 3; C.

²³ sic J. 3. Crede, J. 1. Crede, J. 2. creede, B. 1. Creed, B. 2, 3.

²⁴ sic J. 2, 3. the intent, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

²⁵ sic J. 1, 2, 3; C.; *Edw. VI.* Gospel, B. 1. Gospell, B. 2, 3.

and the same sette vp in some conuenient place within the sayd Church that they haue cure of, whereas theyr Paryshyoners²⁶ may most commodiously resorte vnto the same, and reade the same, out of the tyme of common seruice. The charges of the Paraphrases shalbe by the persone²⁷ or proprietarie and paryshyoners borne by equall portions. And they shall discourage no man from the readyng of any parte of the Byble, eyther in Latin or in Englyshe, but shall rather exhorte euery person to reade the same, with great humilitie and reuerence, as the verye lyuely woorde of God, and the specyall²⁸ fode of mans soule, which all Chrystyan persons are bounde to embrace, beleue, and folowe, yf they looke to be saued: Wherby they may the better knowe theyr dueties to God, to theyr Soueraygne²⁹ Ladye the Quene, and theyr neyghbour, euer gentely and charytablye exhorting them, and in her Maiesties name, straightly charging and commaundynge them, that in the readyng therof, no man to reason or contende, but quyetly to heare the reader.

7. Also the sayde Ecclesiastycall persons, shall in no wyse
Haunting of at anye unlawfull time, nor for any other cause, then
Alehouses by Ec- for theyr honeste necessityes, haunt or resort to any
clesiasticall per- Tauernes or Alehouses. And after theyr meates, they
sons. shal not giue thē selues to drinking or ryot, spend-
 yng theyr time idelly by daye or by nyght, at dyse, cardes, or tables
 playing, or any other vnlawefull game. But³⁰ at all times as they
 shal haue leysure, they shal heare or reade somewhat of holy scrip-
 ture,³¹ or shall occupye them selues wyth some other honest study or
 exercyse, and that they alwayes do the thynges whiche apperteyne to
 honestye, and endeuoure to profyte the common wealth, hauinge
 alwayes in mynde that they ought to excell all other in puritie of lyfe,
 and shoulde be examples to the people, to lyue well and Chrystianly.

8. Also that they shall admytte no manne to preache with-
Preachers not in anye theyr cures, but suche as shall appeare vnto
licensed. them, to be sufficyentlye lycensed thereunto by the
 Quenes Maiestye, or the Archebyshoppe of Caunterburye, or the Arche-
 byshoppe of yorke in either their prouinces, or the Byshoppe of the
 Dyoces, or by the Quenes Maiesties visitours: and³² suche as shal be so
 lycenced, they shall gladly receyue, to declare the worde of God, at
 conuenient times, without any resistaunce or contradiction. And
 that no other bee suffred to preache out of hys owne cure or paryshe,
 than suche as shalbe lycensed, as is aboue expressed.

9. Also yf they do, or shall knowe anye manne wythin
Letters of the their paryshe, or els where, that is a letter of the
worde. worde of God to be readde in Englyshe, or sincerely

²⁶ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1.; C. the Parishioners, B. 2, 3.

²⁷ person, J. 3. parson, J. 1; C. Parson, J. 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

²⁸ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1.; C.; *Edw.* VI. especiall, B. 2, 3.

²⁹ Misprinted,—Soue-
ueraigne J. 3.

³⁰ game: but, J. 1. game: But, J. 2, 3. game, but, B. 1, 2, 3.

³¹ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1; C.; *Edw.* VI. of the holy Scripture, B. 2, 3.

³² sic J. 3. Visitours. And, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

preached, or of the execution³³ of these the Quenes Maiesties Iniunctions, or a fawter of anye vsurped and forrayne powre, nowe by the lawes of this Realme iustelye reiected and taken awaye, they shall detecte, and present the same to the Quenes Maiestie, or to her counsaile, or to the Ordinarye, or to the iustice of peace next a dioynynge.

10. *A Regester.* Also that the Parson, Vycar, or Curatte, and paryshyoners of euery paryshe within this Realme, shal in theyr Churches and Chappels, kepe one booke or³⁴ Regester, wherein they shall wryte the daye and yeare of euerye weddyng, Chrystenynge, and Buryall, made wythin the paryshe, for theyr tyme, and so euerye manne succedynge theym lykewyse, and also therein shall wryte euerye persones name that shalbe so wedded, chrystened, and buried. And for the safe kepyng of the same booke, the Paryshe shalbe bounde to prouyde of theyr common charges one suer coffer with twoo lockes and keyes, wherof the one to remayne with the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, and thother³⁵ with the Wardens of euery paryshe Church or chappell wherin the sayde booke shalbe layde vp, whiche³⁶ booke they shall euery Sundaye take forth, and in the presens of the sayde Wardens or one of them, wryte and recorde in the same al the weddynges, chrystenynge, and buryalles made the whole weke before. And³⁷ that done, to lay vp the booke in the sayde coffer, as afore. And for euery tyme that the same shalbe omitted, the partie that shalbe in the faulte thereof, shall forfeit to the sayd Church .iii.s. iiiii.d. to be employed, the one halfe to the poore mennes boxe of that Paryshe, the other halfe towards the repayre³⁸ of the Church.

11.³⁹ Furthermore, because the gooddes of the Church, are called the gooddes of the poore, and at these dayes, *the. xl.⁴⁰ part.* nothyng is lesse sene then the poore to be sustayned with the same: All persons,⁴¹ Vicars, Pentionaries, Prebendaries, and other benefyced men within this Deanrye not beyng resydente vpon theyr benefices, whiche may dispend yerely twenty pound⁴² or aboue, eyther within this Deanry, or ells where, shall dystribute heereafter amonge theyr poore paryshioners or other inhabitauntes there, in the presence of the Churchwardens or some other honest men⁴³ of the paryshe, the forty⁴⁴ part of the fruites and reuenues of their said

³³ sic J. 3. the execution, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

³⁴ sic J. 1, 2, 3; *Edw. VI.* booke of Register, B. 1, 2, 3; C.

³⁵ sic J. 3. the other, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

³⁶ vp. Whiche, J. 1, 2. vp, Which, B. 1. vp. Which, B. 2, 3.

³⁷ sic J. 3. before: and, J. 1, 2; B. 1. before: And, B. 2, 3. *So at the end of the clause:* as afore, and for enery, B. 1, 2, 3.

³⁸ sic J. 1, 3; B. 2. reparyng, J. 1, 2, 3; C. This last clause was not in the Injunction of Edward VI., which gave the whole forfeit to the poor men's box.

³⁹ In Mr. Baker's copy, and in J. 3, this Injunction is numbered 10, instead of 11.

⁴⁰ sic J. 2, 3. fourtie, J. 1.; B. 1. forty, B. 2, 3.

⁴¹ sic J. 3. Parsons, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

⁴² ponde, J. 3. poundes, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. pounds, C. *xx.l. Edw. VI.*

⁴³ sic J. 1, 2, 3; C.; *Edw. VI.* man, B. 1, 2, 3.

⁴⁴ fortye, J. 3. sic J. 2; *Edw. VI.* fortieth, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

benefice, leaste they be worthely noted of ingratytude, which reseruing so many partes to them selues cannot vouchsafe, to imparte the fortye⁴⁵ portion therof emonge the poore people of that parysh, that is so frutefull and profitable vnto them.

12. And to thyntent⁴⁶ that learned men may herafter
Exhibition for spring the more for the execution⁴⁷ of the premyssea,
scholars. euery person,⁴⁸ vycar, clearke or beneficed man within this Deanry, hauing yerely to dispend in benefices and other promocyons of the church an hundreth⁴⁹ poundes, shall gyue .iii. li. vi. s. viij. d. in exhibicion to one scoler in any of the vniuersities, and for as many .C. li. more, as he may dispend, to so many scholars more shall giue like exhibiciō in the vniuersitie of Oxford or Cābridge, or some gramer schole, which after they haue profyted in good learninge, may be parteners of theyr patrones, Cure⁵⁰ and charge, as well in preaching as otherwise in execution⁵¹ of their offices, or may when neade⁵² shalbe, other wise profite the common weale, with their cōsaile and wysedome.

13.⁵³ Also that all proprietaries, persons,⁵⁴ vicars, and
The fyft part for clearkes hauing churches, chappels or māsons within
*reparatyons.*⁵⁵ this deanry,⁵⁶ shall bestowe yearelye heareafter vppon the same mansyons or chaunselles of their churches, being in decay, the fyft part of that their benefices, tyll they be fully repayred,⁵⁷ and shal alwayes kepe and maintaine in good estate.

14. Also that the said persons⁵⁸ vicars & Clearkes shall
Readings of the once euery quarter of the yeare reade these Iniunc-
Iniunctions. tions giuen vnto them, openly and deliberatly before al their parishioners, at one time or at two seuerall times in one day, to thentent⁵⁹ that both thei may be the better admonyshed of their dutie, and their said parishioners the more moued to folowe the same for their parte.

15. Also forasmuche as by lawes established, euery man
Payments of is bounde to pay his tithes, no man shal by colour of
Tithes. duetic omitted by there curattes, deteine their tithes,

⁴⁵ sic J. 2, 3, *Edw.* VI. fourtieth, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

⁴⁶ thintent. J. 3. the intent. J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; *Edw.* VI.

⁴⁷ sic J. 2, 3; the execution. J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3; *Edw.* VI.

⁴⁸ sic J. 3. Person, *Edw.* VI. Parson, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; parson, C. It may be as well to note, once for all, that the word is always spelt with a small letter in Dr. Cardwell's reprint.

⁴⁹ hundred, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3; C. hundreth. J. 2, 3, an. C. poundes, *Edw.* VI.

⁵⁰ sic J. 1, 2, 3; Patrones cure & charge, omitting the comma after Patrona, B. 1, 2, 3; C. *Edw.* VI.

⁵¹ sic J. 1, 2, 3. in executung of, B. 1, 2, 3; C. in the execucion. *Edw.* VI.

⁵² sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1; *Edw.* VI. when time shall be, B. 2, 3; C.

⁵³ numbered 14 in J. 1.

⁵⁴ sic J. 3. reparation. J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

⁵⁵ sic J. 3. Persones, *Edw.* VI. Parsons, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

⁵⁶ Deaurie, B. 2, 3.

⁵⁷ in J. 1. this word is divided at the bottom of B. 1, thus—

fully re-
payred

but on the top of the next page the latter part of the word is misprinted, *payred*.

⁵⁸ sic J. 3. persones, *Edw.* VI. Parsons, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

⁵⁹ sic J. 3. thintent, J. 2. the intent, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3; *Edw.* VI.

& so requite one wrong with another, or be hys owne Iudge: but shall truly pay y^e same, as he hath⁶⁰ bene accustomed to their persons,⁶¹ vicars and Curates, withoute any restraunte or diminucion. And suche lacke and defaulte as they can lustlye finde in their persons⁶² and Curattes, to call for reformacyon therof, at their ordinaries & other superiours, who vpon complaynte and dewe proffe therof, shall reforme the same accordingly.

16. Also that euerye person,⁶⁴ vicar, Curate and Stipendary prieste, beinge vnder the degree of a maister of *The newe Testament and paraphras.*⁶⁵ shall prouide, and haue of hys owne within three monethes after this visitacion, the newe testament both in latten and in Englishe with paraphrases vpon the same, conferryng thone with thother.⁶⁶ And the bishops & other ordynaries by them selves or their offycers in their synodes and visitacions, shall examyne the sayde ecclesiastycall personnes,⁶⁷ howe they haue profyted in the studye of holye scripture.

17. Also that the vyce of damnable dyspayre, maye be *Comfortable Sentences for the synch.* clearly taken a waye; and that firme beleyfe, and stedfast hope may be surely conceyued of al their parishioners being in any⁶⁸ daunger, they shall learne and haue alwayes in a redynes, suche comfortable places & sentences of Scripture, as do set forth the mercye, benefits and goodnes⁶⁹ of almyghtye god, towards all penytente and beleauynge persons, that they maye at all tymes when necessitie shal require, promptly comforte their flocke with the lyuely worde of god, whyche is thonly⁷⁰ staye of mans conscience.

18. And⁷² to auoyde all contentyon and stryfe which *Procession to be left.*⁷¹ heretofore hath rysē among the Quenes maiestyes subiectes in sundrye places of her realmes and dominions by reason of fond Curtesy, and chalengynge of places in processyon:⁷³ and also that they maye the more quietly heare that whiche is sayd or songe to their edyfiyng, they shall not from henceforth in anye paryshe Church, at any tyme vse anye procession about the Church or Church yerde, or other place,⁷⁴ but immediatly before the time of communion of the Sacramente, the priestes with other⁷⁵ of the quyre,

⁶⁰ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3; *Edw. VI.* as hath been, C.

⁶¹ Parsons, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C. persons. *Edw. VI.*

⁶² sic J. 3. *Edw. VI.* Parsons, J. 1, 2; C. Parsons, B. 1, 2, 3.

⁶³ Paraphras. J. 3. Paraphrases, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

⁶⁴ persone. J. 3. Personne, *Ed. VI.* Parson, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

⁶⁵ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. arts, C. the degre of bachilar of diuinitie, *Edw. VI.*

⁶⁶ sic J. 3. the one with the other, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C. *Edw. VI.*

⁶⁷ sic J. 2, 3. persons, J. 1. parsons, B. 1. Parsons, B. 2, 3. persons, C. persones, *Edw. VI.*

⁶⁸ in any, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C. *Edw. VI.* in a daunger. J. 3.

⁶⁹ sic J. 1, 2, 3; C. *Edw. VI.* godlinesse, B. 1, 2, 3.

⁷⁰ the only, J. 1, 2. the onely, J. 3; B. 1, 2, 3.

⁷¹ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 2, 3. Procession to beleefe, B. 1.

⁷² Also, J. 1, 2, 3. B. 1, 2, 3.

⁷³ sic J. 1, 2, 3; C. *Edw. VI.* in the Procession, B. 1, 2, 3.

⁷⁴ sic J. 1, 2, 3; C. Churchyarde or at any place, but, &c., B. 1. Churchyard, or at any place, but, &c., B. 2, 3. or other place. *Edw. VI.*

⁷⁵ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1. C. *Edw. VI.* others, B. 2, 3.

shall kneele in the myddes^{75*} of the Church and syng or say playnely and distinctly the letany which is set forth in Englyshe
The Letanye. with all the Suffrages followinge, to thintente⁷⁶ the people may heare and answeare, and⁷⁷ none other procession or Letanyo to be had or vsed, but the sayde Letanye in Englyshe, addyng nothyng therto but as it is now appoynted. And in Cathedrall or Collegiat churches, the same shalbe done in suche places and in suche sorte, as our commyssioners in our visitatyon shal appoint, and in the tyme of the Letanye, of the comon praier, of the Sermon, and
Let hearinge of⁷⁸ deuine seruice. when the priest readeth the scripture to the paryshyoners, no maner of persons without a Juste & vrgent cause shall vse any walking in the church, ne⁷⁹ shal departe out of the churche, and all rynginge and knollynge of belles shalbe vtterly forborne for that time, except one bel in conuenient time to be rong or knowled before the Sermon. But yet for the reteinyng of y^e perambulation of the Circuites of paryshes, they shal ons in the yere at the time accustomed with the curate and the substantial mē of the parish, walke about their paryshes⁸⁰ as they were accustomed, & at their returne to the church make their comon praiers.

19. Prouyded that the curate in theyr said common
Perambulation of parishes. perambulatyons vsed heretofore in the daies of rogations at certen conuenient places shall admonyshe the people to gyue thanckes to god in the beholdyng of gods benefittes for thencrease⁸¹ and aboundaunce of his frutes vpon the face of therth, wyth the sayenge the. 103. Psalme *Benedic anima mea.* &c. or such lyke, at whych time also the same minister shall Inculke⁸² these or such Sentences. *Cursed be he whiche translateth the boundes and dolles⁸³ of his neyghboure,* or such other order of prayers as shalbe hereafter appoynted.

20. Item all the Quenes faithfull and louing subiectes,
Spendinge all the⁸⁴ holy day. shall from henceforth celebrate and keepe theyr hollydaye, accordinge to gods holye wyll and pleasure: that is in hearyng the word of god read & taught: in pryuate and publique prayers: in knowledging their offences to god,^{84*} and amende-ment of the same, in reconcylyng their selves⁸⁵ charitablye to their neyghboures, where displeasure hath ben, in often tymes receauinge the communion of the very body and bloude of Chryst, in visittynge

^{75*} sic J. 1, 2, 3. *Edw. VI.* midst, B. 1, 2, 3. midst, C.

⁷⁶ sic J. 2, 3. the intent, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

⁷⁷ sic J. 3; B. 1, 2, 3. answeare. And none, J. 1, 2. answer; and none. C.

⁷⁸ Let bering, J. 3. Let hearyng, J. 1. Let hearing, J. 2. Let bering, B. 1. Let of hearing of, B. 2, 3.

⁷⁹ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. nor, C.

⁸⁰ sic J. 1, 2, 3. C. about the Parishes, B. 1, 2, 3.

⁸¹ sic J. 2. the increase, J. 1. the encrease, J. 3; B. 1, 2, 3.

⁸² sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. inculcate. C.

⁸³ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. doles. C.

⁸⁴ sic J. 2, 3. spendyng of the, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

^{84*} sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1. C. *Edw. VI.* vnto God, B. 2, 3.

⁸⁵ theyr selues, J. 2, 3. *Edw. VI.* them selues, J. 1; themselves, B. 1, 2, 3. C.

of the poore and Sicke, in⁸⁶ vsyng all sobernes and godly conuersation: yet notwithstandinge all persones⁸⁷ vicars and Curattes, shall teach and declare vnto their parysshioners, that they may wyth a safe and quiet conscience after their common praier in the time of haruest, labour vppon the hollye and festiuall dayes, and saue that thing which god hath sente. And⁸⁸ yf for anye Scrupulositie, or grudge of Conscience, men should superstitiously absteyne from working vpon those dayes, that then they shoulde greuously offend and displease god.

21. Also forasmuch as varyaunce and contention is a thinge that moste displeaseth god, and is moste contrary to the blessed communyon of the body and bloud of our Sauour Christ, Curates shall in no wise admyt to the receauynge therof any of their cure or floke,⁸⁹ which be openly knowen to liue in sinne notoriouse without repentaunce, or who hath maliciouslye and opelye contendyd with his neighbour, onles the same do fyrste charitably and openly reconcyle him selfe againe, remittynge all rancoure and mallice, whatsoeuer controuersie hath ben betwene them, and⁹⁰ neuertheles, their⁹¹ iuste tytles and ryghtes, they may charitably, prosecute before such as haue auctoritie to heare the same.

22. Also that they shall instructe and teache in their cures, that no man ought obstinately and maliciouslye, breake⁹² and vyolate the lawdable Ceremouyes of the Church commaunded by publique auctoritye to be obserued.

23. Also that they shall take awaye, vtterlye extyncte⁹³ and dystroye all shrynes, couerynge of Shrynes, all Tables, candelstykes, tryndalles, and rolles of waxe, pictures, payntinges, and al other monumentes of fayned myracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatrye and supersticyon, so that ther remaine no memorye of y^e same in walles, glasses, wyndowes⁹⁴ or ells where within their churches and houses, preseruing neuerthelesse or repayrynge both the walles and glasse windows. And⁹⁵ they shall exhorte all their paryshyoners to do the like within their seuerall houses.

24. And that the Churchwardens, at the common charge of the paryshyoners in euerye Church, shal prouyde a comely and honeste Pulpit to be set in a conuenient

⁸⁶ sic J. 2, 3. C. *Edw. VI.* in, omitted, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

⁸⁷ personnes, J. 3. Parsona, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. C. Persones. *Edw. VI.*

⁸⁸ sic J. 2, 3. *Edw. VI.* sent: and, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. sent; and. C.

⁸⁹ sic J. 2, 3. cure and flocke, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C. *Edw. VI.*

⁹⁰ sic J. 3. betwene them. And, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. C. them: and. *Edw. VI.*

⁹¹ sic J. 1, 2, 3. C. *Edw. VI.* the iuste, B. 1, 2, 3.

⁹² sic J. 2, 3. maliciously to breake, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

⁹³ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 2, 3. C. *Edw. VI.* extint, B. 1.

⁹⁴ sic *Edw. VI.* in walles, glasse windowes, J. 1; B. 2, 3. glassewindowes, B. 1. C. in walles, glasses, windowes, J. 2, 3.

⁹⁵ sic J. 2, 3. glasse wyndowes, and, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. glass-windows; and, C. This clause for preserving and repairing, &c., was not in the Injunction of *Edw. VI.*

place wythin the same & to be ther semely kepte, for the preachinge of gods worde.

25. Also they shall prouyde, and haue wythin three
The Ceste for monethes after this visitatyon, a stronge cheste with a
the poore. hole in the vpper parte thereof, to be prouyded, at the
 coste and charge of the paryshe, hauinge .iii. keyes, whereof one shall
 remaine in the custody of the person,⁹⁶ vycar or Curate, and the
 other two in the custodye of the Churchwardens, or any other two
 honest men, to be appoynted by the paryshe from yeare to yeare,
 whych⁹⁷ cheste you shall set and fasten in a most cōuenient place, to
 thentent⁹⁸ the parishioners shoulde put into it their oblacyons and almes
 for their poore neighbours. And the person,⁹⁹ vicar and Curate,
 shal diligently from time to tyme, and specially¹⁰⁰ when men make
 their Testamentes, cal vpon, exhorte and moue ther neighbours to
 conferre and giue, as they maye well spare, to the sayde cheste,
 declarynge vnto them, whereas hertofore thei haue ben dilygent to
 bestowe muche substaunce otherwyse than god commaunded, vpon
 pardons, Pilgremages Trentalles,¹⁰¹ deckyng of ymages, offerynge of Can-
 dells, geuyng to friers, and vppon other like blind deuotions¹⁰²: they
 ought at this time to be much more redy to helpe the pore and neady,
 knowyng that to releue the pore is a true worshippinge of god, re-
 quired earnestly vpon paine of euerlasting dampnation, & that also,
 whatsoeuer is giuen for their comfort, is giuē to Christ him selfe, and
 so is accepted of him, that he wyl mercifully rewarde the same w^t
 euerlastng [*sic*] life. The whiche almes and deuotion¹⁰³ of the people,
 the keepers of the keies, shall at times¹⁰⁴ conueniēt take
The distribution out of the cheste, and distribute the same in the presens
of the Almes. of the whole parysh or sixe of them, to be truely and
 faythfullye delyuered to their most nedie neighbours, and¹⁰⁵ yf they be
 prouided for, then to the reparacion of highe wayes nexte adioyninge,

⁹⁶ personne, J. 3. Persone. *Edw. VI.* Parson, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

⁹⁷ *sic* J. 3. yeere. Whiche cheste, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. *Edw. VI.* year; which, C.

⁹⁸ *sic* J. 2, 3. the intent, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. the intente, *Edw. VI.*

⁹⁹ Persone, J. 3. *Edw. VI.* Parson, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹⁰⁰ specially, J. 2, 3. *Edw. VI.* speciallye, J. 1; B. 1. especially, B. 2, 3. C.

¹⁰¹ trentalles, J. 2, 3. Trentalles, J. 1. *Edw. VI.* Trentall, B. 1. Trentals, B. 2, 3. C.

¹⁰² *sic* J. 1, 2, 3; B. 2, 3. deuotions, B. 1.

¹⁰³ Those who take an interest in the enquiry, as to the meaning of the word "oblations," in the Prayer for the Church Militant, will not fail to observe, that, in this Injunction, the phrases—"oblations and alms," and "alms and devotion"—are used as equivalent expressions, to denote the money put into the poor box for the relief of the poor. The same remark applies also to the corresponding Injunction of Edward VI. (Inj. 29. Cardwell, I. 18, 7, and 23.) In Bishop Wren's Orders, the word "oblations," in the 18th order, clearly signifies gifts whether to the poor, the clergy, or the church, offered during divine service, which are directed to be "received by the minister standing before the table," and "then by him to be reverently presented before the Lord, and set upon the table till the service be ended."—*Ib.* vol. ii. 256, 25—33.

¹⁰⁴ *sic* J. 1, 2, 3. C. *Edw. VI.* at al times couenient, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁰⁵ *sic* J. 3. neighbours. And yf, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. C. neighbors: and. *Edw. VI.*

or to the poore people of suche parishes nere as shalbe thought best to the said keepers of the keies. And also the money which riseth of fraternities, guildes, and other stockes of the church (except by the quenes maiesties aucthoritye it be otherwyse appoynted) shalbe put into¹⁰⁶ the said cheste, & conuerted to the saide vse, and¹⁰⁷ also the rentes of landes, the proffit of Cattayle, and money geuē or bequethed to obbittes and diriges, or to the¹⁰⁸ finding of torches, lightes tapers, and lampes, shalbe conuerted to the said vse, sauing that it shalbe lawful for them to bestowe part of the sayde proffittes vppon the reparation of the sayd Church, yf greate nede require, and where as the paryshe is verye poore, and not able otherwyse to repaire the same.

26.¹⁰⁹
Simony.

Also to auoyde the detestable synne of Symony, because byinge and Sellynge of benefices is execrable before god : therfore al such persons as bye anye benefices, or come to them by fraude or deceite, shalbe depriued of suche benefices, and be made vnable at anye tyme after, to receaue any other spirituall promotion. And¹¹⁰ such as do sel them, or by any colour do bestowe them for their owne gaine and profit, shall lose¹¹¹ theyr right and title of patronage, and presentment for that tyme, and the gift therof for that vacation,¹¹² shall apperteyne to the Quenes Maiestie.

27.
Homelies to be read. Also because through lacke of preachers in manye places of the Quenes Realmes and dominions, the people continue in ignoraunce and blyndenesse, al Persons,¹¹³ Vicars, & Curates, shall reade in theyr Churches euery Sunday, one of the Homelies which are and shalbe set forth for the same purpose by the Quenes aucthoritye, in such sorte as they shalbe appoynted to do in the preface of the same.

28.
Contempt of ministers. Also where as manye indyscrete¹¹⁴ persons do at this day, vncharitably contempne and abuse priestes and ministers of the Church, because some of them, (haueing small learninge) haue of longe tyme fauoured fonde phantasies, rather than Gods trueth : yet forasmuche as theyr offyce and functyon is appoynted of Godde : the Quenes Maiestie willeth and chargeth all her louynge subiectes, that from henceforth they shal vse them charitably & reuerently, for theyr office and ministracion sake, and especially¹¹⁵ such as labour in the settinge forth of Goddes holy worde.

¹⁰⁶ sic J. 2, 3. Edw. VI. put in the. J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹⁰⁷ sic J. 3. Edw. VI. vse. And also, J. 1, 2. vse: And also, B. 1, 2, 3. use; and. C.

¹⁰⁸ sic J. 1, 2, 3. and to the fyndyng, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C. In the Injunction of Edw. VI. the words are "money geue or bequeathed, to the fyndyng of torches;" obits and diriges not being mentioned.

¹⁰⁹ In J. 1. this number is misprinted, 62.

¹¹⁰ sic J. 3. Edw. VI. promotion: and, J. 1, 2; B. 1. promotion, and B. 2, 3. promotion; and. C.

¹¹¹ sic J. 2, 3. Edw. VI. loose, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. use. C.

¹¹² sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 2, 3. C. Edw. VI. vocation, B. 1.

¹¹³ sic J. 3. Persones. Edw. VI. Parsons, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹¹⁴ sic J. 2, 3. C. Edw. VI. vndiscrete, J. 1. vndiscrete, B. 1. vndiscreet, B. 2, 3.

¹¹⁵ sic J. 2, 3; B. 2, 3. specially, J. 1; B. 1. C.

29.¹¹⁶ Item although there be no prohybition by the worde of God, nor anye example of the prymatiue Church, but that the priestes and mynisters of the Church may lawfully, for the aduoydyng¹¹⁷ of fornication, haue an honest and sober wyfe, & that for the same purpose, the same was by act of Parliament in tyme¹¹⁸ of our deare brother king Edward the syxt,¹¹⁹ made lawefull, whereupon a great nombre of the clergy of this realme were then maryed, and so yet contynue,¹²⁰ yet¹²¹ because ther hath growen offence, and some slaunder to the Church, by lacke of discrete and sober behauioure in manye mynysters of the Church, bothe in chosyng of theyr wyues, and in vndiscrete¹²² lyuyng with them, the remedye wherof is necessary to be sought. It is thought therefore very necessary, that no maner of prieste or deacon, shall hereafter take to his wyfe anye maner of woman wythout the aduyse and allowaunce fyrst had vpon good examinatyon by the byshop of the same Diocese, and two Justyces of peace¹²³ of the same shyre, dwellyng next to the place where the same womā hath made her moste abode before her maryage, nor wythout the good wyll of the parentes of the sayde woman, yf she haue any lyuyng, or two of the next of her kynsefolkes, or for lacke of knowledge of such, of her master or mastres where she serueth. And before he shalbe contracted in any place, he shall make a good and certen profe therof to the mynyster, or to the congregatyon assembled for that purpose, which shalbe vpon some holy day where dyuers may be present. And yf anye shall do otherwyse: that then they shall not be permitted to minister eyther the woorde, or¹²⁴ the sacramentes of the Church, nor shall be capable of anye Ecclesiasticall benefyce. And for the maner of mariages of any Bishoppes, the same¹²⁵ shalbe allowed and approued by the Metropolitane of the prouince, and also by suche commissioners as the Quenes Maiestie shal therevnto appoynt. And yf any master or deane, or any head of any colledge, shall purpose to mary, the same shall not be allowed, but by suche to whom the visitacion of the same doth properly belonge, who shall in anye wyse prouyde that the same tende not to the hynderaunce of theyr house.

30. Item her Maiestie beyng desyrous to haue the pre-
Of apparell of lacye and cleargye of this Realme to bee hadde aswell
ministers. in outwarde reuerence, as otherwyse regarded for the worthynesse of theyr mynistryes, and thynkyng it necessarye to haue them knowen to the people, in all places and assemblies, bothe

¹¹⁶ There is no title in the margin at this Injunction in Mr. Baker's copy, nor is it found in J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹¹⁷ sic J. 2, 3. Auoydyng J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹¹⁸ sic J. 3. in the tyme, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹¹⁹ sic J. 3. sixt. J. 2; B. 1, 2, 3. Syxth, J. 1.

¹²⁰ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. and so continue. C.

¹²¹ sic J. 3. continue. Yet, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. continue; yet. C.

¹²² sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. and indiscreet. C.

¹²³ sic. J. 3. of the peace, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹²⁴ sic J. 1, 2, 3. C. either the woorde of the Sacraments, &c., B. 1, 2, 3.

¹²⁵ This ends the page (back of ¶. i.) in Mr. Baker's copy and in J. 3. Mr. Goode's. In Mr. Baker's the catchword is misprinted shable for shalbe.

in the Church and wythout, and thereby to receaue the honour and estymation due to the specyall messengers and mynysters of almyghtye Godde: wylleth and commaundeth that all Archebyschoppes and Byschoppes, and all other that be called or admytted to preachynge or mynysterye of the Sacramentes, or that bee admytted into anye vocation¹²⁶ Ecclesiasticall, or into¹²⁷ any societie of learning in either of the vniuersities, or els where, shall vse and weare suche semely habytes, garmentes, and suche square cappes, as were mooste comenlye and orderlye receyued in the latter yeare of the raygne of Kynge Edward the syxte, not thereby meanyng to attribute any holinesse or special worthinesse to the sayde garmentes. But¹²⁸ as saynt Paule writeth: *Omnia decenter & secundum ordinem fiant.* 1 Cor. 14. Cap.

31. Item that no man shall wylfullye or¹²⁹ obstynately
Heresies. defende or maineteyne any heresyas, errors or false
scripture.¹³⁰ doctrine, contrary to the faith of Christ and his holy

32. Item that no personnes shall vse charmes,¹³¹ sorcery,
*Charmes.*¹³¹ enchauntmentes, witchcraftes,¹³² southsaying, or any
lyke¹³³ deuylishe deuise, nor shal resort at any time
to the same for counsell or helpe.

33. Item that no person shall, neglectyng their owne
*Absence*¹³⁴ fro parishe Church, resort to any other church in time
common prayer. of common prayer or preaching, except it be by the
occasyō of some extraordinary sermon, in some paryshe of the same

34. Item that no Inneholders or ale house keepers shall
Inholders & alehouses. vse to sel meate or drynke¹³⁵ in the time of common
prayer, preachynge, readyng of the Homelies or
Scriptures.

35. Item that no persons kepe in theyr houses any
Images in houses. abused images, table,¹³⁷ pictures, payntinges and other
monumentes of fained miracles, pilgrimages, ydolatry,
or¹³⁸ supersticion.

36. Item that no man shall willyngly lette or disturbe
Disturbers of Sermons or service. the preacher in time of his Sermon, or let or discourage
any curate or minister to sing or say the diuine ser-
uice nowe sette forth, nor mocke or iest at the minis-
ters of such seruyce.

¹²⁶ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. into vocation. C.

¹²⁷ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 2, 3. C. or in any, B. 1.

¹²⁸ sic J. 3. garmentes, but, J. 1. garmentes: But, J. 2. garmentes, But B. 1, 2, 3. garments, but. C.

¹²⁹ and, J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹³⁰ sic J. 1, 2, 3. his holy spirite, B. 1. his holy spirit, B. 2, 3. C.

¹³¹ sic J. 2, 3. Charmers, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹³² sic J. 2, 3. Sorceries, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹³³ sic J. 2, 3. witchcraft, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹³⁴ sic J. 2, 3. any such lyke, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹³⁵ sic. J. 1, 2, 3. Absent, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹³⁶ sic J. 1, 2, 3. C. to sell no meate nor drinke, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹³⁷ sic J. 1. tables, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹³⁸ sic J. 2, 3. idolatrie, and superstition, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 4. C.

37. Item that no man shall talke or reason of the holy *Rashe talchers* scriptures, rashelye or contentiouslye, nor maintaine *of scripture.* any false doctrine or errour, but shal commune of the same when occasion is geuen, reuerently, humbly, & in the feare of God, for his comfort and better vnderstandyng.

38. Item that no man, woman, nor¹³⁹ chylde, shalbe *Attendaunce to¹⁴⁰* otherwyse occvpyed in the tyme of the seruice, then in *the seruice.* quiet attendaunce to heare, marke and vnderstande that is read, preached, and ministred.

39. Item that euery Scolemaster and teacher, shal teach *The Gramer of* the gramer set forth by kyng Henry theight of noble *king Hēry* memory, and continued in the tyme of king Edward *the eyght.¹⁴¹* the syxt,¹⁴² and none other.

40. Item that no man shall take vpon hym to teache, *Allowance of* but such as shalbe alowed by thordinarye,¹⁴⁴ and founde *Scolemasters.¹⁴³* ineet, aswell for his learnyng & dexteritie in teachyng, as for sober and honest conuersation, and also for right vnderstanding of Gods true religion.

41. Item that al teachers of chyldren shall stirre and moue *Duetie of* them to the loue and¹⁴⁵ due reuerence of Gods true *scolemasters.* religion, nowe truely set forth by publyke aucthoritie.

42. Item that they shall accustome theyr scollers reue- *Sentences of* rētly to learne such sentences of scriptures, as shalbe *scripture for* most expedient to enduce them to all godlynesse. *scollers.*

43. Item forasmuche as in these latter dayes many haue *Vnlearned* ben made priestes, beyng chyldren, and otherwyse *priestes.* vtterly vnlearned, so that they coulede reade to say *mattens and¹⁴⁶* masse: The Ordynaries shall not admitte any such to any cure or spirituall function.

44. Item, euerye Parson, Vycar, and Curate, shall vpon *The Catechisme.* euery holye daye, and euery seconde Sunday in the yeaere, heare and instruct all the youth of the paryshe, for halfe an houre at the leaste, before Euenyng prayer, in the ten commaundementes, the Artycles of the belyefe, and in the Lordes prayer, and dylygentlye examyne them, and teache the Catechisme, sette forth in the booke of publike prayer.

45. Item that the ordinaries¹⁴⁷ do exhibyte vnto our vys- *The boke of the* toures, their bookes, or a true cotype of the same, con- *afflictions for* teynyng the causes why anye person was imprisoned, *religion.* famyshed, or put to death for relygion.

¹³⁹ sic J. 3. or chylde, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹⁴⁰ sic. J. 3. attendaunt, J. 1, 2. attendant, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁴¹ the eyght, J. 1, 2, 3. the eight, B. 1.

¹⁴² Syxte, J. 3. Sixt, J. 2. Syxth, J. 1. sixth, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁴³ Scolemasterr, J. 3. Scolemasters, J. 1. scoolemasters, J. 2. schoolmasters, B. 1.

¹⁴⁴ sic J. 3. the Ordinarie, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁴⁵ ano J. 3.

¹⁴⁶ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. matins or mass. C.

¹⁴⁷ sic J. 1, 2, 3. C. Ordinarie, B. 1, 2, 3.

46. *Overseers for service on the holydayes.* Item that in euerye paryshe, three or foure discrete men which tender Gods glory, and hys true relygyon, shalbe appoynted by the Ordinaryes, diligently to see that all the paryshyoners duely resorte to their Church vppon all Sundayes and holye dayes, and there to contynue the whole tyme of the Godly seruice. And¹⁴⁸ all suche as shalbe founde slacke or neglygente in resorting to the Church, hauinge no greate nor vrgent cause of absence, they shal strayghtly call vppon them, and after due monition,¹⁴⁹ yf they amende not, they shall denounce them to the ordinarye.

47. *Inuentories of church goods.* Item that the Churchwardens of euery paryshe shall delyner vnto our visitours the inuētories of vestmentes, copes, and other ornamentes, plate, bookes, and speciallye of Grayles, Couchers, Legendes, Processionalles, Hymnalles, Manuelles, Portuesses,¹⁵⁰ and suche lyke¹⁵¹ apperteynyng to theyr Church.

48. *Service on wenesdayes & frydayes.* Item that wekelye vppon Wenesdayes and Frydayes, not beyng holly dayes, the curate at the accustomed houres of seruice, shall resort to Church, and cause warning to be geuen to the people, by knollyng of the bell,¹⁵² and saye the Letany and prayers.

49. *Continuauce of singynge in the church.* Item because dyuers¹⁵³ Collegiate, and also some paryshe Churches heretofore, there hathe¹⁵⁴ ben lyuynge appoynted for the maintenaunce of menne and chyldren, to vse syngynge in the Church, by meanes whereof the lawdable science¹⁵⁵ of musike hath ben had in estimation, and preserued in knowledge: The Quenes Maiestie neyther meanyng in any wyse the decaye of any thyng that myghte conuenientlye tende to the vse and contynuaunce of the sayde science, neyther to haue the same in anye parte so abused in the Church, that thereby the common prayer shoulde bee the worse vnderstande¹⁵⁶ of the hearers: Wylleth and commaundeth, that fyrste no alteration¹⁵⁷ be made of such assignementes of lyuynge, as heretofore hath been appoynted to the vse of syngynge or musyke in the Church, but that the same so remayne. And that there bee a modeste and destyucte songe so vsed, in all partes of the common prayers in the Church: that the same maye be as playnely vnderstanded, as if it were read without singing. And yet¹⁵⁸ neuertheles for the comfortyng of such as¹⁵⁹ delyte

¹⁴⁸ sic J. 1, 2, 3. Seruice, and, B. 1, 2, 3. Service; and. C.

¹⁴⁹ monition, J. 1, 2; B. 1. monicion, J. 3. admonition, B. 2, 3. C.

¹⁵⁰ sic J. 1, 2, B. 1. Protuesses, B. 2, 3. portasses. C.

¹⁵¹ and suche lyke, J. 1, 2. and such, lyke, J. 3. and such like appertayning, B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹⁵² sic J. 1, 2, 3. Bel, J. 1. of a bell, J. 2; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹⁵³ sic J. 2, 3. because in diners, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹⁵⁴ sic J. 3; of 3. B. 1, 2, 3. haue. C.

¹⁵⁵ sic J. 1, 2, 3; C. seruice, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁵⁶ sic J. 1, 2, 3. vnderstanded, B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹⁵⁷ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1. C. alterations, B. 2, 3.

¹⁵⁸ sic J. 2, 3. Syngyng, and yet, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. singing; and yet. C.

¹⁵⁹ sic J. 2, 3. of suche that, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

in musicke, it maye be permitted that in the beginnyng, or in thend¹⁶⁰ of common prayers, eyther at mornyng or euenyng, there may be songe an hymne, or suche lyke songe, to the prayse of almyghtye God, in the best sort of melodye and musicke that maye be conuenientlye deuysed, hauyng respecte that the sentence of the hymne maye bee vnderstanded and perceyued.

50. Item because in all alterations, and specyally in rytes *Agaynst sclauderous & infamous wordes.* and ceremonies, there happeneth¹⁶¹ discord¹⁶² emonges¹⁶³ the people, and thereupon slaunderous wordes and railinges, wherby charitie the knot of all christian societie is losed. The¹⁶⁴ Quenes Maiestie beyng most desirous of all other earthly thynges, that her people shoulde lyue in charytie, both towarde God and man, and therein abounde in good wookes [*sic*¹⁶⁵]: wyll-eth and straightly commaundeth al maner her subiectes, to forbear all vayne & contencious dysputacions in matters of Religion, and not to vse in despite or rebuke of any person, these conuitious wordes, papyst, or papisticall hereticke, scysmaticke, or sacramentary, or any suche like wordes of reproche. But yf any maner of person, shall deserue the accusatyon of any such, that fyrste he bee charytablye admonysshed thereof. And¹⁶⁶ yf that shall not amende hym, then to denounce the offendours¹⁶⁷ to the ordinary, or to some higher power hauing auctoritie to correcte the same.

51. Item because there is a great abuse in the printers of *Against heretical and seditious boke.* bokes: which for couetousnes cheifly regard not what thei print, so thei may haue gaine, whereby arriseth great dysorder by publicatyon of vnfrutefull, vayne and infamous bokes and papers: The Quenes maiestie straitly chargethe and commaundeth, that no manner of person, shal print any manner of boke or paper, of what sort, nature or in what lāguage soener it be, except the same be fyrst licenced by her maiestie by expresse wordes in writyng, or by .vi. of her priuy counsel, or be perused & licensed by the archbishops of Cantorbury, & yorke, the bishop of London, the chaunselours of both vniuersities, the bishop being ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the place where anye such shalbe printed, or by two of them, wherof the ordinary of the place to be alwaies one. And that the names of such as shal allowe the same to be added in thende¹⁶⁸ of euery such worke, for a testymonye of the allowaunce therof. And bycause many pamphletes, playes and ballettes,¹⁶⁹ be often times printed, wherein regard wold be had that nothing therein

¹⁶⁰ *sic* J. 2, 3. in the ende, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁶¹ *sic* J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. happen, C.

¹⁶² *sic* J. 2, 3. discordes, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹⁶³ *sic* J. 2, 3. among, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. amongst. C.

¹⁶⁴ *sic* J. 3. losed: the, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. loosed: The, J. 2, loosed; the. C.

¹⁶⁵ a misprint in Mr. Baker's copy for *woorkes*.

¹⁶⁶ *sic* J. 3. therof, and, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. therof: And, J. 2. thereof; and. C.

¹⁶⁷ *sic* J. 2, 3. offender, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹⁶⁸ *sic* J. 3. in the ende, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁶⁹ *sic* J. 2, 3. ballettes, J. 1. Ballads, B. 1, 2, 3.

should be either heretical, sedicious, or vnsemely for Christyan eares: Her maiestie likewyse commaundeth, that no manner of person¹⁷⁰ shal enterprise to print any such, except the same be to him lycenced by suche her maiesties commysyoners, or. iii. of them as be appoynted in the citie of London to heare, and determine dyuers causes ecclesiasticall, tending to the execution of certaine statutes, made the last parliament for vniformitie of order in religion. And yf anye shall sell or vtter, any maner of bokes or papers, beyng not lycensed as is aboue-said: That the same partie shalbe punished by order of the sayde commissioners, as to the qualitie of the faulte shalbe thought mete. And touching all other bookes of matters of religion, or polycye or gouernaunce, that hathe¹⁷¹ bene prynted, eyther on thisside¹⁷² the Seas, or on thother¹⁷³ syde, bycause the diuersitie of thē is great, and that there nedeth good consideration to be had of the particularities thereof: her maiestie referreth the prohibition, or permission thereof to thorder¹⁷⁴ whiche her sayd commissioners with in¹⁷⁵ the citie of London shall take, and notyfy. Accordyng to the which, her maiestie strayghtly commaundeth all maner her subiectes, and specially¹⁷⁶ the wardens & companye of Stacyoners to be obedient.

Pronyded that these orders do not extend to any prophane auc-thours, and woorkes in anye language, that hath¹⁷⁷ ben heretofore commonlye receyued or allowed in any the vniuersities, or Scoles: but the same may be prynted and vsed as by good order they were accustomed.

52. Item, although almyghtye God, is at all tymes to be
Reuerence at honoured with all manner of reuerence that maye be
*prayers.*¹⁷⁸ deuysed: yet of all other tymes, in tyme of common
 prayer the same is most to be regarded. Therefore, it is to be neces-
 saryly receiued, that in tyme of the Letanye, and of all other¹⁷⁹ collectes
 and common supplicatyons to almyghty god, all manner of people shal
 deuoutly and humblye knele vpon theyr knees, and gyue eare ther-
Honor to the uuto. And that whensoever the name of Jesus shalbe
name of Jesus. in anye Lesson, Sermon or otherwyse in the church, e,
 pronounced: That due reuerēce be made of all par-
 sons yong and olde, with lowlynes of cursey,¹⁸⁰ and uncouerynge of
 heddes of the men kynde,¹⁸¹ as therunto doth necessarylye belonge,
 and heretofore hath ben accustomed.

¹⁷⁰ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 2, 3. Parson, B. 1.

¹⁷¹ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. have, C.

¹⁷² sic J. 2, 3. on this side, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁷³ sic J. 3. on the other, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁷⁴ sic J. 2, 3. the order, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁷⁵ sic J. 3. within, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁷⁶ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1. C. especially, B. 2, 3.

¹⁷⁷ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. have. C.

¹⁷⁸ sic J. 1, 2, 3. Reuerence of prayers, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁷⁹ sic J. 2, 3. and all other, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. C.

¹⁸⁰ sic J. 3. curtesie, J. 1. cursie, J. 2. courtesie, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁸¹ sic J. 2. men kinde, J. 3. menkynd, J. 1. menkinde, B. 1. menkind, B. 2, 3.

53.
*Chrates to
reade di-
stinctly.*

Item that all ministers and readers of publicke prayers, chapyters & homelyes, shalbe charged to reade leasurly, playnly, and dystynctly, and also such as are but meane readers, shal peruse ouer before once or twyse the chapyters and homelyes, to thintent¹⁸³ they maye reade to the better vnderstanding of the people, and the more encouragement to¹⁸³ godlynes.¹⁸⁴
(.°.)

¶¹⁸⁵ An admonition to simple men,
deceyued by malicious.

The Quenes Maiestie beyng informed that in certeyne places of this¹⁸⁶ realme, sundry of her natie subiectes, beyng called to Ecclesiasticall ministerie in the Church, be by sinister persuation, and peruerse construction induced to fynd some scruple in the fourm of an othe which by an Act of the last parliament, is prescrybed to be required of dyuers persons, for the recognition of theyr allegiaunce to her Maiestie, whiche certeinly neyther¹⁸⁷ was euer ment, ne¹⁸⁸ by any equitie of words or good sence cā be ther of gathered: Woulde

¹⁸³ sic J. 2, 3. the intent, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁸⁴ sic J. 1, 2, 3; C. encouragement of godlinesse, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁸⁵ In Mr. Baker's copy the remainder of the page, B. ii. is blank, and the *Admonition* begins on the following side of the leaf. So, also, in Mr. Goode's copy, J. 3, in which the type is set up in this form:—

Item that all ministers and readers of publique prayers, chapiters & homelies, shalbe charged to reade leysurely, playnely, and distinctly, and also such as are but meane readers shal peruse oure before once or twyse the Chapiters and Homelies, to thintent they may reade to the better vnderstandynge of the people, and the more encouragement to godlynesse.

In J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3, the *Admonition* commences in the middle of the page, B. ii., which ends in all these copies with the words *shall be*, and the catchword *meant*.

¹⁸⁶ In J. 2, this mark, ¶, is found here and in the three following places. In J. 1. we have here the mark . : in the following places there is none. There is

no mark of the sort either here or in the other places in B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁸⁷ sic J. 1, 2, 3. of the Realme, B. 1, 2, 3; C.

¹⁸⁸ sic J. 2, 3. neuer was euer meant, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

¹⁸⁹ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. nor, C.

that all her lounge subiectes should vnderstand, that nothyng was, is, or shalbe ment or intended by the same othe, to haue any other duetie, allegiaunce,¹⁸⁹ or bonde required by the same othe, then¹⁹⁰ was acknowledged to be due to the mooste noble kynges of famous memory kyng Henry the .viii. ¹⁹¹ her Maiesties father, or kyng Edwarde the syxt,¹⁹² her Maiesties brother.

And further her Maiestie forbyddeth all maner her subiectes to geue eare or credit to suche peruerse & malitiose persons, which most sinisterly & maliciously labour to notifie to her louing subiectes, how by the wordes¹⁹³ of the sayde othe, it may be collected y^t the kinges or Quenes of this realme, possessours of the Crowne, may challenge auctoritie and power of ministrie of diuine offices¹⁹⁴ in the Church, wherein her said subiectes be much abused by such euyl disposed persons. For certeinlye her Maiestie neither doth, ne¹⁹⁵ euer wyll challenge any other auctoritie, than¹⁹⁶ that was challenged and lately vsed by the sayde noble kynges of famous memorye kyng Henry the eyght,¹⁹⁷ and kyng Edwarde the syxt,¹⁹⁸ which is and was of auncient tyme due to the Imperyall Crowne of this realme. That¹⁹⁹ is vnder God, to haue the soueraintie & rule ouer all maner persons borne within these her realmes, dominions, and countreys, of what estate either ecclesiasticall or temporall so euer²⁰⁰ they be, so as no other forraine power shal or ought to haue any superioritie ouer them. And if any person that hath conceiued anye other sence of the fourme of the sayde othe, shall accepte the same othe with this interpretacion, sence, or meanyng, her maiestie is well pleased to accept euery such in that behalfe, as her good and obedient subiectes, & shall acquite them of all manner penalties²⁰¹ conteyned in the saide acte against such as shal peremptorily, or obstinately refuse to take²⁰² the same othe.²⁰³

¹⁸⁹ sic J. 2, 3. allegiance, B. 2, 3. allegiaunt, J. 1. allegiant, B. 1.

¹⁹⁰ sic J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. the, J. 2.

¹⁹¹ sic J. 3. the eyght, J. 1, 2. the eight, B. 1. Eight, B. 2, 3.

¹⁹² sic J. 3. sixt, B. 1, 2, 3. syxth, J. 1. the. vi., J. 2.

¹⁹³ sic J. 1, 2, 3; C. by wordes, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁹⁴ sic J. 1, 2, 3; C. diuine seruice, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁹⁵ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. nor, C.

¹⁹⁶ sic J. 3. then, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁹⁷ sic J. 3. the eight, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. Henry the VIII., J. 2.

¹⁹⁸ sic J. 3. the syxth, J. 1. the, vi., J. 2. the sixth, B. 1, 2, 3.

¹⁹⁹ sic J. 3. Realme: that is, J. 1. Realme: That is, J. 2. Realme, yt is, B. 1. Realme, that is, B. 2, 3.

²⁰⁰ sic J. 1, 3; B. 1. soeuer, J. 2. B. 2, 3.

²⁰¹ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. manner of penalties, C.

²⁰² sic J. 1, 2, 3; C. as shall peremptorily or obstinately to take the same othe, (omitting the word refuse,) B. 1. as shall peremptorily or obstinately take the same oath, (omitting the words refuse to,) B. 2, 3.

²⁰³ The type is not set up in this form in J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3, either here, or in the foregoing place at the end of the 53d Injunction.

In Mr. Baker's copy the rest of this page D. 3 is blank, which is not the case in

¶ For the Tables²⁰⁴ in the church.

Wheras²⁰⁵ her Maiestie vnderstandeth that in many and sundry partes of the realme, the Alters of the Churches be remoued, & tables placed for ministratiō²⁰⁶ of the holy sacrament, accordynge to the fourme of the lawe therefore prouyded, and²⁰⁷ in some other places the Alters be not yet remoued, vpon opinion conceiued of some other order therin²⁰⁸ to be taken by her Maiesties visitours. In thorder²⁰⁹ whereof, sauynge for an vniformitie, there semeth no matter of great moment, so that the sacrament be duely and reuerently mynystred, yet²¹⁰ for obseruation of one vniformitie through the hole Realme, & for the better imitation of the lawe, in that behalfe, it is ordered that no Alter be taken down but by ouersyght of the curate of the Church, and the churchwardens, or one of them at the least, wherin no riotous or disordred maner to be vsed, and²¹¹ that the holy table in euery Church be decently made, and set in the place where the alter stode: and there cōmonly couered as therto belongeth, and as shalbe appoynted by the visitours, and so to stande, sauing when the cōmunion of the sacrament is to be distributed, at whiche tyme the same shalbe so placed in good sorte within the Chauncell, as wherby the minister may be more conueniently hearde²¹² of the communicantes, in his prayer and ministration, & the cōmunicantes also, more conueniently & in more nomber communicate with the sayde minister, and²¹³ after the Communion done, from tyme to tyme the same holy table to be placed where it stode before.

these copies. In J. 3, (Mr. Goode's copy) it is blank, and the type is arranged thus:—

of the saide othe, shall accept the same othe with
this interpretacion, sence, or meaning, her Ma-
iestie is well pleased to accept euery suche in
that behalfe, as her good and obedient sub-
iectes, and shall acquite them of all ma-
ner penalties conteyned in the sayde
act, against such as shall peremp-
toryly, or obstinately, refuse to
take the same
othe.

²⁰⁴ sic J. 2, 3. For tables, J. 1: B. 1, 2, 3; C.

²⁰⁵ The initial W. in this word is in Mr. Baker's copy a five line letter. In Mr. Goode's copy it is a six line letter. In J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3, it is a twelve line letter. In J. 2, it is a representation of Moses stretching out his rod over the Red Sea, in which the Egyptians are seen drowning.

²⁰⁶ sic J. 1, 2, 3. for the administration, B. 1; C. for ye admynistratyca. B. 2, 3.

²⁰⁷ sic J. 3. prouided: And, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. prouided. And, J. 2.

²⁰⁸ sic J. 2. therein, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. ther in, J. 3.

²⁰⁹ sic J. 3. in the order, J. 1, 2. in the other, B. 1, 2, 3; C.

²¹⁰ sic J. 3. ministred. Yet, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3. ministered; yet, C.

²¹¹ sic J. 3. vsed. And, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

²¹² sic J. 3. heard, J. 1; B. 1, 2, 3. hard, J. 2.

²¹³ sic J. 3. Minister. And, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

The Sacramentall breade. Item where also it was in the tyme of kyng Edward the syxt²¹⁴ vsed to haue the sacramentall bread of common fine bread: It is ordered for the more reuerence to be geuē to these holy misteries, being the sacramentes of the bodye and bloud of our saviour Jesus Chryst, that the same sacramentall bread be made and formed plaine without any figures²¹⁵ therevpon, of the same finenesse & fashion rounde, though somewhat bygger in compasse and thickenes, as the vsuall breade and wafer heretofore named syngynge cakes, which serued for the vse of the priuate masse.²¹⁶

¶ The forme of biddinge the prayers to be vsed generally in this vni-forme sorte.

Ye shall pray for Christes holy catholike church, that is, for the whole cōgregation of christen people, dyspersed throughout the whole worlde, and specially for the church of Englande and Irelande.²¹⁷ And herein I require you most specially to pray for the Quenes moste excellent maiestie our soueraigne lady Elizabeth Quene of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, defendour of the faith, and supreme goueruour [*sic*] of this realme, aswell in causes ecclesyasticall as temporall.

²¹⁴ *sic* J. 3. the syxth, J. 1. the. vi., J. 2. the sixth, B. 1, 2, 3.

²¹⁵ *sic* J. 3. fygure, J. 1. figure, J. 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

²¹⁶ So the words are arranged in J. 3, (also Mr. Goode's copy.) In J. 2 the words are arranged thus:—

bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that the same Sacramentall bread be made and formed playne, without any figure therevpon, of the same fineness and fassion rounde, though somewhat bygger in compasse and thicknesse, as the vsuall bread and wafer, heretofore named singing cakes, whiche seemed for the vse of the priuate Masse.

In J. 1; B. 2 and 3, the indenting does not begin till the word *compassse*, which is the first word indented. In B. 1, 2, 3, the last line consists of the last four words. In J. 1 they are printed in two lines, as in J. 2.

In Mr. Baker's copy, and in J. 3, (Mr. Goode's,) the rest of the page (D 4) is empty. The back commences with The forme of biddinge, &c.

²¹⁷ Ireande, J. 1.

you shal also pray for the ministers of gods holy word and Sacramentes, aswel Archbysshops and bishoppes, as other pastures²¹⁸ and curates.

you shall also pray for the Quenes moste honorable counsaile, and for all the nobylitie of this realme, that al and euerye of these in their callinge, may serue truely and painefully, to the glory of god and edifyng of his people, remembre thaccompte²¹⁹ that they must make.

Also you²²⁰ shall praye for the whole commons of this realme, that they maye liue in true faith and feare of god, in humble obedyence and brotherly charytie one to thother.²²¹

Finally, let vs prayse god for all those whych are departed out of this life in the faith of christ and pray vnto god, that we maye haue²²² grace so to²²³ direct our lyues after their good exāple, that after this lyfe, we with them²²⁴ may be made partakers of the gloriouse resurrection, in the lyfe euerlastinge.

¶ And thys done shewe the holly dayes and fasting dayes.

All which and synguler²²⁵ Iniunctions, the Quenes maiestye mynys-
treth vnto her clergie, and to all other her louyng subiectes, straitly

²¹⁸ sic J. 3. Pastours, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3.

²¹⁹ thaccompt, J. 3. the accompt, J. 1, 2. the Accoumpt, B. 1. the account B. 2, 3.

²²⁰ sic J. 2, 3. ye, J. 1. yee, B. 1, 2, 3. ye, C.

²²¹ sic J. 3. one to another, J. 1, 2; B. 1, 2, 3; C.

²²² sic J. 2, 3; B. 2, 3. that we haue, J. 1; B. 1; C.

²²³ sic J. 1, 2, 3. grace for to, B. 1, 2, 3; C.

²²⁴ In Edward the Sixth's form the dead were prayed for. "Thirdely, you shall praye, for all them that be departed out of this world, in the fayth of Christe, *that they with us*, and we with them at the daye of iudgement, maie rest bothe body and soule, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kyngdome of heauen." In the forme adopted by Queen Elizabeth, this prayer was altered to a thanksgiving for the departed, and a prayer for the living. If it had still been intended to include the dead in these prayers, the words, *that they with us*, would not have been omitted. The change had already been made in 1552, when prayers for the dead were left out of the burial service, and words of a similar form were removed. The prayer in the Common Prayer Book of 1549, "Grant, we beseech thee, that at the day of judgment his soul, and all the souls of thy elect departed out of this life, *may with us*, and we with them, fully receive thy promises and be made perfect altogether," &c., being altered into the form "*that we* with this our brother, and all other departed in the true faith," &c. The sense is still more guarded in the present form, which omits further the words, "with this our brother." But the change was really made in such forms by the omission of the words, *may with us*;—*that they with us*;—the removal of which left the prayer a petition in behalf of those by whom it was offered. The reader will not fail to observe that the words of the present prayer for the church militant are constructed on this later type. The petition cannot be made to include prayer for the dead, without doing violence to the grammatical construction. It requires only to substitute the words, *that both they and we*, or, *that they with us and we with them*, instead of the words in the prayer, *that with them we*, to perceive that the alteration would make nonsense of the petition. "Give us grace, so to follow their good examples that with them we may be partakers," &c., is a prayer for ourselves alone, and can be nothing else.

²²⁵ sic J. 1, 2, 3; Edw. VI. All and singuler whiche, B. 1, 2, 3; C.

charginge and commaundyng them to obserue and kepe the same vpon payne of depriuatyon, Sequestratyon of fruites and benefices,²²⁶ Suspension, excommunication and such other cohercion, as to ordinaries, or other hauinge ecclesiasticall Iuryadiction, whom her maiestie hath appointed, or shall apoint for the due execution of the same, shalbe seen conuenient. Charging and commaunding them, to see these Iniunctyons obserued and kept of al personnes, beyng vnder theyr Iurisdiction, as they wil aunswere to her maiestie for the contrary. And her highnes pleasure is, that euery Justice of peace beyng required, shall assiste the ordinaryes²²⁷ and euery of them, for the due execution of the sayd Iniunctions.²²⁸

(°.°)

²²⁶ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 1, 2, 3. benefices, C. sequestraciō of fruites of benefices, Edw. VI.

²²⁷ sic J. 1, 2, 3; B. 2, 3; C. ordinarie, B. 1. ordinaries, Edw. VI.

²²⁸ In J. 1. The conclusion of the Injunctions is printed in this form, the word as being the first word indented:—

kept of al persons being vnder their iurisdiction
as they wyll aunswere to their Maiestie for
the contrary. And her hyghnesse pleasure
is, that euery Justice of peace beyng
requyred, shalassist the Ordinaries,
and euery of them, for the due
execution of the sayd
Iniunctions.

(°.°)

FINIS.

In J. 2, the conclusion is printed in this manner; the indenting being begun with the *beyng*:—

Iniunctions obserued and kepte of all persons,
beyng vnder theyr iurisdiction, as they wyll
aunswere to her Maiestie for the contrary.
And her highnes pleasure is, that euery
Justice of peace, beyng required, shall
assist the Ordinaries and euery of
them, for the due execution of
the sayde Jniunc-
tions.

FINIS.

There is nothing more on this page D. 5. On the back of D. 5. is the colophon.

¶ Imprinted at London in Poules

Church yerde by Richard Iugge and Iohn

Cawood prynters to the Quenes

Maiestie.

Cumprinuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

Then follows, in Mr. Goode's copy, a leaf without anything printed on either side. There is no blank leaf at the end in Mr. Baker's copy.

In J. 3, (Mr. Goode's copy) the indenting begins with the word they

of all persons beyng vnder theyr iurisdiccions, as
they wyll aunswere to her Maiestie for the
contrary. And her hyghnes pleasure is,
that euery iustice of peace beyng requi-
red, shall assyste the ordinaryes and
euery sf them, for the due exe-
cution of the sayde
Iniuncti-
ons.

Without anything more on the page.

In B. 1, the form in which the type is set up is as follows, the indenting beginning with *trarie*, the latter part of the word *contrary*. Thus:—

as they wil answere to her Maiestie for the con-
trarie. And her highnesse pleasure, is that
euerie justice of peace being required,
shal assist the Ordinarie and eue-
rie of them, for the due exe-
cution of the sayde
Iniunctions.

FINIS.

In B. 2 and 3, the printing is arranged in this manner. The word *that* is the first word indented:

for the contrarie. And her highnesse pleasure is,
that euerie Justice of Peace being required,
shall assist the Ordinaries and eue-
ry of them, for the due ex-
ecution of the said
Iniunctions.

FINIS.

The Injunctions in Mr. Baker's are followed by the Articles.

There is no copy of the Articles annexed to the copies of the Injunctions in J. 1, B. 1. J. 2, 3, B. 2, 3, have the Articles. In J. 3, Mr. Goode's copy, the title is wanting; the Articles, as in the other copies, begin on A. ii. The title of J. 2, is in a compartment similar to the Injunctions in the same copy. It is as follows:—

**¶ Articles to
be enquired in the visita-
tion, in the firste yere of the
raigne of oure moste dread So-
ueraigne Lady, Elizabeth
by the Grace of GOD,
of Englande,
Fraunce,
and
Irelande, Queene,
Defendour o^{ur}
the faith.
&c.**

Anno 1559.

In Barker's edition of 1600, B. 2, 3, the title, in a compartment of pieces similar to that of the Injunctions, in the same copies is as follows:—

**Articles to be en-
quired of in the visitatiō, in
the First yeere of the Raigu
of our most dread Soue-
raign Ladie Elizabeth
by the grace of
God, of
England, France, and Ireland
Queene, Defender of
the Faith, &c.**

Anno Dom. 1599.

The title of Mr. Baker's copy (in an architecte compartment, with Cawood's monogram in a shield in the sell,) is as follows:—

A r t i c l e s t o
be enqyred in the visi-
tation, in the fyrste yeare of
the raygne of our moost
drad soueraygne La-
dy, Elizabeth by the
grace of God, of
Englande
Fraunce, and Irelande,
Quene, defender of
the fayth. &c.
A n n o 1559.

The following is a copy of the Articles in this copy:—
 They occupy, with the title, seven leaves. The Colophon is on the back of B. iii.

ARTICLES.

1. *Residencie.*²²¹ Firste,²²⁰ whether anye person,²²² vycar, curate,²²³ be resident continually vpon his benefyce, doyng²²⁴ his dewetye in preachynge, readyng, and dewlye ministringe the holye Sacramentes.

2. *False myracles.* Item, whether in theyr Churches & chapels, al ymages, shrynes, al tables,²²⁵ Candelstickes Trindelles, or²²⁶ rolles of Waxe, Pictures, Payntynges, and al other monumentes of fayned and false myracles, Pylgrymages, ydolatrie and superstition be remoued, abolished and destroyed.

3. *Lordes prayer.*²²⁷ Item, whether they do not euery holy daye when they haue no sermon, immediatly after the gospell, openly, playnely, and distinctlye, recite to their paryshners in the Pulpit, the Lordes prayer, the Beleif, and the tenne commaundementes,²²⁸ in Englyshe.

²²⁰ In J. 2; B. 2, 3, the initial F. (a twelve line letter) is the death of Procris.

²²¹ sic J. 2, 3. Resident, B. 2, 3.

²²² sic J. 3. Parson, J. 2; B. 2, 3. parson, C.

²²³ sic J. 3. or Curate, J. 2; B. 2, 3; C.

²²⁴ sic J. 2, 3; C. & doing, B. 2, 3.

²²⁵ sic J. 2, 3; C. sbrinea, [sic] tables, [omitting all,] B. 2, 3.

²²⁶ sic J. 2, 3. and rolles, B. 2, 3; C.

²²⁷ sic J. 2, 3. The Lords prayer, B. 2, 3.

²²⁸ In J. 3, (Mr. Goode's copy) there is here a misprint, the word *commmaundement* being at the end of the line, the printer began the next line with the word *in*, emitting the last syllable *tes* of the word *commmaundementes*. In J. 2; B. 2, 3, the word is printed in full.

4. *To bringe vp youthe.* Item, whether they doo charge, fathers, and mothers, maysters, & gouernoures of youth, to brynge them vp in some vertuous studye and occupation.

5. *Curates.* Item, whether suche beneficed men as be lawfully absente from theyr benefices, doo leaue theyr cures to a rude and vnlearned parson,²³⁹ and not to an honest wel learned and expert Curate whiche can and wyll teache you hole-some doctryne.

6. *Readinge the Scripture.* Item, whether they do discourage any person from readyng of any parte of the Byble, eyther in latyn or englyshe, and do not rather comforte and exhort euery person to read the same at conuenient times, as the very liuely word of god and the speciall fode of mans soule.

7. *Tauernes and games.* Item whether parsons, vycars curates, and other mynisters, be common haunTERS and resorters to tauerns or alehouses, geuyng them selves to drinke, ryotyng, and playing at vnlawfull games, and do not occupye them selves in the readyng or hearyng of some parte of holye Scripture, or in some other godly exercise.

8. *Preachers.* Item, whether they haue admitted anye man to preach in theyr cures, not beyng lawfully lycensed thereunto, or haue refused or denyed such to preache, as haue ben lycenced accordynglye.²⁴⁰

9. *Superstition.* Item, whether they vse to declare to theyr parysh-ners anye thinge to the extollyng or settyng forth of vayne and superstitious religion, pylgrimages, reliques, or ymages, or lyghtyng of candelles,²⁴¹ kyssyng, knelyng, deckyng²⁴² of the same ymages.

10. *Register.* Item, whether they haue one booke or register kept, wherein they wryte the daye of euerye weddyng, christenyng, and buryenge.

11. *Obedience.* Item, whether they haue exhorted the people to obedience to the queenes maiestie, and ministers, and to charitie, and loue one to another.²⁴³

12. *The Sacrament.* Item, whether they haue admonished their parysh-ners, that they ought not to presume to receiue the sacrament of the body & bloud of Christ before they can perfectly²⁴⁴ the lordes prayer, tharticles²⁴⁵ of the fayth, and the .x. commaundementes in Englyshe.

²³⁹ sic J. 3. Parson, J. 2. person, B. 2, 3; C. persone, *Edw.* VI.

²⁴⁰ In J. 2; B. 2, 3, this Article stands thus—

Item; whether they haue admitted any man to preache in theyr cures, not beyng lawfullye licensed therevnto, or haue ben lycenced accordyngly. So likewise in Dr. Cardwell's reprint, the words—*have refused or denied such to preache, as*—being, by some accident, omitted. Mr. Goode's copy, J. 3, has the clause.

²⁴¹ sic J. 2, 3. or Images, lighting of candles, [omitting or,] B. 2, 3.

²⁴² sic J. 3. or deckyng, J. 2. or decking, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁴³ sic J. 2, 3; C.; *Edw.* VI. and to loue one another, B. 2, 3.

²⁴⁴ sic J. 3. before they can saye perfectly, J. 2; B. 2, 3; C.

²⁴⁵ sic J. 3. the articles, J. 2; B. 2, 3.

13. *Hospitalitie.* Item, whether they be resident vpon theyr benefices' and kepe hospitalytie or no. And if they be absent & kepe no hospitalitie, whether they do releiue theyr parishners, & what they geue them.

14. *Reparations.* Item, whether proprietaries, parsons, vycars, and clarkes, hauynge Churches, chappels, or mansions,²⁴⁶ do kepe theyr chauncelles, rectories vycarages, and all other houses apparteynyng to them, in due reparations.

15. *Prayer in English.* Item, whether they do counsayle or moue their parishners rather to praye in a tongue not knowen then in english, or put their trust in anye certayne nombre of prayers, as in sayinge ouer a number of Beades, or other lyke.

16. *Diffamed²⁴⁷ personnes.* Item, whether they haue receiued any personnes to the communion, being openly knowen to be out of charitie with theyr neyghboures, or diffamed²⁴⁸ with anye notorious cryme, and not reformed.

17. *Pore mens boxe.* Item, whether they haue prouyded and haue a stronge chest for the poore mens boxe, and set and fastened the same in a place of the churche moste conuenient.

18. *Testamēts.²⁴⁹* Item, whether they haue dyligentlye called vpon, exhorted, and moued theyr paryshners, and especially when they make theyr testaments, to geue to the sayde *Pore mens boxe.²⁵⁰* poore mens boxe, and to bestowe that vppon the poore, whiche they were wonte to bestowe vpon pylgrimages, pardons, trentalles, and vpon other like blynd deuotions.

19. *Sycke.* Item, whether they haue denyed to vysyte the sycke, or burye the deade, beyng broughte to the churche.

20. *Symonia.* Item, whether they haue bought theyr benefices or come to them by fraude, guyle, deceit, or Symonye.

21. *Adulterers.* Item, whether they haue geuen open monition to theyr paryshners, to detecte and present to theyr Ordinarye, all adulterers and fornicatours, and suche men as haue two wyues liying, within theyr paryshes.

22. *Churche goodes.* Item, whether they haue monyshed theyr paryshners openlie, that they shulde not sell, geue nor otherwyse alienate anye of theyr Churche goodes.

23. *Many benefices.* Item, whether they or anye of them doe kepe mo²⁵¹ benefices and other ecclesiastical promotions, then they oughte to doe, not hauynge sufficient licences and dispensations therevnto, and howe manye they be, and theyr names.

²⁴⁶ sic J. 3. and Mansions, J. 2; B. 2, 3; C.

²⁴⁷ sic J. 2. defamed, B. 2, 3.

²⁴⁸ sic J. 2, 3. defamed, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁴⁹ sic J. 2, 3. Testament, B. 2, 3.

²⁵⁰ sic J. 3. Pooremens boxe, J. 2, omitted in B. 2, 3.

²⁵¹ sic J. 2, 3; B. 2, 3. more, C.

24. *Comunion.* Item, whether they minister the holy communion anye other wyse, then onelye after suche fourme and maner as it is sette forth by the common aucthoritie of the Queenes Maiestie, and the parliament.
25. *Letters²⁵² of the worde or preachinge.* Item, whether you knowe anye personne within your paryshe, or elles where, that is a letter of the worde of God to be readde in Englysh, or syncerelye preached in place and tymes conuenient.
26. *Goers oute of the Church.* Item, whether in the tyme of the Letany, or anye other common prayer, in the tyme of the Sermon or Homely, and when the preist readeth the scriptures to the parishners, any person haue departed out of the Church, withoute iuste and necessary cause or disturbe y^e minister otherwise.
27. *Church money.* Item, whether the money commyng and rysinge of any cattell, or other moueable stockes of the church, and mony geuen and bequeathed to the fyndinge of torches, lyghtes, tapers, or lampes not payde out of any landes, haue not bene employed to the poore mens cheste.
28. *Keepers of the church money.* Item, who hath thesayde stockes and money in theyr handes, and what be theyr names.
29. *Contempt of priestes.* Item, whether anye indiscrete persons²⁵³ doe vncharitably contempne and abuse priestes and ministers of the Church.
30. *The kings Grammer.* Item, whether there be any other grammer taught in any scole within this diocesse, then that whiche is set forthe by the auctoritie of king Henry theyght.²⁵⁴
31. *The tyme of seruice.* Item, whether the seruyce of the church be done at due and conuenient howres.
32. *Talkers in the church.* Item, whether any haue vsed to common iangle,²⁵⁵ and talke in the Church in the tyme of the prayer, readinge of the homelye, preachinge readyng, or declaryng of the scripture.
33. *Heresies.* Item, whether any haue wylfully maynteyned and defended any heresies, errors or false opinions²⁵⁶ contrary to the fayth of Christe and holy scripture.
34. *Dronkards.* Item, whether anye be common dronkardes, swearers, or blasphemers of the name of God.
35. *Adulterers.* Item, whether any haue²⁵⁷ committed adulterye, fornication, or incest, or be common baudes or receiuers of such euyll personnes, or vehementlye suspected of anye of the premisses.

²⁵² sic J. 2, 3. Letter, B. 2, 3.

²⁵³ sic J. 2, 3. vndiscreet person, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁵⁴ sic J. 3. the eyght, J. 2. the Eight, B. 2, 3.

²⁵⁵ sic J. 3. to common, iangle, and talke. to common, Jangle or talke, Edw. VI. J. 2. to commune, iangle, & talke, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁵⁶ sic J. 2, 3; C. opinion, B. 2, 3.

²⁵⁷ sic J. 2, 3; C. hath, B. 2, 3.

36. *Brawlers.* Item, whether anye be brawlers, sclaunderers, chyders, scoldes,²⁵⁸ and sowers of discorde betwene one person and an other.
37. *Sorcerers.* Item, whether you knowe anye that doe vse charmes, sorcerye,²⁵⁹ enchauntmentes, inuocations, circles, witchecraftes, southsayinge,²⁶⁰ or any lyke craftes or ymaginations inuented by the Deuyll, and specyallye²⁶¹ in the tyme of womens trauayle.
38. *Pulpittes.* Item, whether the Churches, Pulpittes, and other necessities appertayninge to the same be sufficiently repayred, & if they be not, in whose defaulte the same is.
39. *Resorters to other churches.* Item, whether you know any that in contempte of theyr owne paryshe church, do resorte to anye other Church.
40. *Inholders.* Item, whether anye inneholders, or alehouse keepers, do vse commonlie to sell meate and drynke in the tyme of common prayer, preaching readyng of the homelyes or Scripture.
41. *Diuorse.* Item whether you knowe any to be maryed within the degrees prohibyted by the lawes of God, or that be seperated or diuorsed withoute the degrees, prohibited in²⁶² the lawe of God, and whether any such haue maryed agayne.
42. *Priuy contractes.* Item whether you knowe any to haue made pryuy contractes of matrymonye, not callynge two or moo²⁶³ witnesses thervnto, nor hauyng therto the consent of theire parentes.
43. *Banes.* Item whether they haue married solempnely the banes not fyrst²⁶⁴ lawefully asked.
44. *Executors.* Item whether you knowe any executours or admynystratours of deade mens goodes, whiche do not duely bestowe²⁶⁵ such of the said goodes, as were geuen and bequethed or appoynted to be, distributed among the poore people, repairing of hygh wayes, findyng of poore scolers, or marying of poore maydens, or such other lyke charytable dedes.
45. *Images.* Item whether you knowe anye that kepe in theyr howses, vndefaced anye Images,²⁶⁶ tables, pyctures, payntynges, or other monumentes of fayned and false miracles, pilgremages, Idolatry, or²⁶⁷ superstition, and do adore them,

²⁵⁸ sic J. 3. scolders, J. 2; B. 2, 3; C.; *Edw.* VI.

²⁵⁹ sic J. 2, 3; *Edw.* VI. sorceries, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁶⁰ sic J. 2, 3; C; *Edw.* VI. soothsaings, B. 2, 3.

²⁶¹ sic J. 2, 8; C. especiallye, B. 2, 3.

²⁶² by the lawe. J. 2, 3. B. 2, 3.

²⁶³ sic *Edw.* VI. mo, J. 2, 3; B. 2, 3. more, C.

²⁶⁴ sic J. 2, 3; C. not being first, B. 2, 3.

²⁶⁵ sic J. 2, 3. not only bestowe, B. 2, 3; C. duely distribute, *Edw.* VI.

²⁶⁶ sic J. 3. kepe in theyr houses vndefaced, any Images, J. 2. keepe in their houses any vndefaced Images, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁶⁷ sic J. 3. Idolatie and superstition, J. 2.; B. 2, 3; C.

and specially such as haue ben set vp in Churches, Chapells, or²⁶⁸ oratoryes.

46. *Bokes.* Item what bokes of goddes Scrypture²⁶⁹ you haue deliuered to be burnt, or otherwise distroied, and to whom ye²⁷⁰ haue delyuered the same.

47. *Bribes.* Item what brybes, the accusers, promoters, persecutors, ecclesiasticall iudges, and other the commissioners appoynted within the seuerall diocesse²⁷¹ of thys Realme, haue receiued by them selves, or other, of those parsones which were in troble, apprehended or imprysoned for relygyon.

48. *Loose of goodes.* Item what goodes, mouable landes,²⁷² fees, offyces or promotions, hath²⁷³ byne wrongfully taken away, in the time of Quene Maryes raigne, from anye parson, which fauored the relygyon nowe set forth.

49. *Howe many burnt.* Item how many parsones for religion haue dyed by fyre, famine or otherwise, or haue byne imprisoned for the same.

50. *Certificat of the deade.* Item that you make a true presentment of the nombre of all the parsons, which dyed within youre paryshes, sithen²⁷⁴ the feast of Saynte Jhon the Baptyst, which was in the yeare of our Lord God, a²⁷⁵ thousand, fyue hundred, fyftye and eyght, vnto the same feast last past.²⁷⁶ Makynge therein a playne distincte declaration, howe manye men, women, and men chyldren the same were. And²⁷⁷ the names of the men.

51. *Secrete Masses.* Item, whether ye²⁷⁸ knowe any man in your parishe secretly or in vnlawful conuenticles, say or heare Masse, or anye other seruyce prohibited by the lawe.

52. *False rumours.* Item, whether you knowe anye person in your paryshe, to be a sclaunderer of his neyghbours, or a sower of discorde, betwene partye and partye, man and wyfe, parentes, and theyr children, or that hath inuented, bruted, or set forth any rumors, false & seditious tales, sclaunders or makers, bringers, biers, sellers, kepers, or conueyers of anye vnlawfull bookes, whiche myght styrre, or²⁸⁰ prouoke sedition, or mayntayne superstitious seruyce within this realme, or anye aydors, consaylours, procurers, or maynteyners therevnto.

²⁶⁸ sic J. 2, 3. chappels, and Oratories, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁶⁹ sic J. 3. of Gods scripture, J. 2. of holy scripture, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁷⁰ sic J. 2, 3; B. 2, 3. you, C.

²⁷¹ sic J. 2, 3. Diocesses, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁷² sic J. 2, 3. what goodes moueable, landes, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁷³ sic J. 2, 3. haue, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁷⁴ sic J. 2, 3. sithence, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁷⁵ sic J. 2, 3. A, B. 2. 2 one, C.

²⁷⁶ sic J. 2, 3. past, making, B. 2, 3. past; making, C.

²⁷⁷ sic J. 2, 3. were, and, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁷⁸ sic J. 2, 3. you, B. 2, 3; C.

²⁷⁹ Unlawfull, J. 2; B. 2, 3. Vnlawefull, J. 3.

²⁸⁰ sic J. 2, 3. stirre & prouoke, B. 2, 3; C.

53. Item whether the churche of your parish be nowe
Patron. vacante or no, who is the Patron therof, howe longe
Tythes. it hath bene vacant, who doth receaue the tythes, obla-
Certificat. tions, and other commodities duryng the tyme of the
Vacation. vacation, and by what aucthoritye, and in what estate
the sayde Churche is at this tyme, and howe longe the
parson²⁸¹ or vycar hath hadde that benefice.

54. Item, whether anye mynstrelles, or anye other par-
Minstrels. sonnes do vse to syng or saye anye songes or dytties
that be vyle²⁸² or vncleane, and especially in derysion
of anye godly ordre, nowe sette forth and establyshed.

55. Item, whether the Letanye in Englyshe with the
Letany in Epistle and Gospell whiche was by the Queenes hygh-
Englyshe. nesse Proclamation wyllde to be readde to the people
were putte in vse in youre Churches, and yf not, who were the letters
thereof.

56. Item, whether the curates and mynysters do leasurelye,
Distincte read- playnely, and distinctlye, reade the publique praier,
*ing.*²⁸³ Chapters and Homilies, as they ought to doo.

FINIS.

GOD SAVE THE
QVENE.²⁸⁴

The rest of the page, B. 3, is blank. On the back is the
colophon.

☞ I M P R I N -
T E D A T L O N D O N I N P O V -
les Churchyarde by Richard Iugge, and
Iohn Cavwood, Printers to the
Quenes Ma-
iestie.

ANNO .M.D.LIX.

*Cum priuilegio Regiæ
Maiestatis.*

²⁸¹ person, J. 3. Parson, J. 2; B. 2, 3; C.

²⁸² sic J. 2, 3. vild, B. 2, 3.

²⁸³ sic J. 2, 3. distinct (omitting the word, reading), B. 2, 3.]

²⁸⁴ The word Finis is wanting in J. 2, 3; and B. 2, 3; J. 3 has merely

¶ GOD SAVE THE
QVENE.

The Colophon of J. 3, (Mr. Goode's copy) is also on the back of B. 3. It is in this form:—

¶ Imprinted at Lon-
don in Powles Church parde, by
Richard Jugge and John
Catwood, Printers to
the Queenes
Maiestie.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

In J. 2, and in B. 2, 3, the colophon immediately follows the words, *God save the Queen.* In J. 2, the colophon which is on B. iii., is:—

God saue the Queene.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON IN
Powles Churchparde, by Richard Jugge
and John Catwood, Printers to the
Queenes Maiestie.

 *Cum priuilegio Regiæ*
Maiestatis.

In B. 2, 3, the colophon is on B. iii., the back of this leaf and both sides of B. 4 are blank.

God saue the Queene.

¶ Imprinted at London by the
Assignment of Robert Barker
Printer to the Queenes most
excellent Maiestie.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

Anno Dom. 1600

with a block ornament beneath.

THE BISHOPRIC OF NORWICH.

THE following document, which has been privately circulated, we reprint, on account of its connexion with the subject of an article that appeared in the last Number of the Magazine.

SOME passages in the writings of Dr. Hinds, the Bishop-Elect of Norwich, had excited a suspicion, that on some points, deemed fundamental, his views were not in accordance with those defined by the church.

The views thus apparently implied in his writings were,—

1. That the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity were only three manifestations of God, and not three distinct Persons.

2. That it was God's choosing an individual man to be the residence and visible manifestation of the Divinity that caused our Lord to be called the Son of God, and not that He was such from everlasting with the Father, and became Man.

3. That the Manhood was not so taken into God in Him, that all that He spoke and acted and suffered as man can be truly termed the speeches and acts and sufferings of God.

A statement to this effect, together with certain passages from his writings, which appeared to justify such inferences, was laid before Dr. Hinds, in the earnest hope that he would disclaim the erroneous doctrines, and thus quiet the apprehensions which had been excited.

This gave rise to the following correspondence, Dr. Hinds's portion of which he has kindly allowed to be laid before such as might have been disturbed by the alleged construction of his writings.

I.

" My dear ———,

" Athenæum, London, Oct. 25, 1849.

" If I were conscious of teaching, or of holding tacitly, views at variance with those of our church, on a doctrine of such vital importance as that of the Trinity, I could not honestly—I will not say take the office of bishop—but remain in the church's communion. To officiate as one of its clergy (which I have been doing now, with some brief intervals, for nearly thirty years) would be, under such circumstances, to administer its rites, and to read its prayers and its formularies of faith, with a lie unto God in the heart. I cannot consent to discuss with you a paper, which, if it has any meaning, means that you and those who have joined you in drawing it up, suspect that I may be acting thus. On no other ground can you doubt that I must repudiate the construction to which you think certain passages in my writings are liable, and the general inferences which, you allege, may by some be deduced from them.

" I have addressed you by name, your handwriting having recalled to me a time long past, when that name was familiar to me. * * * I shall be grieved, indeed, if after so long a suspension of all intercourse between us, the occasion of renewing it should be one of con-

troversy, and a disturbance of the church's sacred peace. Believe me, prayer like that with which your letter concludes is ever rising to my lips. The office to which I have been called makes me feel already, at every turn, how much I need counsels higher than my own to guide me, and strength other than that of man to support and nerve me for it.

Yours very sincerely,
S. NORWICH (ELECT.)

“Rev. ———.”

The answer is subjoined.

II.

“My dear Lord,

“London, Oct. 31, 1849.

“* * * * I can hardly thank you enough for your great kindness in replying as you have done to a communication which at best could not help seeming obtrusive, and which, I am conscious, was through hurry less careful and respectful in its wording than it should have been. But we are deeply grieved that you should understand it as imputing any *conscious* holding or teaching of doctrines contrary to the creeds. I am sure if we have so expressed ourselves, it was hurried and unintentional, and I deeply regret it. The case present to my mind was that of a person earnest for a particular view, and not perceiving that it, or his mode of stating it, contradicted, or would popularly seem to contradict, certain great truths, to which he was bound. And it was laid before your lordship with the sincere hope that you would treat it as in substance you have done—that you would energetically disavow any such interpretation of your statements as would set them at variance with any part of the church's confessions of faith.

“And now, considering the deep anxiety which is felt by many on this subject, as on everything which affects the dogmatical integrity of our church, we trust that your lordship will not forbid us to make this your disavowal known, and so relieve others, as you have kindly relieved us. The first paragraph of your letter to me, or the substance of it, might well answer this purpose, would you kindly allow it to be so used. I should fear that without some open statement of the kind, your charity in replying to me as you have done will hardly be complete and effectual.

“I beg leave to remain, &c.,

“The Lord Bishop of Norwich (Elect.)”

“——— ———”

This letter was accompanied by a draft of a statement which it was proposed to circulate, with Dr. Hinds's sanction.

His lordship wrote in reply :—

III.

“My dear ———,

“Deanery, Carlisle, Nov. 2, 1849.

“Your intention, I am sure, is good in sending me, together with an extract from my letter to you, a statement in reference to it, for my sanction of the circulation of the two together ; but I must decline saying anything about any statement which includes exposition of doc-

trine, the wording of which is yours, and that of those who are associated with you in the application. It would be recognising (under the circumstances in which you require it) a self-constituted authority for defining our faith ; and this, I think, on reflection, you will allow that I ought not to do, and you ought not to ask me to do. You have a right to understand me, in my former letter, as disclaiming any construction put on any passage of my writings which would make it at variance with the formularies of the church, and you have my permission to circulate that part of the letter which has conveyed this impression to you, or the whole of it ; and also, if you think fit, what I am now writing. But I can have nothing to do with any statement expository of this or that doctrinal truth or error. I can only deal, in the question which you have raised, with the exposition of the church's creed, as it is authoritatively set forth in the language of its formularies ; and in reference to this, what I have said has been said without qualification or reservation.

“ There is one part of your statement which calls for some notice from me. It speaks of a contemplated opposition to my being confirmed. I should be distressed at any disturbance or discussion in the church which such a procedure might create ; but, as I am conscious of nothing which could justify it, I am, otherwise, quite indifferent about it.

“ Rev. —.”

“ Yours very truly,

“ S. NORWICH (ELECT.)

It will be seen that his lordship not only repudiates the inferences above mentioned, but considers the erroneous doctrines they involve as false and wrong,—and also as so obviously contrary to the creeds of the church that no one can maintain them in the church by mistake, or unconsciously.

After such a denial as this, so candid and so complete, the parties to whom it has been sent are desirous of declaring, that, however they might have wished that some of Dr. Hinds's writings were more clearly and guardedly expressed, they are fully satisfied that he does not hold the erroneous opinions referred to. And they feel that their most respectful thanks are due to him for the assurance which, in such Christian charity, he has given them, as well as their humble and earnest prayer for a full blessing on his episcopate.”

EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

As the time approaches for the assembling of Parliament, the friends of the church in Ireland look forward with some degree of confidence to obtain some settlement of the great question of Church Education. Although no steps were actually taken last session towards meeting the conscientious objections of the Pro-

testant clergy, yet the division which took place, when the subject was discussed in the House of Commons, shows not only a decided improvement in the tone of public feeling, but proves that a reaction has commenced, and that several persons of very great respectability who had hitherto opposed any concession to the religious scruples of the Protestant church, have been looking a little deeper into the question, and are beginning to feel that the objections of the Irish clergy to the Government system of education in that country deserve a more grave consideration than they have yet received.

On the first aspect it does seem exceedingly strange, that the only religious community in the empire whose conscientious scruples and objections are treated with scorn and contempt by the Legislature, should be the Protestant church in Ireland. Looking at the question in a political point of view, one cannot perceive, how this country can be benefited by making that body the only exception to the rule of conciliating liberalism, which seems, in the opinion of modern statesmen, to constitute the perfection of wisdom. Equally difficult is it to imagine, in what way our politicians expect to strengthen the union between the two countries by disregarding the prejudices (supposing them to be nothing better) of that community, on whose loyalty to the crown and attachment to British connexion the peaceable maintenance of the integrity of the empire mainly depends.

If there were no other objection to the national system of education in Ireland than this, it would be quite sufficient to lead any one but the most determined theorist to question the wisdom of such a measure. That the system has been established and carried on in a spirit anything but friendly or respectful to the Irish prelates and clergy,—and we may add the Protestant nobility and gentry,—it is impossible to deny. Even those who would now (on a very mistaken principle of expediency, as we believe,) recommend the clergy to waive their objections, and unite themselves with the National Board of Education, are free to admit, at the same time, that they “highly disapprove of the proceedings of the Government in all the earlier stages of the affair,” and very distinctly acknowledge “that their mismanagement and ill-disguised hostility to the Establishment increased the inherent difficulties of the subject.”* The difficulties in the way of legislating for Ireland on any subject, no one whose opinion is worth considering, would be disposed to underrate. But, unquestionably, the result of the policy which has been pursued for some years past, on questions connected with religion and education, has been most unhappy; and the general effect of our religious and

* Quarterly Review, September, 1849, p. 557.

educational measures has been to discourage and discountenance the loyal and well-affected; to offend their scruples and alienate their affections;—without making the remotest advance towards conciliating or winning over our enemies. We have disobliged and weakened our natural and long-tried friends, and have subjected ourselves to the scorn and insults of those, who hate us because we are English even more than because we are Protestants, and whom nothing we can do, will ever satisfy, short of the total separation of the two countries.

Of all our Irish measures, the national system of education is one of the most unfortunate. The Romish hierarchy and priesthood value it, precisely at what it is worth *to them*. They do not want to have the people educated or enlightened. An educated and enlightened people would soon learn to see through the arrogant pretensions of their church, and would infallibly shake off the yoke of their despotic rule, the moment they were allowed to emerge from the state of semi-barbarous serfdom in which their spiritual masters have so long managed to keep them. Nor will any one acquainted with Ireland believe, that they can really and heartily approve of any educational system, which connects the children of their flocks with the English Government, and makes them indebted for their education to the bounty of the British Legislature. It suits their views better, to teach the rising generation the same lesson as they taught their parents, and to bring them up in the same feelings of hatred and distrust of England, and of everything that comes from it. Nor is it possible for them to feel any cordial attachment to a system, which subjects them and their schools to the superintendence and control of Government. Dr. MacHale and all his party denounce the system as Erastian and semi-infidel. The milder and more wily party make use of it as a temporary makeshift;—as something they cannot decently or safely refuse;—as an evil which they must endure, and make the best of; *only until* they shall be strong enough to force the Government to give them the uncontrolled management of the money granted by Parliament for education. Their own organs have very distinctly avowed, that it is only with such views they have at all sanctioned or co-operated with Government in this measure. They are too clear-sighted, however, not to perceive, that, meantime, the system puts a large sum of money and a considerable quantity of patronage at their disposal; that it clothes their assumptions with much of the authority of government; that it has procured for their bishops a recognition which a few years ago would have been deemed contrary to law; and, above all,—that the tendency of the system, the spirit which actuates its whole machinery, and the feelings with which Government have

carried it into operation, and laboured to procure it a universal reception, have been unfriendly to the Protestant religion, personally hostile to the Protestant clergy, and calculated, if not designed, to bring about the dis-establishment of the Protestant church. *They know what it is worth to them, and at that they value it.*

And, indeed, however some may have regarded it merely as a measure of conciliation and liberality, it seems too plainly to be part and parcel of a systematic and deliberate plan, and one development of a settled design, to govern Ireland through the influence and power of the Roman-catholic priests, and to shape all measures—especially those which concern religion and education—in the manner (whatever it may be) which may appear most likely to gratify them, and enlist their interest on the side of the party in power, or at least, to keep them as quiet as it is possible for men to be, who have such projects of ambition and aggrandizement on foot as they have.

The Romish bishops and priests do not wish the people to become acquainted with the Holy Scriptures. No well-informed person can pretend to deny that such is their feeling. As to the particular version of the Scriptures, it makes little difference: in practice, none at all. The Protestants in Ireland would willingly supply the people with copies of the Roman-catholic translation. But whether it be the authorized version, or that of Douay and Rheims, it makes little difference. Their clergy do not wish them—especially the poorer classes—to read the Bible in any version; and, as far as they have the power, they will prevent them. Even if brute force and violence be necessary to wring the sacred volume from the peasants' hands (for, most assuredly, the people *do* wish to possess the Bible and to read it) they will not hesitate to resort to it.

The question, then, resolves itself into this simple form:—Can the legislature of any Christian country be justified, in countenancing and abetting such tyranny over the human conscience? The friends of the church in Ireland do not wish to *compel* the Roman-catholic poor to have their children taught to read the Scriptures. It has been very much the fashion to charge them with wishing to do so, but it is a very great misrepresentation; and those who have *originated* the charge are perfectly aware that it has no foundation. Nor do the clergy wish to *compel* the priests to give the people permission to send their children to whatever school they please, and have them taught what they like. If it is considered essential to the carrying out the theories of liberalism, that the Romish clergy should be suffered to take such liberties, as would not be tolerated in any other class of persons,—if it is thought desirable, that every priest in Ireland should be

allowed, at pleasure, to curse, and horsewhip, and denounce from the altar, and mark out for assassination, every unfortunate peasant who shall presume to exercise the liberty of judging and acting for himself, with regard to the education of his children, and shall dare to send them to a school where the Holy Scripture is read,—if the Government cannot conduct their business quietly and comfortably, or the peace of the empire cannot be maintained, unless there be one law for the Irish priest, and another for the rest of her Majesty's subjects—let it be so. This is not what the friends of the church complain of. They do not complain, because they have not the power to enforce the reading of the Scriptures on the children of Roman Catholics. They do not complain, because there is a latitude given to the Romish priest, which would not be allowed to themselves, or to any other person in the community. What they do complain of is this, that the whole influence of the Government, the whole spirit of its educational system, tends to this one point,—to strengthen the hands of the priest in his tyrannical usurpation over the consciences of his flock. The system of Irish national education, whatever its admirers may imagine, or its partisans may allege, shows no respect whatever to the consciences of the Roman-catholic laity. *Their* feelings and wishes—whether parents or children—are not considered for an instant. The only question that obtains a moment's entertainment is, *what will please the priests?* And, as nothing will satisfy them, except an absolute and irresponsible power over the consciences of their flock, and very specially, the power to prevent them from reading the Scriptures,—that is precisely *the* power which is secured to them by the national system of education in Ireland.

The clergy are frequently blamed for not connecting themselves with the Government system of education. But how can they do so? Take such a case as the following. A clergyman may be in such circumstances that it is impossible for him to meet the expenses of a school, unless he put it into connexion with the National Board. Or for other reasons he may think it desirable to do so. Suppose he should. Suppose him to apply to the Board,—to receive a grant,—and to open a school for the benefit of his Protestant parishioners,—and to arrange his plans, as every conscientious clergyman would do under such circumstances. His school will then be either exclusively attended by Protestants—and if so, what becomes of the boast of united education? or else, the priest will be sure to *find* a few children in the school whose parents will be ready, at his bidding, to object to the religious instruction given in the school, and the religious principles which must be inculcated as the foundation of moral and social duty, if it deserve the name of Christian

education;—and so the clergyman must either relinquish his connexion with the National Board, and thus, possibly, be compelled to abandon all hope of educating the Protestant children of his parish at all, or else he must submit to the dictation of the priest, and modify his whole system of instruction to suit the purposes of the deadly enemy of his religion:—foreseeing, all the time, that, as soon as the priest has succeeded in destroying the religious character of his school, his next step will be to compel the Roman-catholic children he had sent there to withdraw;—as it most assuredly would never enter into his contemplation, to allow them to be educated along with Protestant children by the clergyman of the parish.

This is the power the national system puts into the hands of the priest. The power to prevent those parents who would wish it, from having their children taught to read the Scriptures: the power, through the agency of two or three of his creatures, to compel the clergyman to banish religion from his system of instruction. This power the national system gives the priest;—*direct* power over the parents and children, so as to keep the Scriptures from their hands; *indirect* power over the Protestant patron, lay or clerical, to compel him to modify his system of education at the demand of any one or two Roman-catholic parents, so as to deprive it of its religious character. It may be at the desire of the Roman-catholic parents of his parish, that the Protestant clergyman has opened a school in connexion with the National Board. They may wish to place them under his care, not merely because he will teach their children to read the Scriptures at a stated hour, but because they know that his whole system of education is based on Christian principles, and that he will bring up their children in the fear of God, as every Christian schoolmaster or patron of a school would desire to do, whether the Bible was statedly read in the school or not. They may set the curse and the horsewhip at defiance. But what if they should? As long as the priest can contrive to get one or two of his own creatures to send their children to the clergyman's (national) school, he can, *through them*, compel the clergyman to alter his whole system of instruction, and effectually prevent the other Roman-catholic children, (be they few or many,) whose parents desire to have them taught to read the Scriptures, from becoming acquainted with its contents, or from receiving a really religious education. This is *the* power the Government system puts into his hands.

We repeat it, what the friends of the Church complain of is, not that the scruples of Roman-catholic parents are respected—no, nor even that the doings of the priest are connived at—but that the tendency and spirit of the national system is to strengthen the power of the priest, to sanction his tyranny, and to enable him

to trample on the consciences and liberties of the Roman-catholic laity. It may be part of the discipline of his church to put a ban on the perusal of the Word of God. Be it so. As long as a universal toleration is allowed, the discipline of his church ought not to be interfered with:—at least, while he is contented to discharge what he conceives to be his duty, within those limits, which a just regard to the lives, properties, and liberties of other men require to be observed. But this is a totally different thing from *assisting* him to enforce this discipline. It is a totally different thing from delivering the whole Roman-catholic population bound neck and heels into his hands. It is a totally different thing from constructing the whole of a great system of national education, on the principle, that the priest is to be armed with the authority of the Government and the Legislature, to enable him to prevent his people from becoming acquainted with the Word of God.

We maintain, and the whole evidence of facts proves that we are correct in the opinion, that there is a strong and a steadily increasing desire, on the part of the Roman Catholic peasantry of Ireland, to have their children taught to read the Scriptures. We would not allow any one, directly or indirectly, to bribe them to do this. But no person, who knows the Irish clergy will believe that any respectable clergyman in that country would countenance such a proceeding. This, however, is not the question, nor anything resembling it. The Roman Catholics—in vast and hourly increasing numbers—*have that desire themselves*; they wish to put their children in the way of obtaining scriptural instruction. How is this fact to be treated? It is, surely, a fact not unworthy the notice of a statesman. He may think it safer not to interfere. He may even think, that to allow the priests to have their own way, and use force and violence without molestation, may rather tend to promote the progress of the Reformation than otherwise. Nor is this at all unlikely to be the result of the licence they now enjoy. But will any man in his senses maintain, that it can be reconcilable with justice or sound policy, to aid and abet the priest in his tyrannical proceedings, and to construct a national system of education, so as to enable the priests to keep the people in ignorance of the Word of God.

If the system of national education in Ireland were purely Latitudinarian,—if it sank religion altogether,—it would be bad and mischievous, and unworthy the sanction of a body of Christian clergymen. For a system of education which treats all forms of religion with indifference, practically discourages and discountsenances religion itself. But this system is not a purely Latitudinarian system. It was never meant to be any such thing. It was established with a view of gratifying the Romish priesthood—and

its spirit, tendency, and practical effect, are directed to strengthen their position, and to enable them, by the aid of public money and Government patronage, to prevent the laity from obtaining anything like a really religious education for their children. We cannot feel otherwise than that the Irish clergy ought not to identify themselves with such a system. The church may suffer from the loss of influence it would derive from the connexion. Its efficiency and respectability may suffer from the shameless abuse of patronage, which holds out ecclesiastical preferment and dignity only as the reward of tergiversation and abandonment of character.*

* In the Bishop of Ossory's charge, delivered in 1845, there are some very striking observations on this subject, every way deserving of consideration, and written with remarkable temper and moderation. In a note on the passage in the charge, the Bishop states, that he had written a letter on the subject to a member of Sir Robert Peel's administration, which, in an evil hour, had been induced to imitate the unworthy conduct pursued by the preceding ministry. The object of the Bishop's letter was to urge on his friend the injustice and impolicy of refusing to promote any clergyman, except those who should consent to connect themselves with the national system of education. We shall transcribe this admirable letter, not only because we are anxious to invite the attention of our readers to it, but because it corroborates what we have said above on the authority of one so much better acquainted with the facts of the case than we can pretend to be.

" You cannot but be aware that the church in Ireland was, and is, very unequally divided upon the national education question,—but I do not know whether you are fully aware of the actual inequality of the division. The truth, however, is, that the existing system is supported only by a minority of the clergy, very inconsiderable in point of numbers, and of still less consideration in every other important respect; that, in fact, with very few exceptions, the talent, piety, zeal, and character of the church are altogether on the side of the opponents of the system. I need hardly inform you, how this latter portion of our clergy were disliked and proscribed by the late government. They had earned its hostility, indeed, not merely by their views on the education question; their political and religious principles generally, made them objects of bitter enmity to the party in this country which ruled the late Ministry; and for the long period of its sway, they were rigorously excluded from all share in the favour of government, and made upon all suitable occasions to feel that they were regarded as its enemies. I believe that it is generally acknowledged that this exclusion, and all the slights and wrongs which accompanied it, were borne in a way which reflects credit upon the church in Ireland. I hope and believe that many—a great majority indeed—bore all that they had to bear with Christian patience. It is at least certain that all bore it with noble resolution. But, of course, upon the common principle, the more that they were wronged, the more they were hated by those who did them wrong. And this animosity was not softened when it was found that nothing—neither the injuries which were heaped upon those who held fast to their principles, nor the favours which were lavished upon those who abandoned them,—could shake their firmness.

" When at length the rule of the enemies of the church was brought to an end, it was not surprising that their dislike of those whom they had so grievously and so long ill-used, still survived. But, at first at least, it did seem not a little strange that they should have conceived hopes of being able still to gratify it through the agency of the present Ministry.

" But strange as it is, it has for some time been abundantly plain that this is the case. And to accomplish the end they have adroitly and boldly availed themselves of the Education question; and have lost no opportunity of pressing on the Ministry, both in Parliament, and through all their organs out of doors, that if they will be regarded as sincere in their support of the National system of Education in Ireland, they must give up promoting its opponents in the Church. Of course, in pressing so perseveringly this principle of disposing of the Church patronage of the Crown, a

But, as long as the clergy are firm to the principles they have for years publicly maintained, under such a pitiless storm of scorn and hostility on the part of the Government, as would have sufficed to have embroiled the empire in confusion, had it been directed against the ministers of any sect or community, Romish or Protestant, in either country—as long as the Irish clergy persevere with patience and moderation to decline to connect themselves with a system, against which the great majority of all that are dignified by station, or learning, or piety, or benevolence, have from the beginning, and with an unexampled unanimity, protested, so long the Irish clergy have nothing to fear on the score of public opinion. They will continue to command the respect of enemies, and the sympathy of friends. And sooner or later, the facts of the case will be known. The unreasonableness and unfairness of the treatment they have experienced will be understood. The public will see in the end—they are beginning

leading motive with the opposition has been the desire to embarrass the Ministry, by forcing on them the alternative of adopting a course which must be distasteful and discreditable to them, or of persevering in one which would leave them still exposed to the taunts and misrepresentations of their opponents. I do not doubt that they were influenced also, though in a minor degree, by a desire to promote the interests of the Education-system which they had established. But I am also sure that as strong a motive as any with them has been their feelings towards the portion of the Clergy who would suffer by the application of the principle—by far, as I have said, the largest, and by at least as far, the best portion of the whole body, and whom they had injured too deeply, it would seem, to forgive.—Be this as it may, however, it is very much to be lamented, that when this alternative was offered to the Ministry, the right choice was not promptly and decidedly made, and this insidious and most audacious attempt met as it deserved. If they had said, that, however much they regretted the difference which existed between them and the great mass of the Irish Clergy upon this important question, they still felt, that, if they suffered this difference to out-weigh all the other considerations which ought to recommend men for promotion in the Church, they would not be discharging honestly the important trust which is confided to Government, when Church patronage is placed at its disposal,—if they had said this, or something of this kind, they would have carried with them the feelings and the judgment of every right-minded man in the House and in the country, and would have saved themselves a great deal of perplexity and trouble—to say no more. And I cannot but feel assured, that when they suffered this principle to be pressed on them again and again, only feebly repelling it, or not at all, they must have been ignorant of the actual state of the Church to which it has to be applied, and therefore of the effects to which it must necessarily lead. I shall abstain from speaking of any of its effects, except those which directly concern the most important interests of the Church,—and confining myself altogether to these, I have no hesitation in saying, that this principle fairly and steadily followed out by the present Government, would do more to degrade and injure the Church than their predecessors ever had the power of doing. Indeed, this must I think be apparent from what I have been saying of the actual state of the Church. At the outset it would oblige government to advance men of no character in the Church, or much worse than none; the objects of the patronage of the late Government, or unsuccessful candidates for it. But as the principle continued to be applied, it is hardly to be doubted that the resolution of some of the opponents of the system would give way, and that some who had earned some reputation for principle by holding out against the varied temptations by which the Clergy in this country were so long and so severely tried, would sell it at last, worn out in what would be felt to be a hopeless struggle. Such promotions would be

to see it already—that to deny to the Irish clergy that consideration for their scruples or prejudices (supposing them to deserve no better name) which is acceded to the prejudices and scruples of every sectary and fanatic in the empire, is grossly unfair and unjust. They will see that it is impossible, on any rational pretext, to withhold from the Irish clergy the same measure of assistance which is granted to their brethren in this country, to enable them to educate the children of the church in the principles of the church; and the same measure of protection which we enjoy, from the dictation and interference of those sectaries who might wish to secularize the character of our system of education. If what is done in Ireland be right, there can be no reason why the power of the state should not be put forth for the same purpose in *England* or *Scotland*. If it be right that it should be put forth in *Ireland*, it is equally right it should be put forth in *England* and *Scotland*,—to enable the Romish priest to tyrannize over the consciences of Roman Catholics—to keep their children in ignorance of the Word of God—and to exert such influence in Protestant schools as shall compel the clergy to deprive the children of the church of the blessings of a religious education. The schools of the church in this country receive public assistance, and are countenanced and recognised by Government. They are constructed for the children of the church. They are open to all who will conform to their rules

even worse than the former. The Clergymen who consented to purchase advancement in such a way, would be likely to be those of the division of the Church to which they belonged, who least deserved promotion. But whatever were their characters before, when they abandoned the principles to which they were pledged by word and act, they would lose the most important part of it, and with it, of course, the power of filling creditably and effectively, any post, high or low, to which they might be advanced. Their advancement would only weaken and disgrace the Church, and it would certainly bring neither strength nor credit to the Government. They would, I am sure, be but comparatively few, as well as of inferior consideration,—but there would be enough of them probably to tarnish the reputation of which the Church in Ireland has so dearly earned.

“I hope, however, that she is not to suffer at the hands of her friends a repetition of the wrongs which she so long endured,—and, in addition, this still deeper wound, which her enemies were not able to inflict upon her. My first and strongest anxieties in the case are for the Church itself, for its purity and efficiency, and, though in a minor degree, for its character—all of which must suffer severely if this principle be adopted. These are the effects of the principle to which I look with most anxiety and fear. But I must own, too, that its effects upon the interests and feelings of the Clergy, to whose principles, and labours, and sufferings, so different a measure was due, are not a matter of indifference to me; though I hope I keep my concern about such consequences in the subordinate place which it ought to hold.”—p. 303.

Well would it have been for the credit, not to say the stability, of Sir Robert Peel's administration, had they given this remonstrance the consideration it deserved, instead of allowing themselves to be induced to act in a manner which must have been so repugnant to their principles and feelings, thus affording their political rivals so complete a triumph, in what the Bishop truly designates as their “insidious and most audacious attempt” to put them in a false position.

and discipline. Is it unjust to the dissenting minister, that the state does not arm him with the power of interfering with our church schools, and secularizing them to his own standard of liberality, under pretence of consulting the feelings of the dissenting children he might himself send to the clergyman's school for the mere purpose of upsetting his plans? If it would be either illiberal or unreasonable in the state to refuse to arm the Dissenter with this power in England or in Scotland, then clearly it cannot be either illiberal or unjust to refuse to give it to the Romish priest in Ireland. If to refuse the English clergy assistance in the education of their poor, unless they submitted to the condition, that a Dissenter shall have the power to interfere and dictate, and to secularize their school, would be wrong and improper, then it is wrong and improper to exact such conditions from the Irish clergy.

The principle of the Irish national system of education is palpably unfair and unjust. Every day the public are becoming more sensible of its unfairness and one-sided partiality. Let the Roman-catholic priest enjoy all the advantages the national system now gives him of educating his own poor in the principles of his church. Almost every chapel in Ireland has a school attached to it. Few nunneries or convents are without one. Be it so. Let them enjoy the full benefit of the Parliamentary grant. Still more, let the children have the full benefit of a *bonâ fide* Government inspection and superintendence. As Christians, we should not wish to deprive the Roman Catholics of these schools for their children. As Protestants we are not afraid of the result. But in the name of common fairness and justice we ask,—whether it is not right that our brethren, the Irish clergy should have the same advantages for educating the children of the church? Is it right that the priest should have the power to secularize the system of education in the clergyman's school, and that *on no other terms* assistance should be given to the clergy? The common sense view of the question is plainly this: that the conscientious scruples of *all parties* ought to be respected. If so, then the conscientious scruples of *the clergy* ought to be respected. They should receive assistance to enable them to educate the children of the church in the principles of the church. No Dissenting teacher whatever should have, directly or indirectly, the power to secularize the system of education in their schools. And, if parents belonging to any other denomination desire to place their children under the care of the clergy of the Established Church, and with open eyes prefer the church system of education to that patronized by their own pastors,—then their pastors should neither be connived at, if by brute force they attempt to deprive those parents of their undoubted right to do so,—nor should they be

armed with such power as shall enable them, by open dictation, or by underhand management, to follow the children to the clergymen's school, and force him to modify his system to such a level of Latitudinarianism, as shall effectually denude it of its religious character, and shall not merely deprive the Roman-catholic children of the advantages their parents wish them to enjoy, but even rob the children of the church of that Christian education which it is the duty of the clergy to provide for them. This, we repeat it, is the common sense view of the question. Nor is any other mode of acting consistent with common justice.

To give the Romish priest such power as this over the schools of the clergy, is to lay the axe at the root of the Established Church, *considered as an establishment*. The clergyman of an Established church is bound in duty to propagate its principles, and to enlarge its pale by all fair, upright, and honest methods. And he has a right to call on the state, with which his church is by law connected and identified, to encourage and assist and protect him in doing so. To refuse him an educational grant, in his character as the minister of the church established, and for the purpose of promoting the objects for which the church was established by law, is in fact to repudiate the connexion, and to refuse to discharge the duties the state has taken on itself by its union with the church.

On the other hand, to arm the Dissenting teacher with such power as shall enable him, whether by direct interference or indirect management, to prevent the members of his communion from bringing up their children in the principles of the Established Church, if they desire to do so, is to strike at the very foundations of civil and religious liberty: and we trust that the day is far distant, when the clergy, in any part of her Majesty's dominions, will make themselves a party to such a transaction. It seems plain enough, however, that it is not from any fear of the final result, one need wish matters put on a better footing. The more the Irish priests stand in the way of the education of the people,—the more violence they use to prevent their unhappy flocks from reading the Scriptures—the more forcibly they exhibit the contrast between their own character and that of the clergy,—the more rapidly will the day of their power pass away. But, as far as the Government and the Legislature are concerned—the thing is wrong and improper in itself. It is wrong and improper for any Government to allow any man, still more, to assist him, to trample on the liberties of the poor, and domineer over their consciences. It is wrong and improper for any Legislature to arm any Dissenting teacher—Protestant or Romanist—with such power, as shall enable him, under the sanction of law, and with the authority of Government, to prevent the members of

his flock from bringing up their children in the principles of the Established Church, and under the tuition of its ministers, if they choose to do so.

This is the question really in dispute. The question is not, whether the clergy should have the power of compelling the Roman Catholic children to read the Scriptures. The clergy have never asked for such a power. Nor is the question, whether the Roman Catholics should be left to the superintendence of their own pastors, and their pastors to their own responsibilities—although this question—as some would decide it—involves the total abandonment of the principle of an Established Church. The question is not, whether the National Board should have funds at its disposal to enable the Romish clergy to support schools for their flocks—no, nor even whether it should be empowered to assist schools whose patrons wish to separate religious from secular instruction altogether. The clergy do not require that any one of these parties should be refused assistance from the state. They do not wish to be the opposers of education under any form. This is in no sense or degree the point to be decided. The question is simply this—ought the clergy of the Established Church *in Ireland* to receive assistance in the education of the poor, on the same terms as they do *in England*? Or if,—for the purpose of securing the quiet and comfort of the Government, the maintenance of the union between the two countries, and the integrity of the British empire, or for any other reason,—it be considered expedient or necessary to discountenance the Protestant religion, and to disestablish the church in Ireland, and to treat the Irish prelates and clergy as if they were sectaries and dissenters, then the question will still remain, whether they also are not entitled to be fairly and equitably dealt with in the question of education, and whether we ought not to treat *their* religious scruples and prejudices with—we shall not venture to say, *as much*—but, to speak within moderation,—with somewhat of the same sort of respect and consideration, as we are in the habit of treating those of *other* sectaries and fanatics in this country. And, in fine, the question will deserve consideration,—whether we ought to frame our laws, and construct those institutions which are supported by grants from the public revenue, in such a manner, as gives the Roman-catholic priests in Ireland power to trample on the civil and religious liberties of the community; such power, in fact, as no other human being in the British dominions would be suffered to exercise or possess. These, we apprehend, are the simple questions to be decided: and very simple they will appear to plain people, when they are thus divested of the mystification with which they have been so industriously surrounded.

It may be said that the Irish clergy ask Parliament to sanction

a system of proselytism. Now proselytism is a word which carries a prejudice along with it. But the real proselytizer is the man, who pretends that he has no wish to make converts by education, and has shaped his system so as to meet the views of persons of all denominations: all the while, comforting himself with the hope, that, if he gives them the amount of instruction they will consent to receive, they will ultimately come round to his way of thinking on religious matters. This is true and genuine proselytizing: and the man who carries on such a system, pretending that all religions are alike to him, is a very unfit person to be intrusted with the education of youth. To avow ones principles—to construct a system of education for the purpose of bringing up the children of the church in the principles of the church—and at the same time to open the doors of the school to all whose parents are willing or anxious that their children should be brought up in the clergyman's school,—this is not proselytism. It is the very reverse of it. Call it by what name we please, however, it is nothing more than the legitimate development of the principle of a religious establishment. It is the conduct which the state has a right to expect from the clergy of an Established Church; it is a duty, which the state ought to assist the clergy to perform, in whatever form they need assistance. At all events, it is, unquestionably, the sort of proceeding to which the Legislature gives encouragement and assistance in this country; and, therefore, to refuse it to the clergy of the Established Church in Ireland, is unjust and indefensible. But, with a happy inconsistency, the same persons who refuse them aid, on the ground that to assist their schools would be to encourage proselytism, are just as ready to call for the destruction of the Irish Church Establishment, or to aid and abet those who do,—on the pretext, that the Reformation in Ireland has made so little progress and the church so few converts. Hard it is for the Irish clergy to please such critics. They must have patience. At present their conscientious opposition is treated as a *rebellion*. They must only persevere, and in good time like some other rebellions, it will grow into a *revolution*, and men will applaud the fortitude which they now detest and ridicule as obstinacy.

But, it will be asked: if the schools of the clergy were assisted, would not the Presbyterians and Romanists claim separate grants for *their* schools? They might do so. Most probably they would. But if they should, their applications must be considered on their own merits. One thing is certain; they cannot plead a *conscientious* objection to the National Board; for the simplest of all reasons, because they have joined it already; and because they say that they can avail themselves of its aid without any scruple of any sort. Nor can they ever venture to ask for a separate

grant, under the pretext that they dislike a mixed and united education. Since it has long since been pretty sufficiently ascertained, that *united* education, under the Irish national system, is little better than a legal fiction,—and that to find a Roman-catholic child in one of its schools under Presbyterian management, is pretty nearly as uncommon as to find a Presbyterian child in a school belonging to a Romish chapel or convent; which, we apprehend, would be looked on as somewhat of a rarity. But, whatever view might be taken of their claims on such a contingency, those of the clergy rest on a totally different ground; *first*, because they maintain that the fundamental principle of the national system is destructive of their position as the clergy of the Established Church; and *secondly*, because they rest their opposition to its latitudinarianism on *conscientious* grounds: and *conscientious* objections ought not to be put aside as captious and frivolous—especially where the clergy, *under different governments*, and in circumstances so trying and perplexing, have for a number of years given such unexampled proofs of integrity and consistency. There are cases where men pretend weakness and delicacy of conscience, merely because they wish to be allowed to domineer over the consciences of other men. This is not a case of the sort. The Irish clergy do not ask for power over other men's consciences. They ask that some tenderness and consideration should be shown for their own. Why a request so reasonable—a request which no minister would refuse to attend to, if it came from a Mormonite or a Ranter—should be treated, not only with scorn and insult, but with marks of a resentment bordering on vindictiveness, we have never been able to comprehend.*

* This objection was raised by Sir Robert Peel in his correspondence with the Archbishop of Armagh. His observations are answered with great ability in one of the notes appended to the charge delivered by the Bishop of Ossory in 1845, to which we have already referred. The passage to which we allude is as follows:—

“He [Sir Robert Peel] is of opinion that, if it [the application of the Irish clergy] were granted, it would lead to ‘the granting of public aid to at least three different societies in Ireland, by each of which secular instruction should be combined with religious instruction in the particular doctrines of each communion,—one in connexion with the Established Church,—another with the Presbyterian,—a third with the Roman-Catholic Religion.’—p. 15. And the way in which he apprehends that this result would be brought about is this: that a new party would start up in the Church, maintaining that, ‘in a course of public education, professedly in communion with the Church, instruction in the principles of the Church ought to be insisted on as an indispensable condition,* and claiming support for

* “Meaning, of course a condition to which every child in attendance on the schools should be required to conform. It is already a condition by which all schools in connexion with the Society are bound. *Instruction in the principles of the church* must be given to all church children in attendance, as an *indispensable condition* in every school which receives assistance from the Society. No other children are required to receive this instruction, but all who can read, must read the Bible.”

And if it should still be urged,—the writer in the *Quarterly Review* has said something of the sort, though not in a very intelligible way,—that, if a separate grant were made to the schools of the Irish clergy out of funds to which tax-payers of all denominations contribute, the Roman-catholic tax-payers might object to it;—the answer seems very plain. For, in the first place, there need be no separate grant. Nothing more is necessary than to authorize the National Society to make grants to the Irish clergy for their schools, on the same terms and conditions as they would make a grant to the clergy in any one of the dioceses of England. And secondly, supposing there were a separate grant made to the schools of the Irish clergy, still the objection on account of the source from whence the funds are derived is of no weight. For, whatever money is granted by Parliament for the assistance of the church schools in this country, is derived from revenues levied from all sects: and, besides, if it be wrong to give separate

schools conducted on that principle. And that the Presbyterians would rise up to claim support for schools in which their peculiar principles were *an indispensable part of the course of education*. And that the Roman Catholics would do the same. And while Sir Robert feels that it is very easy to refuse our humble suit, and accordingly does so in very decided terms, as we have seen, he seems to feel that if others begin to make demands, it will be in a way that he will find it much more difficult to resist. As to Sir R. Peel's fears of a demand from members of our church, discontented with the laxity of our Society, I have said enough about them already.

“But as to the demand which he apprehends from other quarters, I should be very sorry to warrant Government and the Legislature against it. On the contrary, I think it would be very likely to be made, at least by the Roman Catholics. But why should it be complied with? It can never come on the same footing that ours does. We object to the system on *conscientious* grounds. And as Government will not modify the system, to obviate our objections, we ask them to relieve us from the hardship under which we lie in consequence, by helping us to maintain schools on a system which does no violence to our conscience. The Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians having actually availed themselves of the advantages which the National Board offers, can never plead *conscience* in objecting to its system. They may have objections of various kinds to different parts of it, but they cannot have, or profess to have, *conscientious* objections.

“But it may be said,—Suppose the case to be so, does this settle the question? Because your claim rests upon *conscientious* objections, and the claims of those other religious bodies do not, and cannot, does it follow that yours is to be granted, and theirs are to be refused? If this be asked, I answer, Certainly not. I never meant that the difference which I have pointed out, should be taken to involve any such consequence. But it does, I think, very clearly show all that I meant it should,—viz., that what Sir R. Peel puts forward, as the great practical objection to granting our application, rests upon no reasonable foundation. For if our claim, and those which he apprehends will be made by these other religious bodies, if ours be granted, rest upon a footing so entirely different, then granting ours, however it may furnish an occasion, can supply no reason for making theirs, and of course none for granting it. And this being the case, it must be plain, that the fear, however well-founded it be, that their claims will be made, can be no fair reason for refusing ours.

“This I hope will be apparent to every fair mind. And this was what I meant to show. But I think it desirable to guard against mistakes, as to what I think of the further effects of this difference. I do not think that it follows that, because the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians cannot claim support for separate Societies, on the ground of any *conscientious* objections against the National System, their

assistance to *Irish church* schools from such funds, it must be at least equally wrong to give it to schools of *English dissenters*, Protestant or Romanist: and in fine, there is no class of persons from whom "a counter-plea of conscience" would come with less reason, or a worse grace, than from "the Roman-catholic taxpayers" in Ireland, as there is no denomination in the British dominions which, in proportion to its numbers, contributes less, or is less in a condition to contribute, to the public revenues. But the clergy do not object to the public funds being appropriated to the national system *on a plea of conscience*. It would very ill become them, or any Christian, to object to any lawful tax on such a plea. What they complain of is, that they can have no public assistance in the education of the children of the church, unless they accept it on terms and conditions to which they feel *conscientious* objections. As long as they do feel so, it is wrong to wish them to act otherwise. It is ungenerous and uncharitable to treat their objections with levity and disrespect: it is unfair and unjust to refuse to give the same measure of tolerance and deference to their scruples, which they would be sure to receive, if, instead of being what they are, they were the leaders of the wildest and most ungovernable sect of fanatics and enthusiasts in England.

An argument has been attempted to be grounded on a supposed analogy between the national system in Ireland and that which is adopted by the University of Dublin, in which, it is argued, Roman Catholics are educated without being obliged to receive any religious instruction, or to attend on the religious services of the Protestant Church. We confess we never could discover the force of this argument. The University of Dublin does, if we mistake not, require those who apply for admission as

claims ought to be rejected, as necessarily resting on insufficient grounds. Not at all. But what I say is, that the grounds on which they rest,—whether objections against the National System or any other objections—are of a kind on which Government may exercise its own judgment, and ought so to do.

"If the grounds of their claim appear upon a fair consideration to be reasonable and strong, it ought to be yielded to; if frivolous or insufficient it ought to be resisted. But a claim resting upon *conscientious* objections is not to be dealt with exactly in this way. I do not, of course, mean that objections are to be at once treated as *conscientious*, merely because those who make them put them forward as such. Doubtless common sense must be exercised in every particular case, to determine whether the plea of *conscience* is a *bonâ fide* plea, or only a pretext. And even if it be ascertained to be genuine, and that the objections are really *conscientious*, it does not follow that the claim founded on them must be granted. It may be that there are still sufficient reasons for refusing it. But one thing still is certain that it ought not to be dismissed, merely because the Government thinks that there is no reasonable ground for the objections. If they are believed to be really *conscientious* objections in those who make them, they cannot, without the greatest hardship and injustice, be treated as frivolous and vexatious, merely because to others they seem to rest upon insufficient grounds, or to be without any reasonable grounds."—p. 293.

students, to construe the Greek Testament, as part of their preliminary examination. And in putting Butler's Analogy and Paley's Evidences into their hands, in the after part of the undergraduate course, they have furnished them with a course of study which we apprehend no Roman-catholic teacher would select, or would regard as very safe reading. And we suspect, further, that of the Roman-catholic students who enter that University, a very considerable proportion, either before they leave college, or in after life, join the Established Church : and we believe this to be a fact of which the Roman-catholic clergy are very well aware.

But as an argument from analogy, nothing can be more destitute of weight than this is. For a University is not a school for teaching young children the first rudiments of learning and morals. It is intended for persons who are no longer children ;—who are not merely supposed to have completed the rudimental part of their education, but have actually (in general, at least) arrived to that age at which, in both the Protestant and Roman-catholic Churches, young persons have, so to speak, made choice of a religion, and have been confirmed and received the Communion. And on the principles on which the University system of Dublin has been constructed, it has been thought that these *bonâ fide* members of both churches—or rather of any or no church—for a Jew or a heathen may be educated and graduate in that University, if we are not misinformed,—should be brought up together, and receive a united literary education. Such an united education, however, or even one still more secularized, is decidedly opposed to the views of the Roman-catholic priesthood. This is proved by their hostility to the new colleges in Ireland—an hostility which, it is plain from the documents we printed last month, has only been quieted by their being allowed to have two of these new colleges virtually in their own hands;—the third being given over to the Presbyterians.

But the point where the analogy totally fails is this, that supposing the Roman-catholic students in the University of Dublin, or any of them, either of their own accord, or at the desire of their parents, should choose to attend the religious instruction and the services in the college chapel, along with their Protestant fellow-students—neither the laws of that University nor its charter give the Roman-catholic clergy the power, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the religious discipline of the University, so as either to prevent these young persons from going over to the Established Church, or sharing in its educational instructions, if they or their parents prevent, or to bring to bear on the heads of the University any external pressure, so as to compel them to modify their general system of religious instruction to suit the tastes of the

Romish priesthood, and so deprive the Protestant students of the instruction they ought to receive.

Whatever the advocates of the Irish system may say, it is not founded on any fair, honest, straightforward principle. But, happily, its unfairness is becoming daily more apparent. The Bishop of Ossory has truly said, that “a love of *fair play* is so strong a feeling in the English mind, as to array the great mass of the nation against any measure which is so decidedly wanting in that quality, as soon as they thoroughly apprehend its character.” These words occur in a charge delivered in 1845, and there can be no doubt that public opinion has made steady progress from that day to this, in favour of the claims of the Irish clergy, and in reprobation of the indefensible manner in which successive governments have treated them. Sooner or later truth and justice, and the love of fair play, will produce their never failing results. “And”—to borrow and appropriate the language of the Bishop of Ossory, in the passage immediately following the sentence we have quoted—“if the supporters of the Church Education Society go on quietly in their present course, doing all that they can do to discharge the duty which rests on them in this matter—all that they have done hitherto, and more—while on all proper occasions, and by all proper means, the claims of the Society are calmly and fully brought forward,—I cannot believe that the Church will be long without such a measure of the sympathies of the English public as will in due time reach Parliament and the Government, and free them from the painful constraint under which it is to be hoped that they must have been acting in this case,—by providing a force on the side of duty, of right feeling, and sound principle, which will more than countervail the pressure in the opposite direction to which they have been, I would fain hope, most reluctantly yielding.”*

THE GENERAL THANKSGIVING.

THE following circular letter was issued a short time before the late day of thanksgiving by the Lord Bishop of London to the clergy of his diocese, and we trust with very considerable benefit to the society which his Lordship has recommended to their attention. Nothing could be more gratifying than the manner in which the day was observed. The crowds that attended the churches were not less satisfactory proof of the good feeling of the inhabitants of the metropolis than the extraordinary fact, for such we believe

* Charge, p. 50.

it to be, that not a single charge, even for drunkenness, came before the police. Such a circumstance, it is said, is without a parallel.

Fulham, November 3, 1849.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—In the pastoral letter, which I addressed to the clergy of this diocese in December, 1847, with reference to the expected appearance of the cholera, I pointed out certain special duties, as proper to be undertaken by them at that anxious crisis, in addition to the more peculiar functions of their sacred office. I said, that while their first object should be to impress upon the minds of their people the necessity of an implicit trust in God, of an entire submission to His will, of increased degrees of seriousness, vigilance, and self-restraint, and of frequency and fervour in prayer; it would also be an office of real piety and charity, to urge upon them the importance of endeavouring to remove all those physical causes, which might invite the approach of disease, and aggravate its malignity.

I suggested, as a motive to such endeavours, that while we may not look for a blessing upon the resources and appliances of human skill, if they are not employed in humble reliance upon the power and goodness of God; so neither, if we neglect to use all probable and practicable means of prevention and preservation, have we any reason to expect that He will specially interfere, to rescue us from the consequences of our own negligence.

The importance of this caution has been painfully proved by the events of the last twelve months. The expected scourge has fallen upon us with awful severity, and has swept away from this vast metropolis at least 15,000 of its inhabitants. Judging from the unvarying tenor of the reports made by the medical inspectors, and of other persons who have watched the progress of that fatal disease, I do not hesitate to declare my belief, that by far the greater number of those, who have fallen victims to the pestilence, might, under God's blessing, have been saved from death, had timely and effectual measures been taken for cleansing and ventilating their dwellings, preventing their over-crowded state, and draining the courts and alleys in which they are situate.

We shall be chargeable with great folly and want of foresight, as political economists, and guilty, I verily believe, of great sinfulness, as a Christian people, if we neglect to profit by the dearly bought experience of the past, and to take prompt and energetic measures for improving the condition of the labouring classes, by removing the worst, at least, of those evils, which at once render them an easy prey to disease and death, and place them at a hopeless distance from the church's teaching and ministry. I remarked, in my former letter, that persons, immersed in misery and filth, are for the most part inaccessible to the motives and consolations of the Gospel.

Much, no doubt, there is, which can be effected only by means of legislative measures: but much may be done by the charitable efforts of associated Christians, which in the present state of things the law could accomplish only by very slow degrees. Let us not wait, while under the pressure of extreme necessity, for the operations of a

machinery which will require a considerable time to put it in motion; but let us at once take the work in hand, and show that the desired improvement is practicable, to a great extent, by the exertions of an active and well directed charity.

We are about to perform, as a Christian people, a public and solemn act of thanksgiving to Him, who holds in his hands the issues of life and death, for His great mercy vouchsafed to us in answer to our prayers, in removing from us the plague and grievous sickness which of late afflicted us, and restoring the voice of joy and health to our dwellings. God grant that it may be the expression of a real, heartfelt thankfulness; and that it may be followed by its proper results of increased self-denial and charity! You will, I am persuaded, see the propriety of calling upon your congregation to contribute liberally of their worldly substance on that occasion, as a thank-offering to Almighty God for their preservation from that pestilence which has hurried so many thousands to their last account: and I venture to recommend that the alms, then collected, should be applied to the promotion of some well-considered plan for *improving the dwellings of the labouring classes*.

I would not be understood to prescribe the channel through which the collections should be so applied: but I would suggest, that where the funds, so raised, are not sufficient for carrying out a local scheme for that purpose, they may be safely entrusted to "The Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes," without fear of misapplication or waste. Much good has been already effected by that Society, in setting an example of what may be done towards providing the poor with decent and commodious habitations, by an outlay which will ultimately be repaid with interest, both in a social and a pecuniary point of view. It is a remarkable and encouraging fact, that in the dwellings and lodging-houses belonging to the Society, there was not one case of cholera, and two only of diarrhoea, which speedily yielded to medical treatment.*

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my deep sense of the exemplary manner in which the clergy of this diocese have discharged their duties, during the late most trying season, in visiting with unwearied assiduity and kindness the sick and dying, and in ministering, to the utmost of their power, both to the bodily and spiritual comfort of the sufferers. Two only of their number have fallen victims to that deadly disease which has carried off so many members of their flocks; let us, who have been mercifully spared, show forth our thankfulness by increased diligence in every work of piety and charity, that *the Lord, when He cometh, may find us so doing*.

Commending you to His holy keeping, I remain, reverend and dear Sir, your affectionate friend,

C. J. LONDON.

* The Reports of the Society may be had of the Secretary, John Wood, Esq., 21, Exeter Hall, Strand.

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